

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

VOL. II. No. 29.

CHICAGO, ILL., U. S. A., SATURDAY, JANUARY 6, 1900.

Whole No. 79.

MERLIN'S MIXTURE

"Twas the night before Christmas," and I was thinking of the old angel-song of peace and good will. Naturally I fell to wondering about the fulfillment of the ancient prophecy in our modern life. As I thought, my eye was caught by the headlines of a Boston Globe, lying on my table. Picking it up I made a catalogue of its contents. Among the things recorded on the eve of Christmas were the following: Six assaults, seven murders, one bank failure, seven robberies, four accidents, four suicides, ten business failures, two strikes, one kidnapping and two wars! Then, somehow, the words of the old anthem seemed to die away in the distance, and amid the sweet music of the Christmas memories there swelled a discordant note that drowned and destroyed the melody. And then I knew that Christmas and capitalism were incompatible. So long as one is a reality the other must be only a dream.

American soldiers in the Philippines are all wearing what they call "dog checks." These are lead medals that are worn, to assist in identifying the dead and severely wounded. These medals are singularly well named, if only by a coincidence. The names of the checks are remarkably appropriate to the occupation of the wearers. The soldiers who are out in the East are simply "dogs of war," held in leash by the hand of capitalistic commercialism, and used to hunt down the Filipino patriot who seeks to evade the gentle grasp of American exploitation. It is a war of principle, not principle, and the rich take interest in it in order that they may take interest out of it by and by. And so these war-dogs, with their dog-checks, are used to round up the unwilling recipients of American prosperity, and to make an impression with their lead teeth on those benighted heathen who refuse to be otherwise impressed by the glories of our Crokerian civilization. They are part and parcel of the process of benevolent assimilation, whose triple factors are bullets, bibles and beer.

Laroy E. Nichols, a jeweler of Chelsea, Mass., has just filed a bankruptcy petition, with liabilities of \$3,147, and assets of \$75. In the same list of recorded failures were many others whose assets bore the same relation to their liabilities. A glorious system! The laws of present business are such as to place a premium on roguery and rascality. As I once heard Margaret Haile say in an address in Lynn, it permits business men to "fail successfully." I once knew a man in Canada who failed three times in business, and then retired, a "self-made man!" And now, by a strange fitness of name this man of Chelsea is allowed to pay nickels on the dollar, and to pay Nichols most of them. If Socialism is wild and visionary it could not be worse than the planless and crime-fostering system we now have. Every settlement of cents on the dollars is a proof positive that business, as it now is carried on, is but the cloak of commercial thieves.

The January disbursements of interest and dividends in New York will foot up to the tidy sum of \$150,000,000. This is the largest amount, thus paid, in the history of trade in this country. Those who catch this golden stream in their stock buckets will doubtless be optimistic American patriots. They will be firm believers in prosperity. They will doubtless reckon the amount they receive as "earnings." But is it? Whence comes this torrent of wealth that flows into the sea of finance in Wall street? The stream of wealth is like any other stream. A river is simply the accumulation of the drainings of the land through which it flows. And this golden stream is but the drainings of the industrial fields. It is composed of the filchings from the laboring class. Many a poor man's purse has been drained, and his fountain of happiness drawn dry in order to swell the volume of this river of interest and dividend. Through every village of our land flows a stream of tribute to this mighty torrent. Earnings, indeed!

Some strange Christmas echoes come to my ear, showing the incongruities of life under our present system of business. A certain Wilmington school teacher was arrested on the charge of shoplifting. Before the judge she made the pathetic statement that her fellow-teachers were giving presents to their scholars, and as she had no money to do so herself, she resorted to theft. A pitifully poor excuse, you say. Granted; but what possible excuse can there be for a system that makes resort to such means necessary? I know of a man, a commercial traveler, whose purse had been emptied into the stream of wealth of which we spoke. His wife wrote to him, asking for a little money for Christmas needs. He couldn't give it, and not

caring to face her without the means of making Christmas happy, as of old, he committed suicide. Foolish? Wrong? To be sure, but that doesn't mitigate the criminality of those who perpetuate the social environment that causes such acts.

Here is a contrast to the above. On the Saturday afternoon preceding Christmas the clerks and employees of the Central Trust Company of New York were given a present amounting to 40 per cent of their salaries. One of the officers of the company, whose salary was \$5,000, received \$2,000 as a Christmas box, and all the rest in like proportion. The report says their pockets bulged out with their wads. This liberality was not the result of Christian love. That latter commodity does not figure among the forces of Wall street. It was simply because the "pickings" had been good. It was the story of which the commercial traveler's suicide was the sad sequel. It was the division of the property of the labor—Christ, crucified upon the cross of commercial greed by capitalism, whose henchmen thus divided the spoils. O for the risen labor-Christ of Socialism, at whose appearance these minions of capital will fly and fall in dire confusion!

One more echo of the Christmas time. At the reformatory prison in South Framingham the criminals confined therein were given a Christmas dinner, a Christmas concert and a Christmas tree. Everything was done for their comfort and pleasure, and an enjoyable day was spent. No one will doubt the rightness of the matter, or deny that it was a commendable act. But there were thousands upon thousands of people outside jail walls who had no Christmas dinner, or concert, or tree. They spent the day as they had spent the miserable day before, and would spend the miserable day after. They were hard-working, honest, well-meaning people, but yet the felons inside prison walls fared better. Had they been less honest, less industrious and less worthy, the nation would have given them a Christmas dinner free. My friends, let us stop all our absurd talk about civilization and Christianity, until we have raised labor to at least the level of crime. Let us work for the social system that shall make productive labor the criterion of merit and the measure of reward. And that system is Socialism.

JEFF AND HAM...

A JUVENILE WAR ON THE EXPANSION QUESTION

I've got two boys, and I tell you they're just dandies. Their first names are Jefferson and Hamilton, but I call them Jeff and Ham for short. Jeff, he's the smartest lad you ever see. Why, he knows more than his dad ever will know, and as for his schoolteacher, why, he can't touch any part of Jeff. Ham, he is a proud little cus and inclined to be a little dudish. He won't play with the poor boys at all, and says when he gets big he's going to be a banker. Jeff, he is different. He likes the poor boys and is always trying to do something or other to help them. I heard these little chaps quarreling the other day over this expansion question and you ought to have heard them. Let me see if I can remember it. It went something like this:

Ham—Say, Jeff, what do you think of this war in the Philippines?

Jeff—It is all wrong—outrageous.

H.—Nonsense; wars are necessary.

J.—No, they're not, when people are civilized.

H.—But wars do the civilizing.

J.—Yes, but there is a better way to civilize people than by killing them.

H.—Haven't enlightenment and civilization always followed wars?

J.—Perhaps, but do you think it required gunpowder to do it? If we encourage boxing nations up by tariffs, and otherwise preventing free and friendly intercourse between them, we may have to resort to some radical measures to carry civilization to them.

H.—But nations get dyspeptic and narrow, and selfish without a war once in a while to take their minds off of domestic cares.

J.—Perhaps, but isn't war a rather expensive way of curing dyspepsia and isn't there some better way?

H.—Well, there are too many people—the cities are terribly congested.

J.—And would you, therefore, kill some of the people to get them out of the way?

H.—It does seem rather rough, but what would you do with them?

J.—Put them to work. Change things so that everybody will have an opportunity to earn a living.

H.—But war gives lots of people employment.

J.—Yes, and takes just so many people away from useful occupations, and to that extent decreases the world's productive power.

H.—But if you stop wars you will practically put an end to love of the flag and love of country and to patriotism.

J.—So much the better; patriotism is a cover under which all rascals hide. I wish there was less love of flags and more love of humanity.

H.—But look at the good wars have done.

J.—But weren't there cheaper ways of doing it? Think of the billions of dollars wasted on gunpowder, arms and battleships, the billions of dollars in destroyed property, to say nothing of the billions of human souls sent to perdition. The good things from wars have come high.

H.—Without wars we would have no Deweys, and Schleys, and Wheelers.

J.—I wish we had none. The people are mad over military heroes, just as they are mad over Fitzsimmons and Jeffreys and Sharkeys. They all fight for applause or for money or because it is their business, and they work up a sentiment of patriotism over it and think they have saved the nation's honor.

H.—Why, I am ashamed of you, Jeff. I don't care for prize fighters, but I do love war fighters when fighting for a principle.

J.—Nonsense. How many wars are fought for principle? The British are fighting for principle now, but it is spelled with a "pal." Sometimes there is real principle, but generally, now-a-days, wars are declared for bankers when they want more bonds.

H.—But how about the Boers?

J.—Ah! there is not only principle, but they have been from the first on the defensive. So were we in 1776. So are the Filipinos. I think we are justified in defending by force and violence if necessary.

H.—You are opposed to violence then?

J.—Yes, to all kinds of violence—even to capital punishment, whipping of children and any kind of homicide.

H.—You admit, though, that violence is natural.

J.—No, I don't. Unequal conditions make all this unnatural excitement. It also makes all this petty meanness, dishonesty and hypocrisy. War is the natural result of our brutal social order.

H.—Do you attempt to defend the position taken by the Filipinos in rebelling against our flag?

J.—Yes, I app and them. They are in the same position as we were in 1776. They are not the aggressors. They are fighting for liberty just as we were.

H.—But do you want us to give up those islands for other nations to prey upon?

J.—That is a Wall street argument. In the first place, they are capable of taking care of themselves, but if they were not, what's to prevent our protecting them just as we have protected South America?

H.—But don't we need these islands? Aren't they the key to all the wealth of the Orient?

J.—On that basis we need the whole Orient. Why not take China and Japan, on the ground that they are not able to govern themselves properly? Do you approve of greed and grab?

H.—No, but our commercial interests demand them.

J.—Whose commercial interests?

H.—Why, our big shippers, etc. They need markets.

J.—Well, why not give them markets by removing tariffs and having free and Christian intercourse?

H.—They won't do it. They are a lot of barbarians and they won't trust us.

J.—Can you blame them? We can't cure them of barbarism by shooting them, and as for trusting us, who can blame them for not trusting us.

H.—Why, Jeff, we are a mighty, Christian nation.

J.—Mighty, but not Christian. Aguinaldo helped Dewey defeat the Spanish at Manila. He had long been fighting for independence, and he had every reason to believe that we would help his people to get it; but we betrayed them.

H.—No; they betrayed us and fired upon us.

J.—Not till our emperor had shouted: "Who will dare haul down the flag?" and "Where it has once floated there it shall always float." This put them on the defensive and made them justly suspicious.

H.—Well, you know they are incapable of self-government.

J.—No, I don't. Any people are capable. Dewey himself officially notified our government that they were more capable of self-government than the Cubans were. We might have made a fine nation of them had we carried to them love and education, rather than bullets.

H.—Why, your namesake was an expansionist.

J.—Not the kind that you are. He might have favored expanding our border line, but he never could have written the Declaration of Independence if he favored expansion by the sword.

H.—But he did, didn't he, several times?

J.—No. But if he did he was wrong. I don't rest my case on Jefferson or on any other man. The present expansion

is for the benefit of the franchise grabbers. McKinley seeks to be a king.

H.—But in the competition of nations we must keep pace.

J.—Don't you see anything but money, profit, gain? Is there no moral side to this question?

H.—Oh, you are too sentimental—talking about government by consent and all men being born equal. Be practical.

J.—Yes, and make a new golden rule—Do others or they will do you!

H.—No, but look at it from a business standpoint.

J.—Business? O Business, what crimes are committed in thy name! Did you ever think who was paying for all this Business?

H.—I suppose you think the poor are.

J.—Yes, the toiler. He foots the bills. He creates everything and gets only a bare existence. He makes the guns and battleships and goes to war to be shot down by them while the capitalists clip coupons.

H.—I suppose you want us to retire from the Philippines and stand before the world disgraced.

J.—Disgraced? We could not have more disgrace. To declare that the Filipinos were to have independence under our protection would not be dishonor, and it would immediately end the war provided congress or some other responsible body or person, other than William I, was behind the promise.

H.—And would you then haul down the flag?

J.—Yes, just as we have in Cuba.

H.—And bring Dewey's great feat to naught?

J.—Yes, just as we have Schley's.

H.—How about the \$20,000,000?

J.—Charge it to profit and loss. Or, better, take it out of the king's salary. It was his fault; not that of congress. Congress had to sign the treaty.

H.—But the war is all over now, and why not keep still about it till everything is quiet.

J.—The war isn't over and it never will be over. Every week the censored news said it was over; the back-bone of the rebellion broken; Aguinaldo captured; army dispersed, even to 'way-back last winter, but somehow somebody is getting killed all the time. Brave Lawton was the last.

H.—But it will soon be over now.

J.—So the British said after the first year of the Revolution.

H.—Why, Aguinaldo has no following to speak of—most of the inhabitants want to lay down their arms and join us.

J.—Who told you so? It is false. Believe half you read and divide it by two, and you will have about half the truth.

H.—But hasn't McKinley done the best he could under such embarrassing circumstances?

J.—No. He has been a tool in the hands of the powers that elected him. He has changed our whole national character as the one great example of a free republic. He has destroyed the spirit of '76. He has made us a nation of conquest. He has made it impossible for us to now mediate between the Britons and Boers.

H.—Why, you are a regular traitor, Jeff.

J.—Aaron Burr, in the beginning of this century, became a traitor through his insane desire to found an empire at New Orleans; he to be the great emperor, finally, over all America. McKinley is the Burr of the end of the century!

H.—You are worse than your namesake, Jeff.

J.—You are just exactly like yours, Ham.

Here the conversation ended, and I was glad of it, because if the dinner bell didn't ring just then, I bet those two little cusses would have come to blows. I tell you that lad Jeff is a James Dandy! Uncle Bill.

BOOK NOTICE

"To What Are Trusts Leading?" is the title of a sixty-four page pamphlet written by James B. Smiley. The title does not entirely indicate the breadth of the subject treated. The author reviews shortly the past economic status of the laboring class and their exploiters and shows the present inequality and the causes thereof in a clear, simple and forcible style. The pamphlet is most excellently adapted for Socialist propaganda among the educated and uneducated. It is rare that we meet with a pamphlet so interesting in the general treatment of the subject of Socialism and particularly the phase applicable to trusts. Price, 15 cents. S. Stedman.

We will send free by mail the "Pocket Library of Socialism" to anyone sending us five yearly subscribers to The Herald at 50 cents each. The "Pocket Library" consists of ten books on Socialism, for which we should charge you 5 cents each, or 50 cents (complete) if you ordered them from us. By helping The Herald circulation, as suggested, you get them free.

A GOOD JOKE ON THE CARPENTER

Walking along the busy streets of Chicago, I noticed several shoe stores, two or three in each block. Of course, I supposed that there were too many shoes and not enough people to wear them; and I thought the shoemakers had made a mistake in making so many thousands of shoes more than the people needed.

That night I took a train—or the train took me—to a distant city, and on the way out the railway tracks led us through many crowded streets lined with factories and tenement houses. By the dim gaslights I could see many children, and men, and women walking in the snow with worn-out shoes, parts of shoes, and no shoes at all; and then I knew there were plenty of people to wear all those fine shoes in the stores.

What would those merchants think if I sent them each a postal card telling them I saw three hundred people on one street who needed some of their shoes?

I make horseshoes—hundreds of them every week. Of course, I don't need them myself, because I can't afford to keep even one horse. They are no good to me for food and overcoats, unless I sell them or trade them off. So that's just what I do. Some people prefer hand-made horseshoes, so I sell them at a good price and make \$15 a week. I haven't time to look up customers, so I sell to a general store. They get \$25 for the shoes I make.

Last week at the lodge we had a good joke on one of the carpenters, because he doesn't own a house. Only our joke didn't last very long.

"Now, let's see," he said. "Here's thirty of us, and we work in nearly every kind of trade. Joe raises onions, radishes and turnips. He takes them to the store and sells them for \$2. We buy them for \$3.50. Your horseshoes bring \$25, but you only get \$15. Well, that's enough. Thirty of us sell what we make, or help to make, in factories, for \$210 a week, and we thus average \$7 a week wages. But what we make sells for \$600. Now, as we only have \$210 between us, we can only buy back of each others' products a little more than a third of the things we made."

"Let's sell to each other," said Will, the painter.

"I don't want your paint," said half the men in the room.

"Nor my horseshoes," said I.

"And what good will two hundred thousand nails do us, or the part of them John makes, if I can't get lumber from Michigan?" said the carpenter. "Also, how can I live without my coffee, tobacco, rice, grapes, cotton, my Friday fish and Sunday orange? None of these things grow around here."

"Go without," said I.

"And be a wild man?" asked the carpenter. "Give up all the benefits of what civilization we have evolved to," said the doctor, "and begin over?"

"What I want to know," called out the painter, "is more than I've found out so far. What becomes of the other \$400 worth of things we couldn't buy back?"

"Foreign markets." "Gone to Cuba." "Ask the Filipinos," were the various answers he got.

The reply of the carpenter set us all to thinking. He said: "As only one-third of the people do useful labor, and the other two-thirds must live off the one-third, we, the workers, get only one-third of what we produce. The other two-thirds go to the middlemen, clerks, lawyers, soldiers, insurance agents, speculators, stockholders, and to those who do the useless labor of building warships, making guns and supplies for the army."

"So I make a hat for a lawyer, a hat for a soldier, and the third hat is mine," said a worker in a hat factory.

"Yes," I replied, "only you just stand by a machine while it makes the hat. You only know how part of the hat is made."

"Well, you see now why I don't own a house," said the carpenter. "I build three houses, or, rather, a thousand of us build three thousand houses, so that the third house belongs to me; but I had to trade off my house for clothes, food, etc., just as you traded off your horseshoes and paint."

"The joke's on us, too, ain't it?" said Joe, the gardener. "I couldn't eat all my cabbage heads; I'm enough of a cabbage head already."

"I don't want my paint," said Will. "I want a living—a whole living. One-third ain't enough."

"Yes," said the carpenter. "You want all your paint, and I want all my houses. We all want all we make, so that we can have a whole living instead of one-third."

That closed the meeting. Our lodge is in a fair way to become a local branch of the Social Democratic party.

Horseshoe Joe.

Social Democratic Herald

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board
JESSE COX, Chairman
SEYMOUR STEDMAN, Secretary
EUGENE V. DESS, VICTOR L. BERGER, FREDERIC HEATH

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, 50 cents. Six months, 25 cents. No papers sent to any one on credit. If, without having subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and no bill will follow. Foreign subscriptions \$1.00.

Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

A. S. EDWARDS, Editor
THEODORE DESS, National Sec'y-Treas.
126 Washington St., Chicago.

79 is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 50 your subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, JAN. 6, 1900.

WAGES AND PRICES

In common with editors of his stripe, Henri Watterson of the Louisville Courier-Journal takes great pains to tell us that the harvest time of labor is here, and "no one need be idle," he says, in spite of the fact that every day brings with it overwhelming proof that men are hungry because they are the victims of enforced idleness. Mr. Watterson lingers with great unctious over the statement that wages have risen and work is plentiful, but never a word has he about the rise in prices, the increased profit going to capital. True, there has been an advance in wages over the scale prevailing one or three years ago—an advance ranging from 5 to 10 per cent. But why does Mr. Watterson not tell his readers, the wage slaves, of the 25 per cent raise on fresh meat? Does he not think the slaves would be interested in knowing something about the 35 per cent raise on brooms or the 30 per cent raise on coal oil? Does he not know that the slaves would rejoice to learn that the capitalist class starts the new year with a raise on everything the poor devils have to buy running from 25 to 200 per cent? What interest has "Henri" in keeping this comforting information from the slave class, except that he is a supercilious journalistic retainer to the slave-owning class?

A CASE OF DIVISION

The assignee in the case of Erastus Wiman, a promoter of large commercial enterprises, has announced that he has just \$6,658 to divide among sixty-three creditors whose claims amount to \$913,000. That sort of division is common enough, but if Socialism proposed anything so wild how the jaspers would howl! Do you see what chumps the great middle class is composed of? They prefer a division that allows them \$105.50 each instead of \$14.492 which was due them, to the system of Socialism that would give them all they earned. Looking at the matter from the middle-class point of view, their stupidity surpasses that of the working class; the latter do all the useful work and complacently submit to a system of division in the proportion of one portion of the product to a workman to five for a capitalist. That one portion enables the working class to barely exist; on the other hand, it is evident that when the middle class has to submit to a division of one to one hundred and thirty-seven, that class has no chance whatever in the "struggle for existence." And while the services of this latter class in the evolution to better social conditions have been important, there is no cause for regret over its passing. The division is all right; it inevitably means addition to the ranks of the Socialists.

SOCIALIST POSITION CONFIRMED

The Standard Oil company gave another confirmation the other day of the Socialist contention that the economic system controls the educational, religious, judicial and political institutions of society. Attorney General Monett of Ohio was announced to lecture on "Trusts" before the People's Institute of New York. Some time ago, through Abram S. Hewitt, the Standard company gave \$300,000 to the institute and promised to add a subscription of \$200,000. When it became known that Mr. Monett, who has been fighting the Standard, had been secured to speak, an order went forth that his name must be withdrawn or the money subscribed to the institute would be forfeited. And, of course, the command of the capitalist magnates was obeyed with alacrity. The audience had assembled to hear the lecture, but the officers announced that Mr. Monett would not appear, and the people were dismissed.

While the capitalist class thus suppresses free speech, controls the churches, universities and the people's institutes, the people are babbling about freedom and the flag. They tell the Socialist they want their individual freedom; but under capitalism they are not free to say their prayers or praise their Gods in a church where commercialism instead of Christ does not rule; they are not free to attend a university where the curriculum is not commercialized and the limit-line to research is fixed in the interest of gluttonous capitalism;

they are not free to hear free speech in alleged popular institutions; they are not free even to live except through the condescension and charity of their economic masters.

The people! The people are slaves! The masses are the creatures of a class!

UNDER THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM

There is a class of producers and a class of parasites.

There is a class which produces wealth and a class which appropriates wealth.

There is a possessionless working class and a class in possession of the luxuries of civilization.

There is a class haunted by the fear of Want and a class lashed by the passion of Accumulation.

There is a class sweltering in the factory and the mine and a class satiated with the pleasures of the club and the parlor.

There is a class whose lack of comfort and pleasure is due to an overabundance enjoyed by another class.

There is a class which, separated from land and capital, is dependent for existence upon a class which controls both.

There is a class which, supporting by its labor the institutions of government, must submit to laws made in behalf of another class which controls government.

These social classes are necessarily in conflict—conscious or unconscious. The class which is in possession of the means of production is interested in retaining the present system of capitalist industry, the other is becoming more and more conscious of the necessity for elimination of the personal factor in the ownership of the means of life and the substitution of social ownership.

DUES AND REPRESENTATION

We feel called upon to give notice betimes that only branches in good standing will be entitled to representation at the approaching national convention, and that only members in good standing will be entitled to sign the credentials of delegates.

The convention meets at Indianapolis, Ind., on Tuesday, March 6, 1900, and to be entitled to representation the dues of a branch must be paid in full to and including the quarter ending March 31; and the same is true of individual members. No member is qualified to sign the credentials of a delegate unless his dues are paid during the same period. This is the rule agreed to by the party, and in the examination of credentials it will be the duty of the committee to see that it is enforced and that the credential of any branch not in good standing be rejected and the name of any member not in good standing be stricken from the credential.

It has also been provided that no branch or member shall be entitled to representation unless admitted at least thirty days prior to the opening of the convention. The opening day being March 6, the last day of grace is the 4th day of February. Branches instituted and members admitted after this date will not be entitled to representation. This should be clearly understood that there may be no unnecessary expense incurred in sending delegates not entitled to seats.

A large number of points declare that they are "about ready to organize," and a great number of persons say they are about ready to join. If they would be represented in the most historic convention ever held in the United States they should bear the 4th day of February in mind and come in before that date.

A PITIFUL SPECTACLE

It is a pitiful spectacle to see how the brethren who want "reform in the name of Jesus" fail to agree as to methods. There were Christians in the Social Reform union who, with strong assurances of faith in men, wanted no party because they had no faith in men who want the things they profess to want; and the Willard Hall Christians not only wanted a party, but have actually organized one on the basis of a union of Christians only, and on that basis claim to be working "in his name"! They all predict the direst calamities for society in the near future; many of them claim to be Socialists, and pray for the cooperative commonwealth, and yet they want that conditionally, and the conditions keep humanity divided. Men's religious idols stand in the way of kinship and progress.

The social problem is fundamentally an economic one, a material question. It is not to be solved except through the organization of the exploited and dispossessed masses; it is not to be solved by organizing Christians as such; no organization whatsoever, short of one that recognizes the iniquity of class ownership of nature's resources and social capital, can solve it. Such an organization is the Social Democratic party, and this party embraces in its membership Jew and Gentile, theist and atheist, Christian and non-Christian, the elemental factors of human society.

Socialism lays its emphasis upon the rights and interests of all the people, and points out at the same time that these interests and rights are jeopardized by class ownership of the means of life. Christians may organize a party, or, refusing to do that, present their ideals and preach altruism in sentences of sur-

passing beauty, but Christians cannot solve this world-wide problem. Atheists may organize a party, too, and proclaim anew the gospel of materialism, but atheists cannot solve this problem. Neither a dissertation on the golden rule and the divinity of Christ nor a scientific demonstration of the non-existence of soul contains the solvent that can transmute the base elements of capitalist industry into the finer forms of a nobler civilization. The problem is purely economic; Socialism and the new ethic which Socialism inevitably generates is the universal solvent, the only guaranty for the era of man-kin, brotherhood, peace and good will.

NOTES AND COMMENT

Says President Hadley of Yale: "The man who would sink the interests of a class in a supposed general public interest is but depriving that class of its own natural safeguard in the struggle for existence." Which is pure rubbish. Here is another and a sounder view: "The man or class who would sink the general public interest in the interest of a class is but depriving the general public of its natural and social safeguards in the struggle for existence." The Yale spokesman for social piracy and capitalism had better do more thinking and less talking. A man in his position should think first and then talk. What a commentary on the times when the president of the leading institution of learning sets the interest of a class above the interest of society!

A few hours passed last Saturday with the reformers in the Social Reform union, and again the following day with the United Christian party, convinced us more strongly than ever that the Social Democratic party is on the right course and that Socialists are the most practical people, since they alone really grasp the social problem in all its historical significance and present-day importance. That the principles of Socialism are acceptable to most of those at the head of the union is no doubt quite true, but we suspect most of them also look for it to come from the top down, instead of—as it surely is coming—from the bottom up.

The Socialists of France have bridged the chasm and come together. The congress recently held, while affirming the principle that the Socialist party, representing the working class in antagonism to the capitalist class, is necessarily opposed to all bourgeois administration, agreed that Socialists may, under special circumstances, and with the consent of the party, take part in such administration. Differences were got rid of, a constitution for the guidance of the party in the future was agreed to, and the unity of the whole party was declared with acclamation amid the greatest enthusiasm.

The Republican state committee of Massachusetts filed a statement of its disbursements of money for the year 1899. The committee says that its total expenses were \$12,417.85. The interesting item in the account to Social Democrats is the fact that \$1,000 of the money went to the Haverhill Republican club, and Haverhill was the only city in the state that received a special contribution. This amount was, of course, only a small part of the money sent to Haverhill. Next year Brockton will be in line for special financial aid, too, but we shall "skin 'em" there, just as was done at Haverhill.

The conference of the Social Reform union adopted a resolution declaring its object to be "education looking towards political action," and the non-partisan idea recommended by Chairman Bliss was turned down. Curiously enough, some one in attendance proposed adding to political action the words, "through the Republican or Democratic party, if possible." The conference, with all its confusion, declined to adopt the suggestion. The union will organize no party, and the logical place for the Socialists in the union is the Social Democratic party.

The Salvation Army at Cleveland fed the poor of that city Christmas time, and Mark Hanna, who was present to patronize the occasion with his august person, said that the providing of a square meal was not charity but "the overflowing of kindness in the hearts of the people." He added that it was to such sentiment that "we look for the future of our country." A fine prospect, indeed, for the poor! One square meal on one day in the year while they are plucked on the other 364 days by capitalist gourmands of the Hanna stripe!

The government and capitalist class of Hungary are greatly disturbed over a depletion of the population by emigration, which is assuming such alarming proportions that they are talking of special legislation to prevent the slaves getting away. A country without slaves to do the work is of no earthly use to the capitalist class. People are of no account to capitalists so long as they remain contented, but when they get rest-

less and begin to move out, the labor-skinners begin to howl.

Mrs. Perry Widdrington, an English Fabian who spoke in Chicago last week, doubtless had a good line on the Socialist movement in Great Britain when she said: "Inertia is the hardest thing the friends of Socialism in England have to face. Another bane is the too great loyalty of trades-unionists to old leaders. Some of the latter should be got rid of in order that the more up-to-date union men may throw their influence with the Socialist party."

"All of the people enjoyed an unusually happy Christmas as a result of the unprecedented prosperity of the past year," the capitalist papers tell us. But during Christmas week Judge Tuthill of Chicago had a dozen helpless and homeless children before him—drifting and superfluous children, who had no Christmas and whom prosperity never touched.

The real cause for the continuance of old parties and the multiplying of new ones on all sorts of issues and palliatives that will not seriously embarrass the capitalist system is a lack of understanding of the real issue. When the class struggle is comprehended, men will get together in a Socialist party for the settlement of the economic problem.

While a salute was being fired and taps were sounded over the body of Rhinehart Grupp at Washington, the other day, his mother and six dependent children in Chicago were suffering for food and clothing. Grupp was a victim of the Maine explosion; his mother was a victim of an insane and barbarous social system.

When the old party politician tells you that this is a nation of free homes, ask him if the assertion is proved by the fact that of the population of greater New York 2,061,372 persons live in cheap and unhealthy tenements—not "flats" or "apartments," but cheap tenements. This from the report of the board of health.

The unanimous decision of three judges of the Montana Supreme court that Attorney Wellcome was guilty of the corrupt use of money in securing the election of W. A. Clark (Democrat) to the United States senate convicts said Clark of bribery, and furnishes another instance of Democratic purity!

The two most noteworthy facts at the beginning of the new year are that the milk of human kindness has been turned sour by the rattle and roar of war conducted by Christian nations, and that the Socialist movement, which is opposed to war and militarism, is spreading throughout the world.

One of the most distressed newspaper men in the country is the editor of the Republican-Democratic-Prohibition-capitalist Haverhill Gazette. It really is pitiful to see how impossible it is for the gentleman to accept the inevitable and become reconciled to the growing influence of Socialism.

THE PASSING CROWD

The legal fraternity is supposed to constitute one of the superior intellectual classes in the community, and the truth requires me to admit that its members as a rule are men (beg pardon, and women) of unusual attainments and ability. But in rubbing elbows with the Crowd I have found exceptions, the last one on Christmas day. Calling at my favorite stand for a cigar after dinner, I was introduced to Mr. —, a lawyer, and was soon engaged in discussing with him the subject of Socialism. During our brief conversation I spoke of the increasing knowledge of political economy among the people.

"Political economy!" he repeated; "Why, the people are interested more in political extravagance!"

I said to myself as I walked leisurely homeward: "Such a man, by a stretch of charity, may know the revised statutes of Illinois or the rules of a justice's court, but he is ignorant of a subject that plenty of workingmen understand." And my respect for the workingmen rose ten points.

S. D.

In the Passing Crowd not the least important element is the children. And in the kaleidoscopic social and other changes the juvenile, like the older person, will often wonder where he is at.

"Mama," said a youngster in a West Side family the other day, "What are we now?"

"I don't understand, Frank."

"I mean—well—we used to be Presbyterians, didn't we?"

"Yes, and now—"

"Wait. Then we turned Methodists. And now we are—"

"Well, what are we?"

"Socialists!" J. H. T.

Have your card inserted in the BRANCH DIRECTORY, 25 Cents per Month. It will help you in the work in your locality.

OFFICIAL CALL

Annual Convention of the Social Democratic Party, March 6, 1900

In accordance with the action of the members in determining the time and place for the national convention of the Social Democratic party in 1900, the National Executive board of said party directs that said national convention be held at the city of Indianapolis, in the state of Indiana, for the purpose of nominating candidates for president and vice-president of the United States, to be voted for at the presidential election on Tuesday, Nov. 6, 1900, and for the transaction of such other business as may properly come before it, and that said convention shall assemble at 10 o'clock in the forenoon on Tuesday, the 6th day of March, 1900.

The representation at said convention will be by delegates, chosen in accordance with the referendum vote of the members and reported in this number of The Herald, as follows:

First—Each branch shall be entitled to as many representatives as the individual members thereof in good standing may select for that purpose; provided, that each representative shall be entitled to one (1) vote for each member whose signature is attached to his credential; and provided further, that no member shall have his signature attached to more than one credential.

Second—Branches not sending their own representatives may select those of other branches of the same state to represent them; provided, that in each such case the representative shall hold the proper credential with the signatures of members attached as herein provided.

Third—No member shall be qualified to serve as representative or entitled to representation who has not been a member of the party at least thirty (30) days prior to the opening day of the convention.

Fourth—All signatures of members attached to credentials shall be certified to by the chairman or secretary of their respective branches.

Fifth—The national secretary shall furnish each branch with a sufficient number of blank credentials for the purpose herein specified.

With the hope that the deliberations and action of this convention, an event of historic importance in the development of Socialism in the United States, may redound to the credit of the delegates and the glory of our cause, fraternally
Jesse Co., Chairman.

Seymour Stedman, Secretary.

Abolish it Altogether

The country has had prosperity; is having it yet. It is actual, not fancied. But what sort of an age are we living in, and what sort of an industrial system are we working under, that prosperity should mean adversity, and that every brief season of national welfare must beget its tragic reaction?

It is easy to blame the recklessness of the speculators and gamblers. It is easy to say that the unusual crash was caused by the folly of an unusual number of people who got drunk on the "good times" and plunged, and that they had no business to do it, and deserved their punishment. But what of the innocent depositors who will lose their money in the banks that failed, and what of the wives and children of the speculators on the wrong side of the market, who have been reduced to penury and want through no fault of theirs?

Must a season of prosperity always mean a speculative riot, with wasted capital and misdirected credit? Must public welfare always have its victims? Must the brief, unstable well-being of the many always demand the sacrifice of a few? Perhaps so; but recent occurrences in Wall street are almost enough to shake the confidence of the complacent philosophers who hold that the existing industrial and social orders can't be improved.—Chicago Journal.

On the second day of last July the National City Bank of New York bought from the government, through the treasury department, the old United States custom house property on Wall street, the purchase price being \$3,265,000. A certified check for the amount was delivered to Secretary Gage. Soon after the check was returned to the same bank for collection, and the money, which was for property supposed to belong to the people, has never been covered into the United States treasury, but has remained in the hands of the bank. This statement comes from the New York World. Furthermore, besides having the use for loaning purposes of \$3,265,000, the National City bank has for a half year collected rent for the building from the government. The bank has thus cleared on this bold transaction—up to Dec. 28—6 per cent on the purchase price of the property, \$66,337, and 4 per cent rental, \$130,600. And this was a present, if the story is true, from Mr. Gage at the expense of the people. This is the sort of government the reformers want to mend. But there is no cure for it; it cannot be mended; it must be ended as Socialists propose.

Subscribers will find their expiration number on wrapper. Prompt renewal is requested.

Monmouth, Ill	January	6, 1900
Muscatine, Iowa	"	8, "0
Sioux City, Iowa	"	10, "0
Omaha, Neb	"	11, "0
Piattsmouth, Neb	"	12, "0
St. Joseph, Mo	"	13, "0
Kansas City, Mo	"	14, "0

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

VOL. II. No. 30.

CHICAGO, ILL., U.S.A., SATURDAY, JANUARY 13, 1900.

Whole No. 80.

MERLIN'S MIXTURE

Democracy!

A recent paper, in speaking of the candidacy of Woodruff for the vice presidency, says: "The only man who can turn down the lieutenant governor by a word is Senator Thomas C. Platt, and he has now announced that he is in favor of the lieutenant governor's nomination."

And yet we patriotic paupers boast of the triumphant march of American democracy! The present president, who at least prevents the office from being declared legally vacant, was elected by the permission of Mark Hanna. And now, forsooth, we must have foisted upon us as vice president a man whose chief claim to office lies in the fact that he is a convenient screw in Platt's political machine.

Government and election "by the people" has become a fictitious sham when one man can turn down or turn up a candidate for highest office. And yet so long as we allow the rich few to own and operate the industrial machine of production we must expect them to run the political machine to suit themselves. When the people own the machine of production, they will run the machine of politics as well.

Practical Piety.

There is a sensible parson down in Marinette, Wis. During the Christmas service in his church he happened to see a sneak thief carrying a number of presents from the parsonage. Throwing off his vestments, he darted out of the church, caught the thief, placed him in custody, and, returning to the church, finished the service. Had he been true to custom and to creed, he would probably have fervently prayed that the evil designs of the ungodly might be brought to naught. But true to common sense, he stopped praying, and did a little energetic hustling himself.

Those of us who are poor and pious, and who see industrial exploiters stripping our homes, would do well to follow this preacher's example. So long as we pray, and only pray, they will prey, and only prey. But when we recognize the fact that God is not the big policeman of this world, and when, as Socialists, we bestir ourselves to political action in our own interest, we shall drive off the capitalist exploiters from our homes. Prayer has its place, but it won't catch thieves or change systems. Politics will.

A Christmas Shake.

A curious incident happened at Fort Hamilton during Christmas week. A private stationed there wished another private, a friend of his, a merry Christmas. So hearty was his salutation and shake that his friend's vertebra was broken, and he died soon after.

When I read of it I could not but think how similar was Capital's Christmas greeting to Labor. We have heard, times beyond number, the assertion of professed friendship of the employer for the employee. Especially at election time these assertions have been particularly fervid.

But now, after the spasmodic boom of Christmas trade, the department stores have given a "shake" to many of their employees that will break their financial necks. In the evolution of mechanical skill the factories are giving "shakes" to their workers that will result fatally. And by the formation of trusts and combines capital is giving a Christmas "shake" to whole communities.

My friends, if our political backbones were a bit stronger we could shake the shaker. An S. D. P. branch room is a good gymnasium in which to get a strong Socialist backbone. Try it.

A Sermonic Stickler.

A Methodist minister of Sullivan county, N. Y., has made a new use of the phonograph. Finding it very wearisome to get up a special sermon for all the numerous weddings he is called on to solemnize, he talked into a funnel the best discourse on marriage he could devise, and had it recorded on a phonograph. So now he simply winds up the thing and lets it do the rest.

An expansion of this method will make some of the brethren of the cloth realize their affinity with the proletariat. By and by these mechanical parsons will be used to record the sermons of the best preachers, and to repeat them to innumerable audiences. Why not? A good sermon from a phonograph is better than a poor one from a live parson.

They are so much cheaper that they will surely commend themselves to poor congregations, who at present are only able to pay for a long coat and white shirt with any kind of a man thrown in.

And the fact that they can be shut up on all matters pertaining to Socialistic reform will certainly make them acceptable to rich congregations. Look to your underpinning, my brethren, and get ready to shift!

A Prosperity of Promises.

In a Grafton factory the workers were recently promised a raise of 10 per cent. News of the promised raise was given to the press, who used to bolster up the weak-kneed structure of Republican prosperity. It was hailed as a premonitory splash as labor prepared to take a dip in the limpid pool of affluence.

But when the appointed day came the promise was unfulfilled. In the words of Bill Snooks:

They were promised a raise;
And promising pays,
For public opinion was won;
But when the time came,
Their pay was the same,
And so the poor duffers got none.

It is but one of many instances. Every now and again we see in large type the news of a proposed raise in wages. Every time a cotton manufacturer pays his women slaves \$4.02 a week, instead of \$3.87, it is used as an argument for the beneficence of the Republican administration.

The public hears nothing of the \$12.00 of actual earnings that the factory workers do not get! It is the beneficence of the thief who robs his victim and kindly gives him back his copper change!

Cold Christian Comfort.

The pastor of a prominent Boston church recently received a letter from an outcast woman, in which she expressed her desire to live a better life, and asking the assistance of his church. The following Sunday he made it the subject of his sermon. In dealing with the girl's request for help he advised her to go to Jesus, who would help her to reform.

This bit of hackneyed advice is the church's cheapest way of escaping its Christian obligation. One can imagine the degree of comfort the poor girl would derive from such an answer to her pitiful appeal. However good theological advice it may have been, it could not have supplied the girl's pressing material needs.

These outcast women will never be rescued from their sin and sorrow until Socialism gives them an open path back to virtue. Industrial injustice is at the root of all social sin, and not till it is removed shall virtue be universally possible. Shallow theologians may give cheap advice, but only the deep-reaching influence of Socialism will give the outcast help, hope and health.

Merlin.

SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

(Continued from Fifth Column of this Page)

chief rival as the free lance of the middle ages passed from the military service of one lord to that of his enemy. The growth of machine production and overproduction conspire to render more and more of the workers superfluous. Thus develops the "reserve army" of modern industry, the out-of-work. Their forlorn condition, however, excites little sympathy from the employing class, for their constant presence renders it easy to fill vacancies occurring in the ranks of the employed through deaths or strikes. (Modern strikes very commonly fail because of the rush of unemployed to seize the vacant places.) Again, the constant competition of the unemployed for employment tends to hold wages at a level which will barely maintain life. The reserve army thus operates as an ever-present police force, holding the employed in strict subjection, and as a dead weight to prevent the material rise of wages.

With the steady extension of the franchise, however, toward universal suffrage, the working class becomes potentially the ruling class. Its own sufferings, the failure of the owners of industry to administer their trust in the public interest, and the absurdity in a republic of a system in which the small minority own the industrial system, while the vast majority own little or nothing, and sit like Lazarus at the gate of Dives, whom they might at any general election expropriate, all conspire to bring about the great change contemplated by Socialism. The workers gradually assume political power, make the monopolies and trusts public rather than private institutions, bring the employees of these industries under civil service rules, so shorten the hours of labor that the unemployed may find employment, reduce prices in the interest of consumers and raise wages in the interest of workers until profit disappears, and the opportunity is at last afforded "for the complete participation of the working classes in the material, intellectual and spiritual inheritance of the human race."

The Herald Leaflets are good for propaganda at 25 cents per hundred copies.

OUT OF THE MOUTHS OF BABES COMETH WISDOM

The last of the visitors had departed and the long night-watch began. Alone in the small, dreary room, the father was left with his dead child. A dim-burning lamp feebly illuminated the desolate scene. Only a small oaken coffin, only a little dead child, and yet those thin, closed hands and tiny, wasted face were all the treasure which remained in the world to the bereaved man, who cowered down, crushed, as it were, by a surcharge of sorrow. Of all the dreams of happiness which had for a moment lit the dark path of life, this was the last hope; for he was only a poor, hard-working toiler, one of those unfortunate creatures on whom rests the whole accumulated weight of the world's burden. A short, sad childhood, spent in a vain endeavor to at once acquire an education and help maintain a large family of small brothers and sisters; a cheerless youth spent in the grime and dreariness of factory walls; few pleasures, much toil, stilled ambitions, monotony and fatigue—such had been his lot until this poor child had at last brought into the poor stilted life one ray of a human heaven. When the father would come back in the evening, harassed by the long day of labor, and the little feet would come toddling out, the small arms clasp his neck and the pretty eyes smile lovingly into his, everything would vanish—pain, anxiety, weariness; a joy divine would flood his heart and for a time it was good to live.

And now the child was dead—anemia, the doctor said, but the bare walls, the empty room, the miserable surroundings, gave another and more terrible diagnosis—one that physicians rarely dare to give.

The hours passed, silent as death. To one who could have seen the sad picture it would have been difficult to say who, of the dead child or prostrate man, was the most statue-like and immovable. The living seemed dead, and the dead living, so peaceful and natural was the smile of happy slumber which rested on the sweet, childish lips. Lost in a stupor of grief, the father had become insensible even to his own sorrow; he was conscious of nothing save that small, beloved face, now so still. He closed his eyes and yet he saw it, even plainer than before; he knew it would be with him forever.

Suddenly he was seized with a strange tremor; some unknown power seemed to have taken possession of him. He opened his eyes, and lo! there before him, in a halo of light, stood the dear little figure, just as in life, with dimpled cheek and rippling hair; his arms were outstretched, and although the sweet, childish expression still lingered on his visage, there was a light upon it which had never been there before.

"Why do you weep, father?" the vision said. "Is it because I have died? It was your fault."

"My fault!" cried the man, forgetting his sorrow in his astonishment.

"Your fault," repeated the little one.

"But, my beloved child, were you not my only care, my only joy? Were you not the object of my every solicitude? How can it be my fault?"

"Then why did I die?" again said the small visitor.

"O, my child, the winter was long, the bread was scarce, the fever rapid and money rare!"

"Who took all the money, father?"

"The rich man who employed me."

"Who took the bread so that I hungered and sickened?"

"The rich man who refused me work, my child."

"Who took away the light and the heat, so that I trembled and was cold?"

"The rich man for whom I dug the coal."

"Why did he do this, father? Was it that I should die and leave you alone?"

"Alas, no, my child; but that his own should be well, comfortable and happy."

"Why should these things be, father? Tell me."

"Because something is wrong in the world, and we are all miserable creatures."

"If something was wrong, why did you not right it and save me, father?"

"Because I did not know, my child."

The vision seemed to move nearer, the eyes began to glow and the whole figure seemed to gain a new meaning as it said:

"Father, did you every try to know?"

* * *

The dawn crept slowly into the room; the first rays of the sun flashed upon the tiny bier and the crouching figure beside it. The man started and opened his eyes. His first glance fell upon the small figure lying so still, illuminated and glorified by the morning sunbeams. And the father rose to his feet. A light had come into his tired features,

despair had vanished, a resolution had come.

"I have not lost all," he said; "I still have something to live for. Nemo.

PROGRESS AT LOS ANGELES

Social Democrats have every reason to be satisfied with the progress made in Los Angeles during the past six months. Unceasing effort, a clear-sighted policy, an undivided determination to advance the cause of Socialism, have been marked by a growth of sentiment in favor of co-operation hitherto unknown in southern California.

To begin with, our comrades have increased the circulation of the Appeal to Reason from a few score of subscribers to over 700, and they are now working like beavers to raise that again to 1,500. J. A. Wayland has a warm place in our hearts, and this is our way of showing our appreciation of his inestimable services to the cause. Incidentally we are trying to secure the brass band he has promised to the city with the largest circulation when the Appeal reaches the 75,000 mark.

Again, while others were wondering how it was to be done, Eugene V. Debs had come, gone and left a city of 125,000 astounded at the fact that it contained so many Socialists. This visit was marked by three great meetings attended by thousands, one being a religious service at which two bishops and many ministers were present. With the financial aid of Comrade H. G. Wilshire and the trades unions all this had been successfully carried through by a handful of Social Democrats.

Barring Christmas and New Year's eve, propaganda meetings have been held every Sunday evening since Aug. 20. These have been addressed by able speakers and have been the cause of many an article in the daily press. A pleasing incident marked the last day of the old year. In place of the regular Sunday propaganda meeting, on the invitation of the trustees and deacons of the Memorial Baptist church, the members of the branch attended service there to hear a special sermon by the Rev. Charles C. Pierce, formerly of Chelsea, Mass., on "Three Thoughts for the Dawning Century." This proved a rare treat, as it was a masterly defense of co-operation from an earnest and fearless advocate of Socialism.

For the present year we are mapping out elaborate plans, and no stone will be left unturned which may help to advance the cause of Socialism and the principles of Social Democracy.

James T. Van Rensselaer.

NEW ETHICS AT CHICAGO

The new president of Yale university has clearly the courage of his convictions—or else he has been put in touch with the diplomatic procedure which the University of Chicago has adopted since the case of Bemis.

To the unobservant it might seem the height of audacity, not to say insolence, for an invited speaker at a University of Chicago convocation to preach a new and higher code of business ethics—"a system which shall treat the director as having moral responsibilities to his stockholders, to his workmen and to the consumers that purchase his goods or his services." Does not the University of Chicago annually celebrate on Founder's day a man who has failed at two out of three of these ethical points? Is it not now clinging to a promise of \$2,000,000 more from John D. Rockefeller, who has violated every ethical principle that business relations could raise? The head of the Standard Oil company has been loyal to his stockholders—when his interest as a greater stockholder demanded it. But as for his workmen and the consumers of his product, he has regarded them but as so many lemons to be squeezed, so many mines to be worked until the vein is exhausted, then left to oblivion.—Chicago Journal.

ECONOMIC EVOLUTION

With civil and religious rights attained, there is the strange fact that the people are coming under the new bondage of money and business trusts; the profits of these are largely shared by the few who control the natural sources of wealth and are amassing fabulous fortunes; they own the mines, the forests, the lands, the machinery, and control transportation; are corrupting politics and legislation and weakening the integrity of nations. These combinations are steps in economic evolution; ugly forms of an ultimate good; cold, selfish, cruel often, but they must all be tried and judged in the court of the world's coming conscience. In some way justice must come to all.—Dr. H. W. Thomas, Chicago.

If you ordered the "Pocket Library of Socialism," complete, you would pay for it 50 cents cash. These booklets are all good, uniform in size and just what you would buy if you could see them.

SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

By Thomas Kirkup

The founders of scientific Socialism are Karl Marx (1818-1883), Friedrich Engels (1822-1895), and Ferdinand Lassalle (1825-1864). Of these Marx was the economist and philosopher, and Lassalle the orator, while Engels, a wealthy manufacturer, furnished a shelter for Marx in exile, popularized his teachings and aided him in his propaganda. The leading doctrines of Socialism stated by Thomas Kirkup (see Marx, Capital, 1867) are the following:

Society is an organism subject to evolution. At each stage of its growth it develops institutions suitable for its present needs. Of these the economic are the basis; upon them rest all others, political, religious, educational, social, domestic, etc. As society passes from one stage of development to another it outgrows many of its old institutions and casts them off exactly as a snake outgrows and casts off its skin. This Roman slavery gave place to medieval serfdom, which in turn was superseded by modern wage service. Leading features of the present industrial system are private property in the means of wealth production—i. e., productive land and capital. These are owned by a comparatively few individuals, companies and corporations, while the labor upon and with them is performed by the majority of the population organized and co-operating as wage-earners. Production has thus become social rather than individual. Production is conducted not for the good of the workers, nor of the community, but for the enrichment of the owners of the land and capital. Their wealth is obtained by the systematic defrauding or "exploiting" of the laborers, who, it is held, produce all wealth, but are paid the "wages of subsistence"—i. e., just enough to maintain them and their families (better, are hired as cheaply as possible)—the balance or "surplus" of their product passing as "profit" to capitalist employers, who thus, in cases, amass millions. Social production is thus accompanied by individual "capitalistic" appropriation. Goods are produced not primarily for use, but for sale. The capitalist producers being rivals rather than co-workers, each seeks not to produce simply his fair share of the total supply demanded, but to capture as much of the market as possible. Production is thus without pain. That each may increase his sales he offers his goods as cheaply as possible; but that profits may not fall, the goods are adulterated; "shoddy" triumphs over solid worth; cheapness means " nastiness." To get rich faster, capitalist employers utilize steam and electricity and more and more highly improved machinery; thus comes the "expansion of industry" and vast production; this soon means "overproduction"; for the masses, too poor to buy much, even of the cheap goods, suffer because of "under-consumption," while the wants of the wealthy in a given line are soon satisfied. A plethora of goods soon cumber the shelves and warehouses of producers. The result is a "glut." His goods being unsalable, bills on falling due cannot be met by the producer. He fails. His unpaid creditors now fail. Their fall drags down others. The result is a panic. Production stops, workers are discharged and thrown upon the community as tramps and pensioners. The unsold goods are now sold out under the hammer for what they will bring. Thus the glut is cleared away. When the existing stock of goods is consumed demand again springs up, workers are slowly re-employed, mills start, "confidence" grows, production develops into overproduction and the glut recurs, to be followed again by the panic. Thus cycles of good and bad times appear; their term shortens, the tendency being toward a chronic glut and continued stringency. To protect themselves against the Frankenstein they have aroused rival capitalists gradually combine their interests into fewer and fewer, but continually vaster, organizations, known today as "trusts." These make possible marked economies in production and further lowering of prices. Production thus becomes more highly organized and more truly social, but its management is monarchical, the few in the trust controlling wealth and wielding power far superior often to that of kings.

Among the chief sufferers from this system of planless production, overproduction, gluts and panics are the workers. Their position is wretchedly insecure. They are usually employed at will and subject to discharge at short notice. They have no interest in the business in which they are employed and may pass from it to the service of its

(Continued in Second Column of this Page)

Social Democratic Herald

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board
JESSE COX. Chairman
SEYMOUR STEDMAN. Secretary
EUGENE V. DEBS **VICTOR L. BERGER**
FREDERIC HEATH

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, 50 cents. Six months, 25 cents. No papers sent to any one on credit. If, without having subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and no bill will follow. Foreign subscriptions \$1.00.

Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

A. S. EDWARDS, Editor
THEODORE DEBS, National Sec'y-Treas.
126 Washington St., Chicago.

80 is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 81 your subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, JAN. 13, 1900.

THE CHURCH AND THE PROBLEM

The Herald has received from the Rev. Charles H. Vail, author of "Principles of Scientific Socialism," an article on "The Church from an Economic Standpoint," with a request for its publication in this paper. The article was written for the Universalist Leader, one of the official publications of the Universalist church, and printed at Boston, Mass. For reasons which are understood by Socialists the Leader declined the article, and in a note to The Herald Comrade Vail says: "I hardly thought they would dare publish it, but was determined to give them an opportunity to refuse. Their refusal but again illustrates what we all know—that the church is subservient to wealth and power. It dare not take a stand for humanity."

The Universalist church has always boasted of its breadth and liberality and denounced all others for their narrowness and bigotry. Split into hundreds of sects and parties on the subject of religion, the church is one in its subservience to wealth. Divided into warring camps on the subject of Christ and His religion, they are united in the support and defense of the capitalist class—the ravagers of the world.

We gladly comply with Comrade Vail's request, and in order that all readers of The Herald may have an opportunity to aid in giving it a wide circulation, notice is given that his article will appear in the next number of this paper. All orders for extra copies, which will be filled at the regular bundle rate (100 copies, 65 cents), must reach the office not later than Wednesday, Jan. 17.

THE OUTLOOK

The outlook is bright and clear, though the difficulties in the way and to be overcome are as great as the field is broad. From Maine to California, and from the Gulf of Mexico to the North Pole, every Socialist should feel his responsibility. Our cause is just and must ultimately win. This is 1900, and it is the duty of every Socialist to fall into a solid phalanx one million strong, cast the glove into the ring, and with stentorian voice give to the capitalist class a dose of their own medicine. "What are you going to do about it?" We are just beginning to understand the magnitude of our duties, and we stand before the appointed task determined to discharge our responsibilities. The supreme need is that we keep ourselves vitalized by a fresh and absorbing zeal and aroused to grasp the meaning of our opportunities and consequent responsibilities. The harvest is great and the workers are few. We have now entered upon an advanced stage of activity in our educational work, in which collective ownership and operation of all the means of production and distribution for the benefit of all the people will be the only leader in the adjustment of the relations of mankind and the building up of better conditions under which every man, woman and child will be well fed, clothed, sheltered and educated, and suitable provision made for the aged and infirm.

The economic and indefeasible right of Socialism is now forever established for the relief of humanity's wants and woes, by living with all men as brethren. Organizations are but means to an end. The most important thing is to submit our principles to the people, thus opening their eyes, hearts and understandings, by reason and persuasion, to convince them that our doctrines are sound.

A king of Sparta, 880 years before Christ, pointing to his army of 10,000 men, said: "These are the walls of Sparta, and every man is a brick." Our Sparta is Socialism, and we trust the Social Democratic party will be a wall of living men around it, and that every member of the party will be a brick. Every Socialist can help on this great world's work more than he has any idea of, with the perseverance to go on to the end as the great Socialist teachers Marx, Engels, Lassalle and others did until death. True, such a life is not easy, but it is well worth living.

Have your card inserted in the **BRANCH DIRECTORY**, 25 Cents per Month. It will help you in the work in your locality.

THE WONDERFUL CENTURY

Social Democrats believe that the solution of the industrial and social problem is to be found, and is only to be found, in the logical evolution of the idea that production and distribution of wealth shall be carried on by a union of the people for the common welfare. They believe that this idea has always logically involved, when the time should be ripe, the socialization of the means of production—that is, of the land and of capital. Socialists believe, further, that such a readjustment of the industrial and economic relations of men is essential as a condition precedent to the attainment of a civilized society illustrating brotherly relations about which preachers preach and moralists moralize. The eventual realization of such a state of affairs has been the dream of humanity. The average normal man, whether he has or has not given one moment's thought to the subject of Socialism, acknowledges that if instead of contending with one another for the means of livelihood, human beings could only be induced to unite their powers to secure the common welfare, the world would not only be a great deal better and a great deal happier, but a great deal richer than it ever has been.

The practical obstacles to such a change at any period in the history of mankind have, however, been insuperable. These obstacles have inhere in the existing conditions and institutions of each period. But Socialists contend that under the stress and influence of economic evolution these conditions and institutions have been so changed and are so changing as to render not only possible, but in the near future inevitable and necessary, a transformation of society which a century ago it would have been chimerical to expect within any calculable period. The century has been marked by extraordinary progress in every line of human endeavor, surpassing not merely any preceding century, but all the centuries put together. Alfred Russell Wallace, the well-known scientist and Socialist, holds that "to get any adequate comparison with the nineteenth century we must take, not any preceding century or group of centuries, but rather the whole preceding epoch of human history." It has, indeed, been "the wonderful century." Note a few of the great inventions and discoveries entitling it to that designation: Railways, steamships, electric telegraph, telephone, lucifer matches, gas illumination, electric lighting, photography, the phonograph, Roentgen rays, printers' linotype machine, spectrum analysis, anesthetics, antiseptic surgery, conservation of energy, molecular theory of gases, velocity of light directly measured, meteors and the meteoritic theory, the glacial epoch, the antiquity of man, organic evolution, cell theory and embryology, germ theory of disease. All preceding ages in the world's history cannot match this marvelous showing for a single century.

Socialists declare that it is not only impossible, but illogical and opposed alike to reason and to progress, that the travail of the nineteenth century will count for nothing better than the perpetuation of a system of private profit-mongering and the continued degradation of the masses of the people through the mastery of the means of production by a class. They are convinced that men now in middle age will live to see the present system give place to Socialism, which is the destined and sole possible solution of the labor problem, the social question—the only guaranty for the perpetuity of civilization.

It will be clear enough to the thoughtful mind from what has been said, that Socialists do not base their confidence altogether upon any overweening faith in their propaganda. Their efforts are along educational lines, and no such effective educational work as organized Socialist bodies are doing is discoverable elsewhere. It is not in the power of Socialists to make a revolution for which society is not ready. Neither will it be in the power of the capitalist class to prevent a revolution when the time is ripe. And the time is ripening; the capitalist system is destroying itself—it contains within itself the germs of its own destruction. The organized propaganda of the Socialists is important and should be even more effectively maintained than it now is, but where Socialists make one convert the logic of events and the speechless propaganda of the machine that never tires, never hungers, never sleeps and never strikes, makes a thousand. The avowed Socialist who has taken his place in the vanguard and proclaims the new economy and the new ethic, brings down upon his head the anathemas of the thoughtless and the beneficiaries of capitalism, but he can wait serene and confident in the assurance that capitalist industry is doomed, as feudalism was before it, and that in its development and its decay the millions are prepared to wrest from the clutch of a class the political power of government and the productive power of society.

The greatest industrial revolution in history was started when the laboring masses of the world were divorced from the means of gaining a livelihood and became the dependent wage slaves of a class; it is still here; we are in it, all of us powerless to arrest the tendency to even greater combinations of capital than we have yet known. It is in vain that men hold conferences to cry down

the trusts; the operation of economic laws cannot be stayed by reformers' resolutions or the fulminations of political demagogues. No "be it enacted" can seriously hinder the historical revolution upon which we have entered, and many of us, sooner than the "statesmen" who are attempting to flag the train with their puny palliatives suppose, will have the privilege and the joy of witnessing its climax.

NOTES AND COMMENT

The Belgian electoral reform bill, which was passed by the chamber at Brussels, for the first time in parliamentary history introduces the system of proportional representation. Under this system Brussels, where there were at the last elections 90,000 Roman Catholic voters, 30,000 liberals, 50,000 radicals and 70,000 Socialists, would return seven Roman Catholic deputies, six liberals and five Socialists, while now all the members for Brussels belong to the Roman Catholic or clerical party. In future election by a clear majority will be possible only in the case of by-elections, but even in such cases the new reform bill provides that in every general election the voters should elect on the proportional system not only the members for the vacant seats, but also a number of substitutes, not exceeding one-half of the elected members, to take places that may be vacated before the next general election occurs.

Edward Wunch, a linotype machinist, formerly employed in the composing-room of a Buffalo evening paper, who brought suit several months ago against David Shankland, as president of Typographical Union No. 9 of that city, to recover damages for alleged conspiracy in forcing him out of his position because he refused to take out a card in the Typographical union, was given a verdict of \$650 in the Supreme court. The Typographical union is up against a hard proposition. What will the union do when one operator runs a dozen machines? Is the complete elimination of the flesh and blood man necessary to convince the union of the industrial revolution?

The Southern Pacific and Santa Fe railroads have decided to expand their business. In looking over the field of their operations, they have found that they can just as well handle the fruit business as not. In pursuance of this policy of expansion they are making rates and conditions which private shippers find it impossible to accept, and the control of their products thus passes out of their hands. They can go on raising fruit, but the beneficent railroad companies will do the rest.

The committee of the Belgian chamber of deputies which has been inquiring into the question of the operation of the workmen's old-age pensions act has decided that the aged Belgian or even foreign workman who at the time of the promulgation of the law had worked the ten years required by the terms of the measure is entitled, being destitute, to state assistance. It is likely that the chamber, acting on the recommendation of the committee, will vote an annual credit of 6,000,000 francs (\$1,200,000) to carry the law into effect.

It was the only stove in the house. John Borden's wife and three young children were starving and the weather was bitter cold, but a constable took the stove to satisfy an unpaid bill contracted by John, who had been out of employment for some time. John's wife—their "home, sweet home," is at 11 Orchard street, Chicago—was ill and the police found her and the youngest babe lying on the floor. "Mid pleasures and palaces through we may roam, be it ever so humble, there's no place like Home!"

"Merlin's" suggestion for a new method of carrying the gospel to the people is an admirable one, and, in these money-making times, ought not to fail in finding a promoter who will get a monopoly on the regular Sunday discourses of half a dozen Chicago "divines." There's money in it, and the hard-worked country preacher could be given a lay-off.

A newsboy in Philadelphia was arrested and fined \$4 for selling newspapers on Sunday. This outrage was committed by the authorities under a blue law of 1794, but the capitalists of Pennsylvania who violate laws every day in the week dated a hundred years later, go free and are respectable citizens.

A committee of the Chicago city council has arranged to present a public thoroughfare to the Rock Island and Lake Shore roads. While the reformers get together to talk against the inevitable, the trusts and corporations are still able to get all they want.

Labor applied to natural resources produces all wealth. This being a whole truth, there can be no just title to wealth but a labor title, and individual gain through rent, interest, profit or dividends is theft.

In an interview at Monmouth, Ill., Comrade Debs said: "The Social Democratic party will put up a ticket, but under no conditions will I be a candi-

date for the presidency or any other office."

The attention of the trust smashers is called to the fact that the Standard Oil company has just absorbed the business of the Mineral Oil company of Pottsville, Pa.

We will furnish ten copies of James B. Smiley's book, "To What Are Trusts Leading?" for \$1. It is a sixty-four page pamphlet and is good for propaganda.

Five thousand three hundred and forty suicides in 1899 in the United States testify to the wonderful effects of prosperity on the population.

M. Vandervelde, the Socialist leader of Belgium, owing to overwork, will take a vacation, which will be passed in Corsica.

MUSINGS

By M. Winchevsky

The closing year of the nineteenth century finds America and Europe wading knee-deep in blood in Asia and Africa respectively. And it is the liberty-loving Anglo-Saxon race which is doing the slaying in both cases. It is a pitiful spectacle, which makes one wonder whether Anglo-Saxon would not just now be a more appropriate designation.

There is, however, this consolation, that while the two elder branches of the family are thus employed, young Australia is steadily clearing the way for incoming equality.

Some folks stand so firmly on their principles that the poor things find themselves trampled under foot.

They say the enthusiasm evoked by the proclamation of unity among the various groups of French Socialists was simply indescribable. What a thrill of joy the great news sent through our hearts! And yet there are those among us who, when they discuss the same thing with regard to the state of affairs in this country, would, under one pretext or another, turn a deaf ear to the most eloquent pleadings for unity. It is for their benefit that the following verses from James Russell Lowell's Bigelow papers are here paraphrased:

I du believe in Union's cause
Ex fur away or Ex fur is;
Fer them it's right the ranks to close
Agin' the sharks an' Phayrisees;
It's wal enough fer folks that cling
To fights, while full o' thank'ees,
But Union is the kind o' thing
That don't agree with Yankee.

I du believe the people want
A party that's united;
That nothin' ain't extravagant,
Purvidin' I ain't alighted.
There sartainly shud be a plan
The leaders could agree on,
An' never mind that dear old man
That calls hisself De Leon.

I du believe it's wise an' good
To talk o' strength in unity,
O' universal brotherhood
With bliss in each community;
To tell the workers o' all lands:
Unite fer your salvation!
But party strife, ex it now stands,
Must be a reservation.

I du believe in tolerance,
In treatin' men ez brothers,
Purvidin' it is left to France,
To foreigners an' others;
For tolerance ain't made fer use,
Nor all fer love our heart is;
We need, our doctrine to diffuse,
A dozen wranglin' parties.

I du believe in harmony
To preach here to the masses,
An' practise it in Germany.
Among the workin' classes;
It's wal to send them cheerin' notes
An' in their work to guide 'em,
But here we have to gather votes
An', bein' few, divide 'em.

In short, I firmly du believe
In bein' many-sided;
O'er spits in other lands to grieve,
Remainin' here divided.
Fraternity is wal enough
For Christmas distribution,
But it ain't wuth a pinch o' snuff
Outside the constitution.

There is trouble ahead in the Bay State. Brockton has taken Haverhill down a peg or two. Now they say Newburyport has designs on Brockton, while little Rockland, jealously watched by Lynn, is only waiting to grow into a city to take the pride out of Newburyport. The situation is becoming very grave around the serene and calm Hub of the universe. The time may come when that impregnable fortress of stick-in-the-mud respectability will get a shake-up, but that is another story.

A happy new year to every one in the country, and outside of it.

M. Winchevsky.

Count Leo Tolstoy has written a letter to Mr. Ernest Crosby with reference to his new book of verse, "Plain Talk in Psalm and Parable" (Small, Maynard & Co., Boston), in which he announces his intention of having it translated in part into Russian, as follows:

"I like the book very, very much. Some of the pieces—the choice is difficult, because all are very good—I will have translated into Russian and published. There is nothing more new and interesting than the most common subjects looked at from a Christian point of view, and that is what you are doing in your book, and doing with talent and sincerity."

Subscribers will find their expiration number on wrapper. Prompt renewal is requested.

OFFICIAL CALL

Annual Convention of the Social Democratic Party, March 6, 1900

In accordance with the action of the members in determining the time and place for the national convention of the Social Democratic party in 1900, the National Executive board of said party directs that said national convention be held at the city of Indianapolis, in the state of Indiana, for the purpose of nominating candidates for president and vice-president of the United States, to be voted for at the presidential election on Tuesday, Nov. 6, 1900, and for the transaction of such other business as may properly come before it, and that said convention shall assemble at 10 o'clock in the forenoon on Tuesday, the 6th day of March, 1900.

The representation at said convention will be by delegates, chosen in accordance with the referendary vote of the members and reported in this number of The Herald, as follows:

First—Each branch shall be entitled to as many representatives as the individual members thereof in good standing may select for that purpose; provided, that each representative shall be entitled to one (1) vote for each member whose signature is attached to his credential; and provided further, that no member shall have his signature attached to more than one credential.

Second—Branches not sending their own representatives may select those of other branches of the same state to represent them; provided, that in each such case the representative shall hold the proper credential with the signatures of members attached as herein provided.

Third—No member shall be qualified to serve as representative or entitled to representation who has not been a member of the party at least thirty (30) days prior to the opening day of the convention.

Fourth—All signatures of members attached to credentials shall be certified to by the chairman or secretary of their respective branches.

Fifth—The national secretary shall furnish each branch with a sufficient number of blank credentials for the purpose herein specified.

With the hope that the deliberations and action of this convention, an event of historic importance in the development of Socialism in the United States, may redound to the credit of the delegates and the glory of our cause, fraternally
Jesse Cox, Chairman.
Seymour Stedman, Secretary.

CALL

For Mass Convention Twelfth Congressional District of Massachusetts

All members or sympathizers of the S. D. P. of this district are invited to attend a mass convention to be held in Socialist hall, corner Main and Center streets, Brockton, on Sunday, Jan. 14, 1900, at 10 a. m., to formulate some plan to organize the towns of this district where there is at present no organization; also to nominate a district committee and to take any action which may be in the interest of the S. D. P.

This convention is called by vote of the Whitman branch.

Remember, this invitation includes YOU. Do not fail to attend.

Charles E. Lowell,
Ch'm'n Whitman Branch 13, S. D. P.

DUES AND REPRESENTATION

We feel called upon to give notice betimes that only branches in good standing will be entitled to representation at the approaching national convention, and that only members in good standing will be entitled to sign the credentials of delegates.

The convention meets at Indianapolis, Ind., on Tuesday, March 6, 1900, and to be entitled to representation the dues of a branch must be paid in full to and including the quarter ending March 31; and the same is true of individual members. No member is qualified to sign the credentials of a delegate unless his dues are paid during the same period. This is the rule agreed to by the party, and in the examination of credentials it will be the duty of the committee to see that it is enforced and that the credential of any branch not in good standing be rejected and the name of any member not in good standing be stricken from the credential.

It has also been provided that no branch or member shall be entitled to representation unless admitted at least thirty days prior to the opening of the convention. The opening day being March 6, the last day of grace is the 4th day of February. Branches instituted and members admitted after this date will not be entitled to representation. This should be clearly understood that there may be no unnecessary expense incurred in sending delegates not entitled to seats.

A large number of points declare that they are "about ready to organize," and a great number of persons say they are about ready to join. If they would be represented in the most historic convention ever held in the United States they should bear the 4th day of February in mind and come in before that date.

AMONG THE BRANCHES

Notions of Branch Meetings inserted for 20 months.

CALIFORNIA
Liberty Branch (San Francisco) of the Social Democratic Party holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evenings, commencing at 8 p. m. Admission free.
Educational meetings (for members) every Tuesday evening. Sociology, Economics, Public Speaking, etc.
Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening.
Membership in this branch, with advantages of Educational Course and Social Democratic Herald free to each member, 25 cents per month.
Apply to the Secretary, John Wesley, 117 Turk street, San Francisco.
Branch No. 3, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock in Woodmen's Hall, 1245 S. Spring st. W. Young, President. C. C. Ford, Vice-President. L. Osgood, Treasurer. J. Franco, 700 Dayton av., Secretary.

CONNECTICUT
Branch 3 (Conn.), New Haven, meets 1st and 3rd Tuesday in the month, at 196 State Street, at 8 p. m. Secretary Cornelius Mahoney, 166 Frank St.
All readers of Social Democratic Herald are invited to attend meetings.
Branch No. 4, Rockyville, Conn., meets first and third Thursdays at Turn Hall meeting room, Village street. Secretary, Richard Niederwieser, Box 760.

ILLINOIS
Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly, second and fourth Wednesdays of each month, at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 52 Dearborn St.
Branch 1 of Illinois, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening, 8 p. m., at Thomas Kirwin, Secretary, 224 Wentworth Ave.
Branch 2, Chicago, Ill., Bohemian, meets 2nd and 4th Sunday at 2 p. m. at Nagel's Hall, 535 Blue Island Ave. Secretary, Vasil Jelinek, 640 Blue Island Ave.
Branch 2, Chicago, Ill., meets 2nd and 4th Monday of each month at Jos. Dundras place, 100 W. 18th Place. Secretary, Frank Ort, 806 W. 18th St.
Branch 4, Chicago, meets every first and third Monday evenings of the month, at 209 St. Louis Ave. Secretary, Mrs. Mary Horgan, 1495 Fulton St.
Branch No. 5, Illinois meets 2nd and 4th Sundays of each month at Frank Lang's, 117 W. 18th street, corner Jefferson street. Secretary, Paul Chubb, 47 W. 18th St.
Branch 6 (German), Chicago, meets every first Saturday in each month, at eight o'clock at Nagel's Hall, 535 Blue Island avenue, near 18th street. Albert Giesler, 724 W. 30th St., Secretary.
Branch 5, Chicago, meets at Lundquist Hall, corner 61st and Morgan streets, every first and third Thursday. S. L. Westine, Secretary, 6243 Center Ave.

INDIANA
Branch No. 6, Indiana, meets first Saturday evening and second Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichwein's Hall, corner Market and Noble streets, Indianapolis.

KENTUCKY
Branch No. 2, Covington, meets first and third Wednesday evenings and second and fourth Sunday afternoons of each month. All agitation meetings except last one in month. Good speakers. Secretary, F. C. Stumpf, 501 8th street.

MARYLAND
Branch No. 1, Maryland, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m. at 1210 E. Hall, 506 E. Baltimore street. Public invited.
Branch No. 2, Baltimore, Md., meets every Monday at 8 p. m., at 311 W. German St., Secretary, Frank Marek, 1408 N. Gay St.

MASSACHUSETTS
Branch 2, Holyoke, Mass., meets second and fourth Monday of each month at Springfield Turner Hall. Organizer, H. Schlichting, 30 James street.
Branch 5, Lynn, Mass., permanent headquarters 32 Summer St., near Market St., business meetings every Monday night at 7 p. m. Open house. Public invited. Public Sec. W. Timson, 21 Albany St., Fin. Sec. Treas.
Branch No. 3, Brockton, meets 1st and 3rd Tuesday of each month for business in Cutler's Hall, Clark street, Cor. Main and Center streets. Secretary, Frank S. Walsh, No. 323 W. Elm Street.
Branch 15, Massachusetts-East Boston—meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 99 Chelsea St. Miss Jenny Nagel, 99 Chelsea St., Sec.
Branch 11, Chelsea, Mass., meets every Thursday at 8 p. m., room 2, postoffice building, Chelsea. (Address, 120 Essex St., 2nd floor.)
Branch 13, Newburyport, meets the second Monday of each month at Laster's Hall, 1 State St. E. F. McLean, Sec. 59 Winter St.; G. H. Evans, Treas. 100 Prince Place.
Branch No. 11, Chelsea, Mass., permanent headquarters Room 2, Postoffice Building. Open every evening. Business meetings every Thursday at 8 p. m. Public invited.
The Massachusetts State Committee meets the 1st Saturday of each month at 724 Washington St., Boston. All dues and moneys intended for the State Committee should be sent to the financial secretary, J. McDonald, 104 West Springfield, St., Boston. All other correspondence should be addressed to the corresponding secretary, Margaret Hallie, 5 Glenwood St., Roxbury.

MINNESOTA
Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, Minn., meets every other Sunday evening at 8 p. m. at Fred Gesswein, on Main St. Wm. H. Randall, Sec.

MISSOURI
St. Louis headquarters—Room 7, 23 No. Fourth St. Address all communications to E. Val Putnam, Secretary. For information concerning ward branches inquire at the above address.
Branch 7, Missouri, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1300 Union Ave., Kansas City. G. J. Storr, 1325 W. 9th St., Sec.

NEW JERSEY
Branch No. 1, Secretary, Michael W. Schor, 57 Livingston st.

NEW YORK
Branch 16 (4th Assembly Dist., N. Y.), meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday of the month, at the rooms of the Police of Labor, 423 Grand St. Jacob Finken, 125 Division St., Org.
East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every 2nd and 4th Fridays, at 20 East Broadway, Secretary, A. Guyton, 20 East Broadway.
Branch No. 1, New York, (34th Assembly District), meets every 2nd and 4th Monday of the month at 334 E. 14th St. L. Funchak, 229 E. 14th St., Sec.
Branch No. 4 (West Side Branch) meets second and fourth Thursdays of every month at their headquarters, 120 West 99th St. Elizabeth H. Thomas, Secretary.
Branch No. 1, Brooklyn, N. Y., Headquarters Social Democratic Party, 251 Rutledge Street, meets every 2nd Thursday at 8 1/2 sharp. All persons interested in Socialism and the Social Democratic Party are invited to attend these meetings and co-operate with us in organizing local branches in every district in the city. Wm. Butcher, 251 Rutledge St., Secretary.
Branch No. 1, New York, (25 Assembly District), meets 1st and 3rd Thursdays of each month at Paulhaber's Hall, 1641 Second Avenue, New York City. Secretary, R. Hoppe, 225 E. 14th St.
The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York and vicinity meets first and third Tuesdays of every month in Wilgus's Hall, 58 E. Fourth street. Elizabeth H. Thomas, Secretary.

OHIO
Branch No. 2, Ohio, Cleveland, meets in Ohlsen's Hall, 55 York Street, second and fourth Sundays, at 8 p. m. Lectures, discussions, business meeting, first and third Fridays at 8 p. m.
Branch No. 3, Cleveland, Ohio, meets first and third Sundays in each month at 8 p. m. in Ohlsen's Hall, No. 5 York Street. Lectures and discussions.
Branch No. 4, Cincinnati, Ohio, meets at Richelson Hall, southeast corner Ninth and Plum streets, second and fourth Sundays in each month, at 2:30 p. m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Secretary, E. Siederman, 211 Vine street.
Branch No. 2, Cincinnati, meets every 2nd and 4th Saturday in Workingmen's Hall, 1123 Walnut St. Secretary, J. L. Franz, 1123 Walnut St.
Branch 11 (German) Columbus, Ohio, Ed. Greiner, Secretary, 505 Mohawk street.

PENNSYLVANIA
Branch 2, Erie, meets every Sunday afternoon at K. L. Hall, 715 State street. Chairman, Joseph Stein; Secretary, J. Elmer Perry.
Branch No. 5 (Jewish) of Pennsylvania, meets every Friday at 614 South Third Street, Philadelphia, at 7:30. Discussion from 8 to 9. J. Gerson, Secretary.

WISCONSIN
Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Wednesday evening of the month at the Ethical Society Building, 55 Jefferson St. Visitors always welcome. Howard Tuttle, Chairman; Eugene H. Rooney, Secretary.
Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Saturday in Geatzke's Hall, corner Green Bay and Concordia Ave.
Branch 1, Sheboygan, Wis., meets every fourth Wednesday evening at Gustav Burgard's Hall on Pennsylvania Avenue. E. Schonen, Secretary-treasurer.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday each month at Mueller's Hall, corner Twenty-third and Brown Streets. George Moschel, Secretary, 94 Twenty-fifth Street.
Branch 9, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at L. Sigel's Hall, S. E. corner Orchard Street and 9th Avenue. Secretary, Fred Brockhausen, 781 Windlake Avenue.
Branch No. 11, Milwaukee, Wis., meets the second Tuesday of each month at the office of the Wisconsin "Vorwärts," 614 State St.
Branch 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of each month at Peterleus Hall, 717 Center Street, at 8 p. m. John Kospfer, Secretary.
Milwaukee Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party of America meets on the first Monday of each month at 8 p. m. sharp at No. 618 East Water Street. Eugene H. Rooney, Secretary; John Doerfer, Treasurer.

NOTES FROM THE FIELD

Comrade James Beattie is state organizer for the mine workers in Illinois.
Comrade Winchewsky resumes his welcome and inimitable "Musings" this week.

Comrade Leonard D. Abbott is employed on the Literary Digest of New York.

Comrade E. V. Debs has this week been in Nebraska and Missouri, drawing full houses, as usual.

Comrade Frederic G. Strickland has been appointed office manager of the Social Reform Union publications.

Comrade J. Stitt Wilson left Chicago Thursday of last week for England, where he will lecture for several months.

One of the oldest and most faithful Socialists in the country is Comrade Frederick Gesswein, of Red Lake Falls, Minn.

The women of Haverhill have organized the Women's Social Democratic Club. Jan. 26 the club will give a concert and ball.

Comrade F. O. MacCartney spoke before the Young People's Club of Unity Church at Brockton on "What Socialism Stands For."

Comrade John W. Sherman, who ran as the S. D. P. candidate for mayor of Boston, is a well-known newspaper reporter at the "hub."

Comrade Charles H. Coulter, mayor of Brockton, delivered his inaugural in a large hall engaged for that purpose to accommodate the people.

Comrade Isador Ladoff will speak at Brotherhood House on the afternoon of Sunday, Jan. 20, on "Some of the Ethical Phases of Socialism."

A recent visitor at headquarters who is doing a splendid pioneer work in Montana was Comrade Fox, of Butte, an active and level-headed worker.

Comrade Emil Liess left Chicago for San Francisco on the evening of the 2d inst., after a lecture tour in the East that was most helpful to the cause.

A neat office calendar for 1900, adorned with a fine portrait of Mayor Coulter, has been issued by the Brockton Journal. The Herald acknowledges receipt of same.

The Chicago Tribune of Thursday, Jan. 4, contained sketches of Comrades Chase and Coulter, with a picture of the former, in the department, "Who's Who and What's What."

We had the pleasure of greeting Comrade W. P. Bosworth, of Brockton, Mass., at headquarters last week. He came West on business for a prominent leather house in Massachusetts.

Herald readers will regret to learn that Comrade Eugene Dietzgen has been ill at Berlin, Germany; not seriously, we are happy to say, and in his next letter we hope to hear of his complete recovery.

A "Year Book" for Social Democrats, somewhat on the order of Edwards' "Labor Annual," will prove very useful. Such a publication will be undertaken by Comrade Frederic Heath, of our national executive board.

The Brockton Journal is a new and decidedly handsome addition to the growing list of Social Democratic newspapers. It is edited by John Treacy Doyle and published by the Journal Publishing Company. Subscription, \$1 per year.

The Appeal to Reason subscription list is climbing rapidly to the 75,000 mark, and as a result of the special effort now being made there will be "music in the air" in more than one sense. The Appeal is doing excellent work for the S. D. P.

At Riverton, Ill., Comrade Debs spoke under the auspices of the Miners' Union; at Streator, the Central Trades Council; at Canton, the Trade and Labor Assembly, and at Kewanee, the Trades' Assembly. The latter part of January will find him in the South, as far as Louisiana.

As an indication of the "horror" with which Socialism and the Social Democratic party are regarded by "business men," we note the fact that the Journal of Brockton, Mass., new S. D. P. paper, contains in its second issue fifteen columns of advertising from the business men of that city. Doesn't look very much as if they were shocked, does it?

Comrade George D. Herron has severed his relations with the Iowa College and will spend the greater part of the year abroad. We hope that both Herron and Wilson will be benefited by their sojourn abroad, to the extent that when they return home their efforts and their influence will be given to the only practical movement that can save humanity in America from the impending calamities under capitalist imperialism.

New Branch

A new branch with a group of earnest comrades who will do good work for the cause has been organized at Alameda, Cal., with the following officers: Chairman, James K. Hauck; vice-chairman, Allan A. Crockett; secretary, Dr. J. M. Young; treasurer, H. Hanch; organizer, B. H. Wolfe.

Newark, N. J.

The Social Democratic party will hold lectures every Sunday at 8 p. m. at Wood building, 118-120 Market street. Sunday, Jan. 7, "Labor and Capital," Karl Pankoff.

Sunday, Jan. 14, "Universal Brotherhood," Robert Rives La Monte.

Sunday, Jan. 21, "William Morris, Poet, Artist, Socialist," Leonard Abbott.

Sunday, Jan. 28, "Social Evolution," Victor Parsonette, M. D.

Questions allowed after lecture. All welcome.

Lynn Wide Awake

The comrades at Lynn, Mass., opened the new year with a large and enthusiastic meeting, at which it was decided to make arrangements for a series of lectures during the winter months, on the principles of Social Democracy, that will be educational for the people of Lynn. These lectures will be given at least once a month, and the very ablest men in the party will be engaged to speak. The party is proud of the recent victories won in Haverhill and Brockton at the last municipal elections in these cities, and expect to be able to carry Lynn for the Social Democratic candidates at the next municipal election.

The Empire State

The New York state organizing committee meets every alternate week, and is making quite a good beginning. Its sub-committee has visited Pachoge, L. I., and arranged for starting a branch in that place. It has also received many encouraging communications from different parts of the state, especially from Ticonderoga and Corfu, where branches will soon be formed. The Ticonderoga comrades suggest that a phonograph with a collection of Socialist speeches would be a good means of propaganda in our state, where there are so many small towns and cities, spread over such a large extent of country. The committee is distributing "Arouse, Ye Slaves!" and Carey's speeches, besides periodical literature.

A Working Branch

"That same old gang" who established Branch No. 1 of Ohio have a record for "sticking" which dates back through various reform movements. Evolving to Socialism, their consistency and persistency are bearing fruit. The branch has been kept up through discouragement and sacrifice on the part of the few faithful, who now begin to see the results of their work.

The branch is gaining in membership—mainly bright young workmen. We have also discovered a number of comrades who were connected with the Social Democratic party of Germany, and who, to use a common expression, will "stir up the Dutch." In fact they are already doing so.

The branch admitted seven new members during the month of December, and, to wind up the year, held an open meeting on Sunday, Dec. 31. It proved to be a bitter cold day, but Bricklayers' hall was nicely seated with comrades and friends to hear an address from Comrade M. J. Flannery, who is attending Heidelberg University, located here. His effort was a splendid presentation of the basic ideas of Socialism, and was well received. Comrade Ross, who is the leader of a mandolin club, enlivened the occasion by having the members render several selections.

It was the best meeting ever held by Branch No. 1, and prospects for 1900 open up bright.

Tiffin, Ohio. Buckeye.

Man Under the Load

The present situation may be compared to that of a man who has fallen under a heavy dray laden with merchandise. You can call the dray "civilization" and the bales of merchandise "commercialism." Soon there come along a set of men who see that there is a man under the dray, who, if he be not dead, probably wants to get out. They gather around and talk about the man, and about how to get him out, and whether he ought to be let out. They decide that it might be a bad thing to let him out all at once. He would not be used to it, and he had better get used to it by getting a foot out first. So they talk about him, and they get a job talking about him. You can call these men legislators [and reformers.—Ed. S. D. H.]. Then there is another class of men, who do not pay much attention to the man, but they examine the bales and the dray, and they make tables of figures. They call these men scientists, and they get a job talking about the man. Then another class of men say the man would not be under the dray if his heart were not bad. And these men are called ministers, and they get a job talking about the man. So they have all got jobs, and the man is left under the dray.—George D. Herron.

BROCKTON'S SOCIALIST MAYOR'S INAUGURAL

It is safe to say that in the 40,000 population of the city of Brockton, Mass., there was not a single live man or woman who was not profoundly interested in the event that marked the incoming of the new year, Jan. 1. It witnessed the inauguration of Comrade Charles H. Coulter, of the Social Democratic party, as the second Socialist mayor of an American city. It marked another victory for the Socialist movement, a movement vitalized with the highest patriotism—a patriotism for humanity; it was an occasion potential for the labor movement in this country and prophetic of the ultimate supremacy of the working class in the government of the country at large.

Mayor Coulter's inaugural address dealt in detail with the present condition and needs of the city, and evinced a comprehensive understanding of the duties of his office and a sincere appreciation of his responsibilities. It is too long for presentation in full here, but the prelude to his treatment of matters purely local and practical in their nature is so admirable and loyal that we find space for it below:

The sacredness of the duties and responsibilities of the official position which the suffrages of my fellow citizens have called upon me to assume is not and will not be by me, and should not be by others, underestimated. Grave problems press for solution in city, state and nation, problems in which are involved the weal or woe of the people of this city, of this state, of the republic and of the civilized world; and as we are called upon to assist, in whatever capacity, in solving these problems, let us respond with our loftiest aspiration, our best and purest thought, to the end that the onward sweep of humanity may be ever upward to nobler and yet nobler heights of thought, of action and of life.

Conceiving this to be my duty to you and to mankind, I feel it incumbent upon me as a Social Democrat to reaffirm the fundamental principles of the party of which I am proud to be a member, and upon the platform of which I have been elected, profoundly convinced, as I am, that in the application of these principles will be found the solution of the pressing problems now confronting society.

It is proper also for me to submit that the limited power of this or any other municipality will permit only in degree the application of these principles, but I assure you that I shall demand their application to the utmost limit, consistent with the municipal powers.

Upon the other hand this economic change has resulted in the gradual displacement of labor, the insecurity and scarcity of employment, and the appearance of the unemployed class, followed by an increasing intensity of the competition between the workers for an opportunity to labor.

In the presence of these and many other facts incident to present industrial conditions, the Social Democratic party asserts its aims to be the social or collective ownership and operation of the tools—the means of production and distribution—the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth.

In support of its position it points to the social nature of these tools; that they are the product of the combined social genius and not of the individual; that they require the co-operative effort of the social energy for their concrete production, preservation and operation. It is proposed to demonstrate the merit of social ownership, that such social ownership is necessary to establish the right to work, and the right of the worker to enjoy the results of his labor; that it would result in certainty of employment, security of subsistence, the abolition of human poverty and the elevation of the race above the brute struggle for material needs forced upon man by our present industrial system.

With increasing rapidity two forces are gathering in modern society, two forces with irreconcilable aims, between which the citizenship must choose, and choose wisely, else shall human progress halt, perhaps forever. The forces are the inevitable result of the economic development of the ages, the one declaring for an industrial, a social monarchy; the other affirming its purpose to be the establishment of an industrial, a social democracy.

The mechanical progress of the times has caused the passage of the tools whereby the food, clothing, shelter and the other material necessities of life are produced and distributed, into the possession of a lessening minority of the members of society, while the increasing majority, thus dispossessed, have become the economic dependents of the minority.

The tools of modern industry, though possessed by the few upon the basis of private ownership, are, in their essential nature, public or social, and not private or individual, being, as they are, the concrete genius of the race, and requiring union of effort or co-operation upon the part of society for their operation.

The advance of social evolution has witnessed the changing of the tools of production from individual to a social character. This passing out of the possession of the individual members of so-

ciety into the hands of a decreasing number, who are thereby enabled to exploit the labor power of those dispossessed, the continual development of these tools, is causing the destruction of the middle, the small capitalist class, the formation of gigantic combinations of capital, the advent of the trust, and the complete subjection of society to the possessors.

OUR LETTER BOX

HINT TO THE CONVENTION

Editor of The Herald: We wish to give our hearty indorsement to the letter appearing in The Herald Jan. 6, entitled "A Retrospective View." It sums up the situation in a very intelligent manner, and the national convention should be guided by the ideas contained in these lines: "Nothing must be done that will either embarrass the triumph advance of the Social Democratic party or change its spirit. Any readjustment of the Socialist forces that may take place by reason of the split in the ranks of the Socialist Labor party must not be allowed to weaken the standing of our party before the country or nullify the value or the prestige of its victories."

St. Louis. Hoehn and Putnam.

We will send free by mail the "Pocket Library of Socialism" to anyone sending us five yearly subscribers to The Herald at 50 cents each. The "Pocket Library" consists of ten books on Socialism, for which we should charge you 5 cents each, or 50 cents (complete) if you ordered them from us. By helping The Herald circulation, as suggested, you get them free.

WANTED—WORKING SOCIALISTS

Not to make money, but to make more Socialists. That is what we want to do before we meet the hosts of capitalism in the political arena next year, isn't it? And that is what we must do if we expect success to crown our efforts. What is the best way to make Socialists? Everybody gives the same answer: "Get men to read the literature of Socialism." If you can succeed in doing that you have started a certain influence in the world that is beyond the power of any man to estimate; you may have rendered an inestimable individual service to the cause of Socialism.

Now, you know that, as a rule, it is useless to try and induce men to read any of the great standard works of our literature. Indeed, it is too true, unfortunately, that the victims of wage slavery have neither time nor disposition to do that. In view of this condition of affairs, there rests upon every Socialist no clearer duty than that of bringing to the notice of their fellowmen and inducing them to read some of the excellent publications in cheaper form, such as are found in the

"Pocket Library of Socialism"

With a view to securing thousands of readers for these little books, admirably adapted as they are for the propaganda of Socialism, as well as to increase the circulation of this paper, we have made arrangements that enable us to offer the complete set of ten books free to anyone sending in five yearly subscriptions to the

Social-Democratic Herald

The subscription price of the paper is 50 cents; the complete "Pocket Library of Socialism" will be mailed postpaid to anyone sending us, at one time, five names and \$2.50. Ten subscribers for six months, at 25 cents, will be accepted.

If five thousand present readers of The Herald can see in this offer where they can help the spread of Socialist principles, and will lend a hand in carrying it through, there will be added to The Herald subscription list 25,000 names, and 50,000 books on Socialism will go into the hands of the people as a result of their efforts.

Isn't it worth while to do your share in accomplishing this result on the eve of a national election, in which the Social Democratic party will participate? If you don't want the books yourself, you can give them away or dispose of them at the retail price of 5 cents. The complete "Pocket Library of Socialism," ten books, would cost you 50 cents.

First National Campaign

It need not be said that the addition of 25,000 names to The Herald subscription list and the circulation of 50,000 books setting forth in simple and comprehensive terms the principles of Socialism, will have a tremendous effect on the campaign of 1900—the first national election in which the Social Democratic party will take part.

THEODORE DEBS,

126 Washington St., Chicago

DEBS' LECTURE TOUR

Kansas City, Mo.	January	14, 1900
E. St. Louis, Mo.	"	15, "
Louisville, Ky.	"	20, "
Birmingham, Ala.	"	21, "
Columbus, Ga.	"	22, "
Montgomery, Ala.	"	23, "
New Orleans, La.	"	25, "
Lafayette, La.	"	26, "

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

VOL. II. No. 31.

CHICAGO, ILL., U.S.A., SATURDAY, JANUARY 20, 1900.

Whole No. 81.

MERLIN'S MIXTURE OF BRIGHT SAYINGS

Medicine and Murder.

A few days ago I bought a bottle of Scott's Emulsion. Feeling somewhat run down, as the result of an eccentric winter on the east coast, I got it with the idea of building up my system.

But when I examined the bottle, I found that I had unconsciously helped to build up another system as well. A revenue stamp showed that I had contributed 2½ cents to the support of a system of bulldozing, barbarism and bloodshed.

I am regaining my health at the cost of sending a dozen bullets to be used in destroying the liberty, land and life of a people whose only fault is that they have the courage to assert their claim to their own.

This passes patience, and as a civilized civilian I protest! If Bill McKinley wants to stick a feather in his cap by sticking a bullet in a Filipino, let him borrow or beg his funds from the millionaires whom he serves. If the capitalists are bound to be the commercial pirates of the east, let them hire at their own expense the unjailed convicts of the country to do their dirty work!

How long shall servile labor allow itself to be taxed in order to pay for the dastard schemes of capital?

Who Sins?

We have credited this war of conquest, and rightly, to those capitalists whose commercial interests it advances. With perfect justice, we have termed it a war of oppression, of exploitation, of commercial greed, of brigandage. We have laid the blame upon the shoulders of the moneyed class.

But are we fair in doing so? Have you ever considered, my laboring friend, that the proportion of capitalists, as compared to workmen, is comparatively small? And don't you know that in a republic like this number is power.

If a giant permits a dwarf to keep him in subjection, it is the giant's fault. If a dog allows one measly little flea to keep him in torment, thinking, as other curs with fewer legs have thought, that scratching would be anarchistic, nobody could blame the flea.

And so, if we are compelled to pay a revenue tax to help fill the Filipino patriot with Christian love and Yankee lead, it is the fault of that larger class whose votes have placed the reins of government in the hands of the scheming few.

Let labor advance its interests by the ballot, and capital will cease advancing its interests by the bullet!

A Jingo Jingle.

The last year has developed some remarkable specimens of the genus "jingo." Among these may be mentioned the poet laureate of England, whose initials show how far he has progressed in learning the alphabet of poetic language.

This poetical saw-filer has just given us a rhythmical rasp or two that are calculated to set our teeth on edge. He ends one of the stanzas with this patriotic line: "Who fights for England fights for God!"

Alfred has evidently soared so high in his official effusions that he has been able to look into the council chambers of the Almighty and find out this important cabinet secret. Such a disclosure will, of course, effectually secure the confidence of the pious London stock-jobbers.

Perhaps this will explain why those profane English Socialists thought the Boers might not be wholly wrong in fighting for their rights.

At any rate, in view of the course of events occurring in South Africa, Austin certainly paid a strong compliment to the devil!

But perhaps Austin was wrong.

The Prosy Fact.

To get down to practical prose, it would seem much more likely that his satanic majesty is one of England's aids; or else he has efficient emissaries to represent him in the various military departments. Personally, if I had less respect for the devil, I would say he was commander-in-chief of the British bomb-busters.

I say "had I less respect," because I believe that Satan would be wise enough not to let his commercial satellites conspire against his plans of conquest. It seems that gross jobbery effects have developed in the army and ammunition of the British; ammunition has been defective; rifles were useless after a dozen shots, and commissary supplies are not up to the standard.

Thus is the British empire doubly menaced by the serpent of capitalism that it has fed and fostered. On the one

hand the insanely selfish schemes of Rhodes, Chamberlain & Co. are leading the flower of the British army into reach of the Boer scythe; and on the other hand the greed of commercial traders at home is betraying them to their death when they get there.

England, like Haman, has been building her own gallows.

The Socialist Cure.

Any man who investigates war with intelligence and sincerity, will in almost every case, find it based on commercial and competitive causes. Strip the warrior of his glory, and you find either the robber or his victim.

Underneath the blatant lingo

Of the patriotic jingo, There's the hypocritic purpose of the knave;

So, amid the blaze of glory

Of the battle, red and gory, You may know they're forging fetters for the slave.

And just as the principle of competitive capitalism lies at the bottom of war, so the principle of co-operative Socialism will lie at the base of international peace. When national resources are properly utilized, and when public need is esteemed of more importance than private ambition, we shall hear nothing of war.

When the Socialistic voter

Makes use of his franchise motor To revolve the wheels of labor's commonwealth,

War will vanish like a vision,

With its vampirish ambition, And the soldier can dig post holes for his health!

Then let the peace advocates come out of their Aladdin ovens and see, in the fullness of the light of truth, that only Socialism can effectually accomplish their desires.

Honest Politics.

A certain prominent paper in the east has made comment on the remarkable character of the Haverhill campaign, as shown in the branch's published statement of receipts and expenditures. It blunders out its surprise that only nominal sums were paid to the speakers in the campaign, and especially over the fact that no money was "spent in canvassing!"

The old parties have so long hired oratorical prostitutes at large sums to coin and pass off specious arguments in their favor that the idea of men talking for nothing seems remarkable. And in the "canvassing" it used to take many a wad to fill up the rotting holes before the party ship could be successfully floated on the political sea.

This surprise is a compliment to our cause. It simply shows that the great principle of Socialism for which we strive is the new force that is lifting men out of their sordid selfishness into the higher plane of equality, altruism and morality.

MERLIN.

For some weeks past a mistake has occurred in the price of Gronlund's "Co-operative Commonwealth," in our book list. It has been advertised at 25 cents, which is wrong; the correct price is 30 cents. This is a low figure for the handsome edition now printed, and we shall be glad to fill all the orders friends can send us.

A Chicago detective, Tyrrell by name, testifies that "no fugitive of any note can be taken out of the state of Washington if he has money at his command." Tyrrell might have added that any fugitive of note can get out of any state if he has money at his command. When it comes to a contest between boodle and justice, boodle wins, and none knows better why it wins than the so-called detectives.

During the time that that great public benefactor, Russell Sage, dealer in stocks and bonds, was making a million dollars by the manipulation of Standard Gas stock, the poor clothing-makers of the East Side, New York, were contending for a raise of wages for an eighteen-hour day to \$5 a week. These poor people give every day much more in value to the community than Russell Sage, but they are abused and miserable, while the thrifty millionaire is a "model for the youth of the land!"

Countess Adeline Schimmellman, speaking in New York last month, said: "In Chicago I sheltered, paying the expense out of my own pocket, more than 50,000 homeless and hungry men. In this city not a single request has been made to me for help. In all I did not get \$1,000 toward the work anywhere, and spent many thousands for the work in Chicago. It was there that I found more want and desolation than I did in the slums of London or in any other city in Europe. Eighty out of every hundred tramps who are taken to the hospitals and die are said to succumb from heart failure, when the actual cause is hunger."

WE DISCUSS THINGS IN THE LODGE ROOM

For the past two weeks our lodge has been mixed. The carpenter calls us "confusionists." And a few of the boys are not even that much; they are "fusionists." Now, I will mention a few samples of both kinds. You see, our lodge has gone into this reform business pretty extensively since the first of the year, and we run up against all kinds of remedies.

When one of the boys gets track of a new reform, he springs it on us as the "only way out." Now, as a new party is "organized" about every week, we are getting all kinds of ideas. It is like hunting for a cure for corns at the drug stores. In fact, you don't have to hunt for them. They come.

Will, the painter, wants to get out of the world—out on an island or in the woods—and start in as "brothers" to building huts—he calls them palaces—and growing grains, vegetables, hogs and fruits. He says we can give the world an "object lesson" and then "nearly everybody will do as we do."

But even the gardener, Joe, doesn't like that idea. He says we are all one big family, and we can't split off from civilization that way. And then, Joe has been reading lately about several "experimental stations" of that kind and he is willing to learn from the sufferings of the other fellows. He says he doesn't want any of it in his potato patch. And Joe is wise.

John wanted us to join a party of Christians. "If all the Christians would organize a party," he said, "they would have a central figure to rally around, and they could capture the government. Then we would have the government of His people."

"But I ain't one of His people," called out the doctor, "and I have to be figured on in this business. All the Christians in the country couldn't bring about what we want. Even among all those who want reform at all there is no general desire for a party. I attended a meeting of Christian reformers last week, where nearly every one of them was against party action, except such as they could get through the 'good men' in the two old parties. I think the doctors, organized as a party, would have just as good a chance, and no better, than the printers, or farmers, or Christians, or liberals, or scientists, or any other one small section of humanity in regulating a new system of government."

I thought the doctors' party would have a little the best of us, for they could kill us all off with drugs—all except a few—and those few could then start over again on Will's plan. However, I said nothing. They might have called out "anarchist" at me. The next to speak was Henry, the coal dealer. He thinks the land is the whole thing.

"Why, I'm just as radical as any of you," he said, "but if you tax the land out of the capitalist's hands, you then give every man an equal chance. I want to see us get down to the bottom of this thing. Get right down to the earth."

"Yes," said John, "that may be all right; but land deeds are handed down, or sold down, from that first fellow, the warrior. In England it was William I.; in America, the pilgrims, who drove out the Indians. Every land deed is sealed with blood. Is that a good foundation for a humane and just system of government? Why, Henry, your deeds only certify that certain men of past ages were murderers, thieves and criminals."

"Then you would turn the land over to the government. Next thing you will want houses and tools."

"That's about it," said John. "Land, air, water, coal, timber and minerals are all the same to me when it comes to private ownership. And I can't distinguish between land and tools of transportation—land and tools of manufacture. A man may use land and tools, but he can't take them with him; and, as he made neither, they belong equally to his successors and to every generation. The only 'pay' that humanity, as a whole, requires for this land and these tools, books, etc., is that each man use them, and leave them in a little better condition than he found them."

"Yes," said I, "Jack, here, has a dandy steam valve, but fifty thousand men have worked on steam valves and Jack has studied the best of them. Thousands more men have studied steam and made the demand for such a valve. Millions of men have made steam engines and millions more have fed and clothed these mechanics. Every one of us has an interest in that valve."

"Let's get down to a plan and work this thing out," said the shoemaker. "The right kind of laws to control monopolies and then a law to remove bankers from the senate, and stop bribery, and—"

"Direct legislation, so we can find out

what we want and vote on it ourselves," called out the dairyman. "That's what we want."

"Controlling monopolies by laws is a grand undertaking," said Jack; "but while I admire your ambition, I don't quite see how you are coming out, except as a traitor to your country—or at least to your masters."

"That is only a 'step at a time,' and a step contrary to evolution at that," said the carpenter. "Monopolies and combinations of every kind made by the capitalists have been the most natural thing in the world. Trusts do away with competition in proportion as they have the whole trade in a particular article. Not many years hence, at the present rate, the trusts will stop advertising altogether, and the millions spent on newspapers and drummers will go somewhere else. Witness the baking powder trust. Full-page ads. of great department stores will disappear. One store will have all the goods. Then how easy the final step to Socialism! Every industry will have developed to so nearly a perfect system that no man, either workingman or capitalist, will fail to see the natural evolution of industry. To stay at that point will be impossible. To go back will only make it necessary for other generations to repeat the evolution up to and beyond that point."

Our members, who had started out with much confusion and fusion, then settled down to listen to a speech by the carpenter. He first cleared the ground by telling us that the greatest confusion of all was made in trying to fuse religion and politics. "John's Christian party," he said, "puts us all in confusion, because the doctor won't have religion mixed in his economics; and another group of men won't have politics dragged into their religion. These things won't fuse! Of course you can look wise and say religion has to do with all relations of men, but the unequal distribution of wealth and industry is a straight problem in economics. Fusion only results in confusion." Then followed his speech.

Horseshoe Joe.

FRENCH SOCIALIST PARTY

The following is the resolution passed by the Socialist congress in Paris:

"The Socialist party is composed

"1. Of the five national organizations.

"2. Of regional and departmental federations.

"3. Of groups which shall request to be affiliated to the party. But these groups must have at least fifty subscribing members, have been in existence for one year, and there must be no federation in their department. These groups will be struck off the list if they do not form a departmental federation during the following year. They cannot be readmitted except by the unanimous consent of the general committee.

"4. Of trade unions who adhere to the declaration of Socialist principles enumerated by the first general congress of the party.

"5. Of co-operative societies who also adhere to these principles and devote part of their funds to Socialistic propaganda.

"The party shall meet once a year in a general congress. Each general congress shall determine the place of the next meeting, but it is understood that the congress shall not meet two years running in the same town (but an exception is made for 1900 on account of the exhibition.)

"There shall be formed a general committee of the party, whose powers shall last for one year. Each organization shall be represented on this committee by delegates elected by it, there being one delegate to every fifty societies represented at the congress. There shall be seven federations—Ardennes, Cote d'Or, Doubs, Bretagne, Bouches-du-Rhone, Seine et Oise, Saône et Loire. There shall also be one delegate for the communistic alliance. Each of the other organizations at the congress shall have an additional delegate. The decisions of the committee shall be taken by a simple majority of the members. Each organization shall subscribe in proportion to the number of its members. The congress declares that no Socialist newspaper is the official organ of the party. The largest freedom of opinion should be allowed, but if action has to be taken, then the newspapers should act as directed by the committee. It is advisable that newspapers should not attack other sections of the party. All official communications from the committee should be inserted in the newspapers."

TO PROUD CAPITAL

Tell me, capital, isn't it true That labor's hand created you? Pray, would you not starve but for labor? Yet you are its calculator.

None of the world's wealth didst thou create, Yet all belongs to thy vast estate. Oh, what magic delusion hast thou plan'd, That steals the products of the toiler's hand? —Eugene V. Brewster.

Jan. 7, 1900.

DEMONSTRATION OF THE THEORIES OF SOCIALISM

The capitalist and captain of industry in these later days has set himself to demonstrate that the theories of the Socialist are sound. After some centuries of adherence to the principle that individual competition brings the best results and the greatest progress for the individual and for society, suddenly many thousand employers and capitalists rush out of business, give up the positions they occupy and the plants they own in order to avoid competition, and set themselves to prove that society can be best and most cheaply served, and the workers and managers, from highest to lowest, can get better returns, if all productive work in each branch is performed by a single centralized body controlling prices and wages at pleasure, abolishing agents and middle men, restrained by no competition, and responsible only to society as a whole. If this theory is true, does it not follow as a matter of course that society as a whole might better take possession of the plants and control the business, and absorb for itself the profits of production or the gains by cheapening production at its pleasure?

The philosophy of the competitive period in human development has been sustained by the most rapid and healthful progress ever known thus far, but the Socialist answers that better yet is attainable. Grant that this past stage of development was necessary, its best fruitage is a higher stage in which the costs and the losses of individual competition can be avoided, and in each branch of service all can freely do their best for the benefit of all. Abolish the spur of competition, driving each to seek the latest inventions and the best devices, for they have been secured. Take from traders and manufacturers the intense pressure of battle against each other, and give all of them a sure profit for a regular service to society. Let the multitude of employees be also emancipated from the tyranny of competition, which closes some works and drives others to reduce wages, add let them all have their regular pay for service to society, increased by the elimination of the losses through competition. When experience proves, as the Socialist holds it will prove, that the greatest progress and the highest conditions yet attained are not comparable to those to be attained by abolishing competition, then no man but an idiot will question the wisdom of society as a whole taking control of all the processes of trade and industry, and the harmonious adjustment of all, with power to cheapen products or enlarge profits in each as may best serve the general welfare.

If the modern combination proves that competition is no longer a benefit, but a curse; that individual struggling for success is no longer needed to evolve the best inventions and devices; and bring them into use; that the monster corporation can work more cheaply, and at the same time more wisely and ably, in handling many establishments of different kinds, far apart and under different circumstances, than the individual owners who have created them; that it can prevent the frequent stoppage of the weaker works while the stronger continue to thrive; that society no longer needs any defense against monopoly, because the monopoly must always cheapen in order to enlarge business, and that workers, consumers and employers will all gain by elimination of competition; then, indeed, the Socialist has only to demand the logical completion of the journey. There will be no sense in leaving the big corporations to blunder along, sometimes losing, and sometimes hurting society by unwisdom, when society itself can appropriate their plants, direct their labor, make and bear its own blunders and pocket its own gains. —From the New York Tribune.

The Social Democratic party stands for the interests of all useful members of society and urges the manual and mental workers to organize to secure their emancipation from the thralldom and tyranny of capitalist industry.

The American Fabian has the following: "There are now two Socialist mayors in the United States, Haverhill having re-elected—in the face of combined Republican, Democratic and Prohibition opposition—Mayor Chase, a young workingman, who seems to have gained the confidence of many voters besides those of the Social Democratic party, which has just elected him. Brockton, another Massachusetts town, has followed Haverhill's lead and elected a mayor on the Social Democratic platform. His success is said to have been largely due to the general dissatisfaction with both Democratic and Republican parties."

Social Democratic Herald

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board
JESSE COX, Chairman
SEYMOUR STEEDMAN, Secretary
EUGENE V. DEBS, VICTOR L. BERGER
FREDERIC HEATH

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, 50 cents. Six months, 25 cents. No papers sent to any one on credit. If, without having subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and no bill will follow. Foreign subscriptions \$1.00.

Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

A. S. EDWARDS, Editor
THEODORE DEBS, National Sec'y-Treas.
126 Washington St., Chicago.

81

is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 81 your subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, JAN. 20, 1900.

A SIGNIFICANT OMISSION

In an editorial on the formation of another ideal community, the Chicago Tribune a few days ago gave an account of a new venture to be made in New Jersey, where the proper way of living and enjoying life will be exemplified. The Tribune points out some of the causes which will militate against the success of the ideal community, all of them known to be true, especially so to those persons who have had experience in communities, either dead or living. But the strange feature of the Tribune's article is its failure to state that the new ideal community is to be "another test of Socialism." This omission on the part of our capitalistic contemporary is quite significant in view of the fact that it has heretofore strongly insisted that colony experiments were "attempts at Socialism," and their uniform failure a proof that the theory of Socialism was impracticable and valueless. The truth is, of course, that there never existed a Socialist community anywhere; such a community has always been impossible, and has at no time been favored by Socialists. May we hope that the Tribune's omission to connect Socialism with the latest ideal community is an indication that the capitalistic newspapers are tiring of their misrepresentations?

SPREAD THE LIGHT

Comrades, the greatest need of the hour is the dissemination among the people of correct information on the social problem. Of good intentions there is no dearth; of real desire to do something to help inaugurate a better state of things there is evidence in every small group, go where one will. There is probably more unorganized Socialist sentiment groping its way to the light in the United States today than in any other country in the world. The journalists of capitalism have utterly failed with all their cunningly devised abuse and misrepresentations to satisfy the people that Socialism is an undesirable and impossible thing. The conviction is growing everywhere that Socialism, despite all opposition, is the one thing desirable and practicable. True, there is much confusion as to what it means, and so we find all sorts of people with all sorts of ideas—ideas of direct legislation, taxation of franchises, municipal ownership, colonization, brotherly love, non-partisanship, and so forth—calling themselves Socialists. We recently attended a meeting of some excellent people, where the speaker—who, by the way, would refuse to be classified anywhere than with the Socialists—began his address by taking a census of his audience. "I wonder," he said, "how many of you are Socialists. All of you who are Socialists OF ANY KIND hold up your hands." And nearly every one present raised a hand.

The opportunity for the Social Democratic party is here. The spread of correct economic knowledge among the people is of the highest importance. The members of the party are not doing all they can in this regard. Every branch should become an active educational center and every member a bearer of the principles of Socialism to his fellows. Sacrifice for the cause there is, but not enough. The circulation of the Herald is important, not alone to the party, but to the cause it represents, which is greater than the party. One of our comrades in Chicago secured, last Sunday, within an hour, thirteen subscribers to the Herald. Why can't you do that? Wherever a branch exists this should be done every week by some member, and if all felt the responsibility and need of the hour, it would be done.

NOTES AND COMMENT

The Social Democratic party says to the working class: The chief interest of society is its economic interest; this is controlled by the class which is in possession of the productive powers of society—that is, the class which owns land and capital. This class is also in control of the government, and government is used to protect its economic interests. Never until the useful and producing class organizes to take control of the government will the masters of

production be dislodged or any other system than one of plundering labor be possible. To establish economic justice, workingmen must first take away the power to govern from those whose interests are served by retaining economic injustice.

The contribution of John D. Rockefeller to the trust symposium is in the main singularly corroborative of the contentions of Socialists; but the Socialists are impractical visionaries, while Rockefeller is an eminently successful and hard-headed business man. Socialists have always affirmed that the trust was necessary for economy and efficiency, and declared the trust inevitable long before Mr. Rockefeller began his operations.

If every man who calls himself a Socialist will this year vote for the candidates of the Social Democratic party, to be nominated at Indianapolis, March 6, we will get the social revolution well under way in the United States, and in 1904 ring in the new order of things and put an extinguisher on the trusts and every other form of exploitation for keeping the people subject to things, instead of being, as Socialism would make them, supreme over all things.

A government by the class in possession of the productive resources of society is necessarily maintained by the injunction and the shotgun. Just as an ordinary burglar must go armed in his depredations to protect himself, so the organized burglars of capitalism must have the power and force of the government to protect them. The only relief is a government by the producing class. Political mastery first, then economic mastery through the social ownership of all the means of production and distribution.

At the lecture of Comrade E. V. Debs, given at the Boyd opera-house, Omaha, under the auspices of the C. L. U., the members of the Protective Board of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen of the Union Pacific system, who were in session at the time, and their ladies, were the guests of honor, and occupied the boxes. The compliment tendered by Comrade Debs to his old brotherhood friends was gracefully returned in an invitation to dine with them, which was accepted and enjoyed all around the circle.

Every week adds to the conviction that the Social Democratic party is an organization in which all Socialists can unite. Public Ownership, of Erie, Pa., says: "The movement on foot for uniting the factions of Socialists under one banner is still progressing toward a final culmination and the most feasible camp seems to be that of Social Democracy. The recent victories of this party in Massachusetts and the general boom it has received all over the country give it prestige favorable to this conclusion."

In the death of Dr. Edward McGlynn humanity lost a noble friend and the cause of social progress a tireless and courageous worker. His sacrifices and his heroism will linger as a sweet remembrance. The life and works of the man McGlynn are a common possession, rich in their humanizing influences—a rebuke to sordid lives that are forgotten before they are ended.

One of the old Populist papers of California, the Reasoner, published at San Luis Obispo, says: "The Social Democracy is the coming party. In a few years it is destined to sweep everything before it, because it is founded upon the logic of the times, is broad in its sweep, and hangs its existence upon no narrow and evanescent issue, to pass away and leave it stranded."

The custom of leaving the appointment of committees in the city council of Haverhill to the mayor has been broken by the Republican and Democratic combine, and Mayor Chase is relieved of that part of his official duties. This is the way the capitalist party politicians show their respect for the principle of majority rule.

It was Comrade Eugene V. Brewster of Brooklyn who, in a public address, said: "I don't pretend to be honest; no man is, and a lawyer cannot be." And Brewster is competent to prove his assertion, since he is himself a lawyer and knows what he is talking about.

If wages have been advanced 5 per cent, and commodities, which the wage-earner must have, have been advanced 25 per cent, how much better off is the wage-earner than he was before the advance? O prosperity, what a howling farce art thou!

The Chicago Pet Dog club was organized last week. The leader of that "set" should have been invited to speak at the Woman's club to tell what that particular "set" exists for.

News from Copenhagen reports an unexpectedly large increase in the Socialist vote in Denmark, and many victories in the local elections just held.

THE CHURCH FROM AN ECONOMIC STANDPOINT

By Rev. Chas. H. Vail

It is generally admitted that the church today is not in a very prosperous condition. Many of the leading denominations, with their splendidly equipped machinery, are doing little more than perpetuating themselves, while many others are actually declining, or, at least, making no perceptible headway as a moral and spiritual power in the world. The financial embarrassment of churches, which often results in the anomaly of closed doors and idle ministers, and the decrease in the large sums heretofore raised for missionary purposes, is becoming a just cause for alarm. That this condition has become a real problem is evident from the space devoted to its consideration in various church publications. I recently saw it stated that the Congregationalist body has some 500 unemployed ministers, and the same is true to a greater or less extent of nearly all the denominations. Judging from articles which have appeared in the Universalist Leader from time to time, it would seem that our own denomination is not entirely free from this condition.

There have been many causes assigned for this condition, but nearly all fall to go to the root of the difficulty. If the condition is anywhere near as bad as indicated, it must be evident that the cause is not superficial, but deep seated. Most of the reasons usually advanced are mere commonplace, and those who offer them view the situation either from the standpoint of the church alone—its policy, organization, doctrine—or from what they choose to call the perversity of human nature, lack of consecration on the part of ministers and people, worldliness, indifference, etc. That these assumed causes are insufficient to account for the present condition is evident from the fact that the condition is so general and exists under different systems of organization and doctrines and where indifference and the worldly spirit do not predominate. But even where these drawbacks exist, they are merely effects; we must look deeper for the cause.

It is beginning to be recognized that economic conditions form the real basis of society, and explain, in the last analysis, the whole superstructure of social institutions. The economic conditions, at any given period, are the soil out of which grow the whole life and character of mankind; that is, the manner in which the production and distribution of goods are carried on determines what kind of laws, customs and social arrangements they will have. The laws, customs, education, public opinion and morals are controlled and shaped by economic conditions, or, in other words, by the dominant ruling class which the economic system of any given period forces to the front. The ruling ideas of each age have been the ideas of its ruling class, whether that class was the patricians of ancient Rome, the feudal barons of the middle ages, or the capitalists of modern times. The economic structure of society largely controls and shapes all social institutions, and also religious and philosophical ideas. In fact, every social, political and religious question is fundamentally economic. The church as an institution existing in society constitutes a social question, and, like all other social questions, resolves itself into a question of wealth production and distribution; that is, the existence or maintenance of the church organization, under present conditions, rests ultimately upon an economic basis.

To solve the problem of pecuniary embarrassment of the church, which involves the problem of closed churches and idle ministers, we must look to economic conditions. It is admitted today that the Protestant church, with possibly the exception of the Episcopal, is supported chiefly by the middle class. The economic status of this class, then, largely determines the financial status of the church. Now, let us inquire, what is the economic condition of the middle class? The condition of this class is one of increasing uncertainty. That the whole class of small producers and distributors are gradually being forced to the wall is beyond question. The economic development is rapidly leading to the downfall of the small producer, thus divorcing him from the means of production and transforming him into a propertyless proletarian.

Not only do we read in modern tendencies the downfall of the small industrialist and agriculturist, but also the doom of the small merchant and capitalist. The trust and department store, and even the money king, have come, and come to stay.

Of the 14,000 failures annually, 87 per cent are those whose capital was \$5,000 or less, and 9 per cent those whose capital was over \$5,000 but less than \$20,000. Consequently of the total failures only about 4 per cent have a capital in excess of \$20,000. But this is not all. We are told that of the 1,168,343 firms doing business in the United States and Canada in 1897, 223,332 either failed or wound up their affairs after losing their last dollar. At this rate it would take but about five years to wipe out the existence of the whole middle class were there not an equal number standing ready to invest their small savings or inheritance in middle-class enterprise. But the supply is not inexhaustible. The wealth of these aspirants of bankruptcy will soon be absorbed by the plutocracy, and then society will be divided into two classes—a few prodigiously wealthy families on the one side and the great mass of proletarians on the other.

The middle class reads its own doom in this concentration of wealth in the hands of the few. It is nearing the breakers. The field of production is already nearly closed—90 per cent of the capital invested in productive enterprises in 1890 is now in the hands of the trust—and the men of means, having nowhere else to invest their wealth, are now beginning to invade the field of distribution, and the small store will soon be as scarce as the small factory is now. The apparent increase of the commercial middle class from 1880 to 1890 was not due to any enlargement of the field of opportunity. Many were driven into this class by the closing of other avenues, and entered, only to feed the fire of bankruptcy. This very phenomena is a sign of approaching collapse. He who reads the signs of the times well knows that monopoly, in every field, will soon rule the day; it is the logical outcome of the competitive system, the inevitable consummation of the capitalist evolution.

Thus, while many of the middle class have failed, many others who have not yet met their "Waterloo" have had their incomes greatly decreased—the small producer owing to the cheaper production of the trust, the small merchant owing to the department store, the small capitalist owing to the decline in the rate of interest.

The middle class, as a whole, then, are thus not able to contribute to the church as

in former years. There is scarcely a minister who could not point to families in his congregation who have thus suffered and been compelled to reduce their contributions. Many churches have been obliged to close as the result of such financial loss and many others are struggling to make ends meet.

The middle class, constituting 39 per cent of the population, own but 24½ per cent of the national wealth, and it is only a question of little time before their wealth will be mostly absorbed by the plutocracy. Already 9 per cent of the population own 71 per cent of the national wealth, and some 64 per cent of this is owned by only 1.41 per cent of the people. The great proletariat class, representing 52 per cent of the population, owns but 4½ per cent of the wealth, but the poverty of this class affects the Protestant church but little, as they are, as a class, outside the organization.

Here note, in passing, that those displaced through concentration and the introduction of new mechanical methods do not find other equally remunerative positions. Some do, but the majority do not, and all are thrown helplessly upon the mercy of others, for those who do not own property in the instruments of production lose their economic freedom and independence. Times of industrial activity give some temporary relief, but the "vicious circle" is sure to run its course and business chaos again results.

The church may thus receive temporary relief through this period of business activity, but the depression that is sure to follow, and which will likely eclipse the crisis of '93, will impair it beyond computation.

It is in the present economic conditions, then, that we find the cause of the financial straits of the church. With the destruction of the middle class, the economic foundation of the Protestant church is being undermined. Those of this class who have not yet fallen in the competitive combat feel the pressure and realize the uncertainty of their position. This is evident if we consider the savings bank deposits, 90 per cent of which has been shown to be supplied by the middle class. The growing deposits of this class in such states as New York and Massachusetts do not evidence its permanent solidity and safety. It rather betrays a sense of insecurity which manifests itself by laying aside something for wife and children in fear of failure, or death under circumstances that would make a settlement of their affairs somewhat uncertain in its results. Many of the middle class who are yet able are laying aside every cent they can spare or are carrying an insurance to guarantee themselves and those dependent upon them against possible want. Struggling under this fear of poverty and want, they limit or completely cut off their contribution to the church, although they have not yet reached the condition which renders the cessation of regular contribution necessary.

Not only is the present system subversive to the financial maintenance of the church, but it is also subversive to its ethical and religious ideals. The church, as we have seen, is affected by its environment, by its economic conditions and relations. These economic relations form the very basis of society, giving to it its own quality and character. If this relation is unrighteous, society will be unrighteous, and consequently unfavorable to the development of true morality and religion. If we will measure the practices of men, the institutions of society, the system of economics, by the life, words and spirit of Christ, we will find that they are incompatible. The demands of our present economic system are incompatible with the demands of the religion of Jesus. We find in this antagonism the real cause of indifference to the claims of the church. This indifference is not due to depraved hearts, but to the struggles and inequalities of our present system of industry—a system which is anti-Christian, which prevents the practice of the social teachings of Jesus.

Jesus teaches that we ought to love our neighbor as ourselves. Is this possible under the present system? To thus love one's neighbor, we must be as anxious to have him secure a good position as we are to get a good position for ourselves. We would not compete with him for trade or employment, and would be as desirous for his welfare as for our own. Is this the spirit of modern society? Is it possible to exercise such a spirit while engaged in the brute struggle of competition? Are we not compelled to compete, to strive, to take advantage of others, to make self the center of thought and action? It is evident we cannot love our neighbor as ourselves when we are compelled to fight with him for our daily bread.

Again, Jesus says: "Take no thought for the morrow." "Lay not up treasures upon earth." Jesus here is endeavoring to eliminate the cause of unrest and anxiety regarding the needed temporal necessities. Is his teaching practicable under the present system? Both those within and without the church are not only obliged to be anxious, but to "hustle" if they procure the needful requisites to maintain life. But were we living in a rightly ordered social and industrial system, there would be no need of fear and worry, anxiety and thought, about the means of livelihood, and no one would care to "lay up treasures upon earth," for society would guarantee that no one willing to work, or incapable of work, would come to want. Surely, any system that produces such unrest and anxiety as the present is not of God. We must either say that Jesus' teachings are false and impracticable, or else that the present system that produces such results is wrong. With the removal of this fear of poverty, time and thought could be devoted to higher things. But today the struggle for meat allows little time for the development of life. Is it any wonder, under such conditions, that men are losing sight of God, the church, and spiritual things? It is a law of nature that we become like that to which we give ourselves; if to God, godlike; if to things, sensual. Men today are compelled to sacrifice themselves to Mammon, and as they cannot worship God and Mammon, it is no wonder that the true worship of God is becoming obsolete. Men who must devote the larger portion of their time to securing the needs of life have no time to develop their higher natures. Right here is the cause of the worldliness and indifference of which we complain. Under a right direction of labor the needs of all could be supplied in two or three hours of pleasant work, thus leaving time for rest, recreation, and the development of one's powers and faculties. Under such an organization and systematization of industry, there would be little need

for anxiety and thought for the morrow, or worry as to "what we shall eat or drink, or wherewithal shall we be clothed," for the curse of insecurity and uncertainty of employment would be relegated into oblivion. This insecurity and uncertainty of employment is inherent in capitalism, and renders Jesus' teachings abortive. Such ideals are truly Utopian as long as our present system exists.

Again, Christianity says: "Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfill the law of Christ." "Let no man seek his own, but his neighbor's good." "Let nothing be done through strife." But the law of our present system is the law of competition, the law of strife and warfare. Its motto is, "Each man for himself, and the devil take the hindmost." Instead of "bearing one another's burdens," it says, "Look out for number one." Our present competitive system is one of antagonisms, in which the interests of every man are set against the interests of every other man. Under such a system true altruism is impossible. There is scarcely a field today where selfish interests, begotten by a selfish system, do not dominate. Private gain is the cause of selfishness, and so long as men can advance their own interests at the expense of others, just so long the root of the evil will remain untouched. Sermons will not extirpate the evil; it is too deep-seated; it inheres in the system itself. The fact that Christians lament the perfidy, dishonor, and selfishness of men, while holding to a false organization of society, shows the need of enlightenment along this line. We surely ought not to be so foolish as to expect the "law of love" to be practiced under the environment of the "law of strife." Selfishness is only possible when one man can gain at the expense of another. Under a system of co-operation no one could thus gain, for the interests of one would be identical with the interests of all. No one could serve his own interests without serving the interests of others, and, conversely, no one could injure others without injuring himself. The unity and solidarity of mankind can only be realized by this unity and solidarity of human interests. When society is thus organized, that which is advantageous to one would be advantageous to all. Under such a system the evil of selfishness would be plucked up by the roots; both motive and opportunity would be eliminated. Such a system would realize the brotherhood of man in all the relations of life.

Again, Christ says: "As ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise." But competition says: "Do others or they will do you"; or, as David Harum expressed it: "Do to the other fellow as he would like to do to you—only do it fast." If men are to succeed, they must resort to the necessary means. Our present system compels a man to seek his own interest by overreaching others. It says to him that he must ride on the backs of others or others will ride on his back. Herbert Spencer informs us that "as the law of the animal world is eat or be eaten, so of the trading community it may be said the motto is, 'Cheat or be cheated.'" The ability to drive a bargain is the ability to make things appear different from what they really are. Men adulterate goods, manufacture shoddy cloth, and practice deception simply because it is to their advantage to do so. This is carried to such an extent today that every man is suspected and his word taken at a discount. We need not expect that these evils will disappear so long as the struggle for life continues. Our present competitive system makes it to man's interest to do these things, and so long as this condition continues we need expect no improvement. Competition is the root of the evil. Socialism will make it for the interest of all to be honest—to do unto others as ye would that they do unto you. This very same self-interest which is now pulling down morals will then build them up. Besides, when a few hours' agreeable labor will secure to all the needs of life, why should any rational being want to cheat or rob? Surely, no one will be tempted to live by crime when he can live easier by honest work. When wealth is no longer a power over men, it will not be dishonestly sought. The motive for excessive accumulation will be gone when society guarantees all against economic want and renders it impossible for men to use their wealth to lord it over others. This end can be accomplished only by decided social changes—nothing less than the collective ownership of the means of production will suffice.

The great mass of men are not bad. If they deviate from the path of rectitude, it is because they are tempted to do so, by our false economic system. The little tricks of trade harden the conscience and make them oblivious to all moral duties. The good resolves are frustrated by the temptation to private gain. Here and there are men who rise above their environment, but we cannot expect general improvement so long as men can advance their interests at the expense of others. The root of the evil is economic, and can only be removed by the substitution of co-operation for competition as the principle of industrial society.

"But," says the objector, "you cannot make men honest by legislation." Very true; we do not expect to directly. What we do expect is to surround men with a suitable environment, congenial to honesty and right-doing. Society should be so reconstructed that if a man is inclined to practice the golden rule, he will not have to practice the rule of gold in order to succeed. If a man were placed in an infectious district and compelled to remain there, he would become sick. What we might expect to do by legislation is not to prohibit his sickness, but to provide for his removal, or the removal of the infectious environment. When we have removed by legislation the cause of the disease, the effect will disappear. So when we remove the infectious environment of competition, its evil results will disappear. We need to establish an environment favorable to the development of moral qualities—one wherein right conduct would be possible. Socialism would remove both incentive and opportunity for the practice of these evils.

I am a believer in personal regeneration, but I want an environment favorable to that end. The truth is, under our present environment, men are unregenerated faster than we can regenerate them. Christianity has been trying for eighteen hundred years to regenerate society by first regenerating men, and today scarcely a principle taught by Jesus is practiced in our industrial realm. This failure ought to teach the church that something has been neglected. This neglect has been a failure to see that the social problem can only have a social solution. There is no individual redemption for a social system. Society is an organism and individuals are members of the social body and can only be healthy in a healthy state of the whole body. The individual is governed by the collectivity, its laws and customs, whether he will or no. No greater mistake could be made than to treat the social problem as a mere matter of individual

Continued on Page 4

OUR LETTER BOX

NO UNION FOR WAR

Editor of the Herald: We do not want a union of forces to make war, but to promulgate Socialism. If the latter can be accomplished, there is none to question its desirability. But a union of the S. D. P. with the "kangaroos" to make war against the "skunks"—never.

Let the S. L. P. folk who find no fault with the platform or tactics of the De Leonites go where they belong. Let the Socialists who find no fault with the S. D. P. platform, tactics and democratic spirit come where they belong. The S. D. P. should move on in its good work, holding to its platform and its methods, and thus avoid strife and confusion within its own ranks.

Thos. M. Carpenter.
Worcester, Mass.

A SIMILAR CASE.

Editor of the Herald: The farmers have a saying, "Never plant a young tree on the spot where a tree has died." The death of the first tree proves that there is something wrong with the soil, or the drainage, or that the site is too much exposed to the wind and weather, or that there is some other unknown cause why a tree could not flourish in that particular place.

We are planting the young Social Democratic party in the soil of America, and we should choose for it the best possible conditions. Our young party had a predecessor, which, although scarcely dead, still shows very little promise of any future growth. There must have been some radical mistake in regard to the S. L. P.; otherwise, under the long and earnest labors of its devoted supporters, it would have taken deep root in American soil many years ago, and long ere this it would have produced good and abundant fruit.

We are wishing and working for Socialist unity, but let us be wise in every move we make. Our young party is flourishing "like a green bay tree," and spreading out its branches in every direction. Already it has borne a little fruit in Massachusetts, and gives promise of a thousandfold more. Why should we change its conditions, or name, or spirit? Above all, why should we transplant it to "the spot where a tree has died?"

E. H. T.
New York.

DEBS ON UNITY

Editor of the Herald: For some time I have been asked to declare myself through the Herald in reference to the proposed union between the anti-De Leon element of the S. L. P. and our party. I have delayed doing so until I had opportunity to examine the situation in various parts of the country.

First, let me say that while no one can be more desirous for a united party of Socialists than I, it is my settled conviction that the hour for such a consummation has not yet arrived.

There are hundreds of S. L. P. comrades of the faction named whom I have met and love and honor, and would be proud to greet as party comrades; but there is also an element in that faction, by no means insignificant in proportion to the whole, with whom we can have no affiliation without inviting disruption. A union with this element will simply not unite, or, if it does, it can result only in dissension, and, sooner or later, a split, and we have had quite enough experience along that line.

Barring such papers as the Cleveland Citizen and the Class Struggle, I am not satisfied with the tone or temper of the press of the anti-De Leon S. L. P. and particularly the official organ, the People, which continues to retail malicious libels respecting our party and our comrades.

The People knows that in the past our party, from its very inception, has been foully maligned and our comrades vilely slandered by the promoters of the party of which, since its so-called expurgation, it is now the official organ. Has it ever uttered one word to atone for such shocking indecency or to make restitution for the outrages intended, if not committed? If it has done itself such a manifestly plain duty in its regenerated capacity, it has not come to my notice. Could honorable men have done less? For my own part, I have always ignored these petty detractors, and I do not want any apology now or at any time, but were I in the attitude the People maintains to the Social Democratic party, I know what the plain and unmistakable dictates of conscience must prompt me to say and do in mitigation of wrongs with which I had been at least identified in perpetrating.

When the People, as the official organ of the party, honestly and courageously clears its skirts, then we can and will accept its professions that it is in favor of a united party.

Not only this, but the People continues to be the vehicle of libel and detraction of our comrades. In a recent issue it permits us to be charged with yet having "cut loose from the Bry-

anties," and our officers, especially myself, with drawing exorbitant salaries for party service. The People knows, or can know if it wishes, that these statements and their like are bald-faced lies, and yet it continues to inculcate its readers with their poison. I care nothing about these lies, nor their craven authors, but I want no affiliation with such serpents of defamation.

As a matter of fact, I have never drawn a dollar of salary in any capacity in the Social Democracy or the Social Democratic party. During the year I served as chairman of the national executive board of the Social Democracy and gave the party my whole time, I worked without a cent of compensation from the party, and during the past eighteen months that I have served on the executive board and as general organizer for the Social Democratic party I have never been paid a cent, and I have met all my official expenses from my private means, and the same is true of every other member of the executive board. We are not making this statement by way of explanation, or to elicit credit, for none is due, but to emphasize the conviction that if the People is sincere in its professions, it will at least stop circulating lies and libels about those with whom it seeks affiliation.

The anti-De Leon party has not yet had its last purging. They hated De Leon, not because of his principles or lack of principles, but because he was their master at their own game. I am confident that our members stand for a united party and also that they will not rush rashly forward to what seems to be such a party, to find themselves the victims of deception. We are not egotistical when we say there will soon be a united party, and that without taking any chances. The Social Democratic party has proved its right to live. It has emerged unscathed from all the assaults that have been made upon it, and is moving majestically to the front. No odium attaches to its name and no stain is upon its honor. The election of 1900 will indicate its standing and establish its supremacy.

Eugene V. Debs.
Kansas City, Mo., Jan. 14.

A LESSON FROM PAST ERRORS

Editor of the Herald: As a union of Socialist forces is at present strongly favored by S. D. P. and S. L. P. (anti-De Leon) parties, it will be well to consider, before either of the two parties gives instructions to its delegates, the following facts:

The S. D. P. developed from a vague and undefined Socialist party into a clear-cut, uncompromising, class-conscious, scientific, Socialist party, based upon international Socialism and the brotherhood of man. It has developed to this height of thought and feeling because it was based from start to its present standing upon democracy. This young Socialist party has given encouragement to its officers, but in trying times has acted against their will; sections of it have violated the spirit of its constitution, and in turn were held down by the officers who represent them to the letter of the constitution and its spirit.

This party is now on the verge of uniting in some shape and manner with a faction of an older Socialist party—the S. L. P. The S. L. P. was composed in earliest stages, previous to and long after the Henry George campaign, of emigrated German Socialists, who, when finding some sign of the spirit of Socialism in the heart of an English-speaking subject, would cheer to the echo and offer homage, and trust to defy the constitution of the party and their own principles. This sad experience they have gone through more than once, and they are to this very day not sure of repeating the error. They have lacked the democratic spirit of Socialism, though they be scientific in their criticism of capitalism and its ultimate aim. No one desires to see a union of principled forces more than the writer of this letter, but a warning to the members of both parties is timely. The S. D. P. should take a lesson out of past errors in both parties; therefore a union can be desirable only if the members of the S. L. P. (anti-De Leon) want the same, thus demonstrating that the S. D. P. is a full-fledged Socialist party. The name of the S. D. P. throughout the United States is unchallenged, except by capitalist foes; the S. L. P. is disrupted and disbanded, and even if the members in some localities will be subjected to severe trials, collecting signatures to petitions and the like, they should never forget that an experiment, however small, will cost some sacrifice or penalty.

Spinyback.
Jersey City, N. J.

A Woman's Social Democratic club was organized Jan. 1, 1900, at Rockville, Conn., with the intention of educating women in Socialistic matters. All those who are willing to listen, learn and help are cordially invited to join and do what they can.

The club appointed the following officers: Mrs. Carrie E. Lisk, organizer; Miss Bertha Kellner, treasurer; Miss Minnie A. Gundermann, secretary.

The Herald Leaflets are good for propaganda at 25 cents per hundred copies.

Socialists on Beacon Hill

Representative James F. Carey is on the committee on accounts in the Massachusetts legislature, also the committee on libraries.

Representative F. O. MacCartney is a member of the committee on elections.

One of Carey's first acts in the legislature was to introduce a bill providing that persons employed by corporations as agents or lobbyists shall wear a badge. He has a few more "up his sleeve."

Allman at Brooklyn

Comrade James Allman will deliver a lecture entitled "The Philosophy of Socialism" before the Brooklyn Philosophical association on Sunday afternoon, Jan. 21, at 2 o'clock, at Long Island Business college, South Eighth street, between Bedford and Driggs avenues, Brooklyn. All comrades and sympathizers within reasonable distance should take advantage of this opportunity of hearing one of the ablest exponents of Socialism in America. Admission is free; contribution accepted at door. Comrades, please extend this notice far and wide.

New Branches

Fifteen days more from the date of this paper remain for the organization of new branches that, according to the rule adopted by the members, can be represented at the national convention to be held at Indianapolis, March 6. During that time we hope to see not less than fifteen new branches added to the roster. This can be done easily if our friends who are nearly ready will hurry just a little.

The basis of representation and rules governing the choice of delegates will be found in the "Official Call" in another column.

The past week showed an increased activity, five new branches being reported, as follows:

TICONDEROGA, N. Y.

Branch has begun work and holds regular meetings, but will report officers later.

TOWNE, N. D.

Chairman, Geo. W. Pogue; vice-chairman, H. A. Strand; secretary, Math. Eidsness; treasurer, A. N. Eidsness; organizer, J. Q. Paige; assistant secretary, A. P. Berget.

GRANITE FALLS, MINN.

Chairman, Jno. Parsons; vice-chairman, L. H. McFarlane; secretary, C. J. Weaver; treasurer, W. W. Morse; organizer, Albert McFarlane.

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

Chairman, Alfred Strawbridge; vice-chairman, Chas. R. Hope; secretary, Rolla B. Holt; treasurer, Ollie Wrigley; organizer, J. C. Williams.

LIBERIA, MO.

Chairman, Pearl Thompson; vice-chairman, Geo. Millor; secretary, C. Lipscomb; treasurer, John B. Dietrich; organizer, M. M. Jones.

Bohemian Paper

The comrades of Branches Nos. 2, 3 and 5, Chicago, desire to acknowledge the following contributions to the fund for publishing a Social Democratic Bohemian weekly:

Otto Vierling, St. Louis, Mo., 50 cents; central committee, Milwaukee, Wis., \$5; branch No. 7, New York, \$3; branch No. 31, Boston, Mass., \$1; branch No. 2, New York, \$1; Bohemian Coal Miners' union, Coal City, Ill., \$5; Bohemian Coal Miners' union, Braidwood, Ill., \$3; Woodworkers' union No. 30, Chicago, Ill., \$5; Lodge Neruda, No. 181, G. S. P. S., Chicago, Ill., \$1; Lodge Prenysl, No. 41, C. S. B. P. T., \$2.20; Jan Vodak, Chicago, Ill., \$5; Jakub Bulin, Chicago, Ill., \$2; Frank Kotas, Chicago, Ill., \$2; Ferd Wimmer, Chicago, Ill., \$5; Joseph Polacek, Chicago, Ill., \$1; Anton Lokaj, Chicago, Ill., \$1; Anton Turdy, Chicago, Ill., \$5; Alois Raus, Kangley, Ill., 25 cents; Anton Ravy, Kangley, Ill., 25 cents; Jan Lak Kangley, Ill., 25 cents; Vaclav Bedarik, Kangley, Ill., 25 cents; Anton Saka, Kangley, Ill., 25 cents; Joseph Tauber, Braidwood, Ill., 25 cents; Frank Psirer, Braidwood, Ill., 10 cents; Kara Maly, Braidwood, Ill., 25 cents; Ferd Kocka, Braidwood, Ill., 50 cents; Peter Bocek, Braidwood, Ill., 50 cents; circulation No. 59, Jan Vodak, Chicago, Ill., \$2.25; circulation No. 51, Vaclav Lbal, Chicago, Ill., 35 cents; circulation No. 44, Ferd Wimmer, Chicago, Ill., \$1.25; circulation No. 55, Frank Kotas, Chicago, Ill., \$1.25; circulation No. 6, Joseph Polacek, Chicago, Ill., \$1.15; fund of dance, Branch No. 5, Chicago, Ill., \$5; fund of members, Branch No. 2, \$2.15.

Total, \$63.95.

PROPAGANDA FUND

"Appeal to Reason".....	Kansas.....	\$2.00
Eugene V. Debs.....	Illinois.....	1.00
Branch No. 2, Milwaukee.....	Wisconsin.....	.50
Branch No. 8, Chicago.....	Illinois.....	1.00
Miss Ellen Edwards.....	Illinois.....	.25
"Class Struggle".....	Illinois.....	.50
P. Schaefer.....	Connecticut.....	.25
The following amounts collected by and contributed by local branches of Rockville, Conn.:		
G. Friedrich.....	Rockville.....	\$2.40
Henry Helm.....	Rockville.....	.20
Henry Krueger.....	Rockville.....	.20
Oscar Menge.....	Rockville.....	.40
Carl Raschlebach.....	Rockville.....	.40
F. Martin.....	Rockville.....	.40
Robt. Schulz.....	Rockville.....	.40
Adolph Gundermann.....	Rockville.....	.40
Herbert Otto.....	Rockville.....	.40
Paul Otto.....	Rockville.....	.40
Herman Friedrich.....	Rockville.....	.40
F. Friedrich.....	Rockville.....	.40
Richard Otto.....	Rockville.....	.40
Aug. Spelman.....	Rockville.....	.40
Herman Brunsky.....	Rockville.....	.40
Louis Schlat.....	Rockville.....	.40
Richard Otto.....	Rockville.....	.40
Total.....		

LOCAL BRANCHES

Notices of Branch Meetings Inserted for 25 Cents per Month

CALIFORNIA

Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evenings, commencing at 8 A. M. Admission free. Educational meetings (for members) every Tuesday evening. Sociology, Economics, Public Speaking, etc. Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening. Membership, with advantage of Educational Course and Social Democratic Herald free to each member, 25 cents per month. Apply to the secretary, John Wesley, 117 Turk street.

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday evening at 8 o'clock in the room of the Friday Morning Club, 334 1/2 South Broadway. F. H. Glin, President. C. C. Ford, 623 W. 5th St., Secretary.

CONNECTICUT

Branch No. 3, New Haven, meets first and third Tuesdays in the month, at 185 State St., at 8 p. m. Cornelius Mahoney, Secretary, 165 Frank St.

Branch No. 4, Rockville, Conn., meets first and third Thursdays at Turn Hall meeting room, Village street. Secretary, Richard Niederwerfer, Box 700.

ILLINOIS

Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 52 Dearborn St.

Branch No. 1, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening, Thomas Kirwin, Secretary, 221 Wentworth Ave.

Branch No. 2 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays at 2 p. m. at Nagl's Hall, 535 Blue Island Ave. Vaclav Jelinek, Secretary, 606 Blue Island Ave.

Branch No. 3, Chicago, meets second and fourth Mondays of each month at Jos. Dundras' place, 101 1/2th Place. Frank Ott, Secretary, 866 W. 18th St.

Branch No. 4, Chicago, meets every first and third Monday evening of the month at 296 St. Louis Ave. Mrs. Mary Horgan, Secretary, 1435 Fulton St.

Branch No. 5, Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays of each month at Frank Lang's, 117 W. 18th St., corner Jefferson St. Paul Chlapa, Secretary, 47 Noble St.

Branch No. 6 (German), Chicago, meets every first Saturday each month at 5 o'clock at Nagl's Hall, 535 Blue Island Ave., near 18th St. Albin Geisler, Secretary, 724 W. 30th St.

Branch No. 7, Chicago, meets at Landquist Hall, corner 61st and Morgan Sts., every first and third Thursday. S. L. Westline, Secretary, 6243 Center Ave.

INDIANA

Branch No. 6, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month at Reheven's Hall, corner Market and Noble Sts.

KENTUCKY

Branch No. 2, Covington, meets first and third Wednesday evenings and second and fourth Sunday afternoons of each month. All agitation meetings except one in month. Good speakers. Secretary, F. C. Stump, 241 1/2 5th st.

MARYLAND

Branch No. 1, Baltimore, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m. at Carpenter's Hall, 550 E. Baltimore St. Public invited.

Branch No. 2, Baltimore, meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 311 W. German St. Frank Mareck, Secretary, 148 N. Gay St.

MASSACHUSETTS

The Massachusetts State Committee meets the first Sunday of each month at 734 Washington St., Boston. All dues and money intended for the State Committee should be sent to the financial secretary, A. McDonald, 104 W. Springfield St., Boston. All other correspondence should be addressed to the corresponding secretary, Margaret Halle, 5 Glenwood St., Roxbury.

Branch No. 2, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at Springfield Turner Hall, H. Schlichting, Organizer, 30 James St.

Branch No. 5, Lynn, permanent headquarters, 22 Summer St., near Market St. Business meetings every Monday night at 7:30 p. m. Open house. Public invited. E. W. Timson, Financial Secretary-Treasurer, 23 Albany St.

Branch No. 3, Brockton, meets the first and third Tuesdays of each month for business in Cutter's Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Center Sts. Frank S. Walsh, Secretary, 332 W. Elm St.

Branch No. 15, East Boston, meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 99 Chelsea St. Miss Jenny Segal, Secretary, 99 Chelsea St.

Branch No. 18, Newburyport, meets the second Monday of each month at Laster's Hall, 1 State

BOOK NOTICES

"Elementary Principles of Economics," by Charles H. Chase, is the title of a 398-page, cloth-bound book, in which the author hopes that it (the book) will prove "the beginning of the science of political economy."

Outside of that portion of the book treating of the money question, the author shows very little familiarity with the subject under consideration. His definitions and conceptions, notably between value and worth, are vague and indefinite. He does not thoroughly understand even the bourgeois economists, for whom he has "great respect." No man is justified in placing before the public a work on political economy until he has to some extent familiarized himself with the best literature on that subject.

The author neither understands Socialism nor anarchism. For instance, he quotes Proudhon as supporting an idea that "all men should work according to their ability and receive according to their needs," which is emphatically repudiated and denounced by Proudhon. He does not seem to understand what Proudhon meant by the term "property." It is as though I should write a work on physiology, not knowing the difference between a digit and a kidney. It might be original without even the quality of being amusing.

"The Rights of Women and the Sexual Relations" is the title of a 385-page pamphlet published by Charles H. Kerr & Co. Price, 50 cents. Authors, Karl Heinzen and Louise Meyer.

This work reviews the past social inferiority of woman and her present subservient position compared with men, calling little attention, however, to the cause—i. e., her economic dependence. It attacks and shows the base morality manifest in soldier worship, and the impure effect of militarism, and especially garrisons, on women. It analyzes the cause of jealousies, artificial fineries and insincere attachments among women. The obsequious gallantry of pretentious courtiers, those of much profusion and little actual respect, the so-called chivalry of old, is laid bare in all its hideousness. The last portions of the work present the cause of the suffragists, closing with a lengthy account of the convention of the German women in Frauen-

St. E. F. McLean, Secretary, 30 Winter St. G. H. Evans, Treasurer, Prince Place. Branch No. 21, Chelsea, permanent headquarters, Room 2, Postoffice Building. Open every evening. Business meetings every Thursday at 8 p. m. Public invited.

MINNESOTA

Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Gesswein, on Main St. Wm. H. Randal, Secretary.

MISSOURI

St. Louis headquarters, Room 7, 22 N. Fourth St. Address all communications to E. Val Putnam, Secretary. For information concerning ward branches, inquire at the above address. Branch 7, Kansas City, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1300 Union Ave. G. J. Storr, Secretary, 1330 W. 9th St.

NEW JERSEY

Branch No. 1, Secretary, Michael W. Schor, 57 Livingston St. Branch No. 6 (German), Paterson, N. J., meets first and third Mondays at 8 p. m. in Beckmann's Hall, 8 Fair St. Karl Lindner, Secretary, 246 Edmund St.

NEW YORK

The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York and vicinity meets first and third Tuesdays of every month in Wills's Hall, 85 E. 4th St. Elizabeth H. Thomas, Secretary. East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every first and third Thursday at 112 Clinton St. A. Guyer, Secretary, 163 Suffolk St. Branch No. 3, 24th Assembly District, meets second and fourth Wednesdays of the month at 324 E. 6th St. Henry Lang, Secretary. Branch No. 4, West Side Branch, New York, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of every month at headquarters, 139 W. 98th St. Elizabeth H. Thomas, Secretary. Branch No. 10, 4th Assembly District, meets every first and third Wednesday of the month at the rooms of The Voice of Labor, 423 Grand St. Jacob Fanken, Organizer, 139 Division St. Branch No. 12, Brooklyn, meets every Thursday at 8:15 sharp. All persons interested are invited to attend these meetings and co-operate in organizing local branches in every district in the city. Wm. Butcher, Secretary, 231 Rutledge St. Branch No. 20, New York, 23th Assembly District, meets first and third Thursdays of each month at Faulhaber's Hall, 1551 Second Ave. H. Hoppe, Secretary, 333 E. 80th St.

OHIO

Branch No. 2, Cleveland, meets in Ohlsen's Hall, 65 York St., second and fourth Sundays at 3 p. m. Lectures, discussions, business meetings, first and third Fridays at 8 p. m. Branch No. 3, Cleveland, meets first and third Sundays in each month at 8 p. m. in Ohlsen's Hall, 65 York St. Lectures and discussions. Branch No. 4, Cincinnati, meets at Richelleu Hall, southeast corner 9th and Plum Sts., second and fourth Sundays in each month at 2:30 p. m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Chas. D. Linsley, Secretary, 1913 S. Auburn St. Branch No. 8, Cincinnati, meets every second and fourth Saturday in Workingmen's Hall, 1315 Walnut St. J. L. Franz, Secretary, 1514 Walnut St. Branch No. 11, German, Columbus, Ed Greiner, Secretary, 906 Mohawk St.

PENNSYLVANIA

Branch No. 2, Erie, meets every Saturday afternoon at 8 p. m. at N. of L. Hall, 78 State St. Chas. Heydrick, Chairman. Geo. E. Laird, Secretary, 25 W. 5th St. Branch No. 4, Pittsburg, meets every Thursday evening at 7:30 p. m. at Funk Hall, 8 1/2 24th and Joseph Sts. W. Bohn, President, 244 Addison St. J. H. Lewis, Secretary, 218 Jane St. Branch No. 5 (Jewish), Philadelphia, meets every Friday at 6:15 A. M. at 730. Discussion from 8 to 9. J. Geerson, Secretary.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee Central Committee meets on the first Monday of each month at 8 p. m. sharp at 618 E. Water St. Eugene H. Rooney, Secretary. John Doerfler, Treasurer. Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Tuesday evening of the month at the Ethical Society Building, 555 Jefferson St. Visitors always welcome. Howard Tuttle, Chairman. Eugene H. Rooney, Secretary. Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Saturday in Gentile's Hall, corner Green Hay and Concordia Ave. Branch No. 3, Sheboygan, meets every fourth Thursday of the month at Gustav Burgard's Hall on Pennsylvania Ave. R. Schoen, Secretary-Treasurer, S. 12th St. Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday each month at Meller's Hall, corner 23d and Brown Sts. George Moerschel, Secretary, 824 1/2 W. 12th St. Branch No. 9, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at R. Sigel's Hall, southeast corner Orchard St. and 9th Ave. Fred Beckhausen, Secretary, 78 Windlake Ave. Branch No. 11, Milwaukee, meets the second Wednesday of each month at the office of the Wisconsin Vorwaerts, 614 State St. Branch No. 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of each month at Peter Kiefer's Hall, 717 Center St., at 8 p. m. John Koepfer, Secretary.

stad. I do not agree with Heinzen on several propositions (perhaps minor), but limited space will not permit their consideration.

"Imperialism and Liberty," by Morrison I. Swift. The Ronbroke Press, Los Angeles, Cal. 500 pp. Cloth.

This work is filled with vituperation and the denunciation of imperialists. The author deplores the departing from the time-honored principles of inalienable rights, and pictures glowingly the horrible social effect of expansion. It is strange that a man with so much talent should accept the capitalist basis and theory of society and then rise in holy wrath against this logical and inevitable development of capitalism.

Suppose, in addressing the laborers in the Illinois Steel works, we should tell them that the steel rails which they forge and make are to be transported and used for steel highways across Asia or South America, and that only by developing foreign resources can the demand for these rails continue, and that if imperialism ceases there will be no market for these rails, and employment will therefore cease, what would be the reply of the laborer to your fine-spun moralizing? He would say, "True, some time injure me and my family, but between all the murdering and slaughter of Filipinos and the destruction of my home, those dependent upon me, and myself, I must of necessity decide in favor of my own existence, the theory of self-preservation being the first law of nature." He can see the results and can feel them; he can see the rails and knows that they are shipped to foreign markets; that is a condition that is open and clear, and you cannot reply to it by any capitalistic juggling of adjectives.

The Socialist who contends for the economic system where the purchasing power of the people is as great in (wear and tear excepted) value as the wealth they produce alone logically replies to the exploiting expansionists.

Seymour Stedman.

DEBS' LECTURE TOUR

Louisville, Ky.....	January 20, 1900
Birmingham, Ala.....	" 21, "
Columbus, Ga.....	" 22, "
Montgomery, Ala.....	" 23, "
New Orleans, La.....	" 24, "
Lafayette, La.....	" 26, "

OFFICIAL CALL

Annual Convention of the Social Democratic Party, March 6, 1900

In accordance with the action of the members, in determining the time and place for the national convention of the Social Democratic party in 1900, the National Executive Board of said party directs that said national convention be held at the city of Indianapolis, in the state of Indiana, for the purpose of nominating candidates for president and vice-president of the United States, to be voted for at the presidential election on Tuesday, Nov. 6, 1900, and for the transaction of such other business as may properly come before it, and that said convention shall assemble at 10 o'clock in the forenoon on Tuesday, the 6th day of March, 1900.

The representation at said convention will be by delegates, chosen in accordance with the referendum vote of the members and reported in this number of The Herald, as follows:

First—Each branch shall be entitled to as many representatives as the individual members thereof in good standing may select for that purpose; provided, that each representative shall be entitled to one (1) vote for each member whose signature is attached to his credential; and provided further, that no member shall have his signature attached to more than one credential.

Second—Branches not sending their own representatives may select those of other branches of the same state to represent them; provided, that in each such case the representative shall hold the proper credential with the signatures of members attached as herein provided.

Third—No member shall be qualified to serve as representative or entitled to representation who has not been a member of the party at least thirty (30) days prior to the opening day of the convention.

Fourth—All signatures of members attached to credentials shall be certified to by the chairman or secretary of their respective branches.

Fifth—The national secretary shall furnish each branch with a sufficient number of blank credentials for the purpose herein specified.

With the hope that the deliberations and action of this convention, an event of historic importance in the development of Socialism in the United States, may redound to the credit of the delegates and the glory of our cause, fraternally,
Jesse Cox, Chairman.
Seymour Stedman, Secretary.

DUES AND REPRESENTATION

We feel called upon to give notice betimes that only branches in good standing will be entitled to representation at the approaching national convention, and that only members in good standing will be entitled to sign the credentials of delegates.

The convention meets at Indianapolis, Ind., on Tuesday, March 6, 1900, and to be entitled to representation the dues of a branch must be paid in full to and including the quarter ending March 31; and the same is true of individual members. No member is qualified to sign the credentials of a delegate unless his dues are paid during the same period. This is the rule agreed to by the party, and in the examination of credentials it will be the duty of the committee to see that it is enforced and that the credential of any branch not in good standing be rejected and the name of any member not in good standing be stricken from the credential.

It has also been provided that no branch or member shall be entitled to representation unless admitted at least thirty days prior to the opening of the convention. The opening day being March 6, the last day of grace is the 4th day of February. Branches instituted and members admitted after this date will not be entitled to representation. This should be clearly understood that there may be no unnecessary expense incurred in sending delegates not entitled to seats.

A large number of points declare that they are "about ready to organize," and a great number of persons say they are about ready to join. If they would be represented in the most historic convention ever held in the United States they should bear the 4th day of February in mind and come in before that date.

The swashbuckler-known as the emperor of Germany has been talking again. This time, in direct opposition to notorious facts, he says that the phenomena of Social Democracy are transitory and will soon pass away. He sees in Socialism the only menace to a capitalistic state upheld by militarism, the one element that more than all else disturbs his kingly slumber. Unfortunately for this ruler of men, who is on such intimate terms with the King of Kings, the conservative organs of the empire distinctly repudiate his assertion. The Kreuz Zeitung says: "We cannot deny that the emperor's words conflict with his former utterances, and we must admit that further legislative action against the Socialists is inexpedient, since it would result in a renewed defeat of the government."

Subscribers will find their expiration number on wrapper. Prompt renewal is requested.

CHURCH FROM ECONOMIC STANDPOINT

Continued from Page 2

salvation; the social problem can only have a social solution for each individual. Civilization must be born again before the individual can see the kingdom of God. Says Rev. George Herron: "The first step in the spiritual salvation of the present-day individual is the deliverance of the people of Christendom from economic servitude. This is the supreme evangelistic call, which no pious subterfuge proposing to 'set men's hearts right' can any longer evade. It is the commanding spiritual task, which will not move aside for any theological or commercial bluff."

The fact is the teachings of Christ are inapplicable to our present system, and a man resolving to follow his precepts finds, when he is plunged into the corrupt competitive environment, that he is soon polluted. As well might one expect to live in a malarial swamp and keep healthy as to live in our competitive environment and not be more or less contaminated. A man cannot carry out the Sermon on the Mount without facing the almost certain prospect of ruining his business.

There are thousands of men today who stand aloof from the church simply because they see the incompatibility between the demands of Christianity and the demands of our industrial system. They are too honest to play the hypocrite when they know that in their business they are compelled, if successful, to live in constant violation of Christ's teachings. That this is the general feeling may be seen from such common statements as "Business and religion don't jibe." Mr. Havemeyer when before the industrial commission said in response to a question on ethics of life: "I don't care two cents for your ethics; I know nothing about them. I am talking about business." Surely, a house divided against itself cannot stand. Those who count themselves Christians must cease to uphold a system which is in antithesis to the teachings of Christ. Ye cannot serve God and Mammon.

It is surely time the ministry aroused and faced the industrial problems of the day. Nothing so hinders the work in which they are engaged as this Mammonistic competitive system. They have wasted time enough in endeavoring to harmonize the teachings of Christ with this unjust social order. Their efforts at exhorting and commanding their listeners to practice the precepts which they themselves do not follow, and which they know their hearers will not follow, are amusing, were they not so serious.

This is a deplorable condition and there is need that something be done, but no mere palliative will suffice. The evil is inherent in the present system. The competitive order breeds poverty, begets crime, fosters selfishness, greed and inhumanity. The principles of the present order are utterly un-Christian. The whole system is based upon exploitation. The talk of Christianizing such an order is futile; it contains in itself a contradiction. Wage slavery can no more be Christianized than could chattel slavery. With each new age comes a new hindrance to the gospel. The great hindrance today is this industrial system. Here is the obstacle to progress, the menace to the church, the obstruction to the spread of the kingdom of heaven here on earth. Says Rev. Mr. Herron: "The individual religious development will necessarily be arrested henceforth until we have a religious social development. Associated men, though they may be individually converted to a faith in Christ, yet now economically act, and are socially related to each other, under the dominion of principles and customs that are largely a contradiction of all that Jesus taught and practiced. There must be given to men, and society must accept, a wholly new order of human relations before even the individual may see fully the kingdom of God"—social justice.

Much more might be said, but this is sufficient to indicate the hindrance to the church's progress. As a denomination we have done something, but our efforts have not met with the success we had hoped. Many are filled with disappointment, while others, of an optimistic nature, are whistling to keep up courage and resolving, in "meetings assembled," to push onward the work. Still, after all our determination, failure often meets failure, and we return sore at heart and distressed. But in view of the obstacles we encounter we have done fairly well. We cannot expect to make great progress; as a matter of fact, no church will have any real "forward movement" so long as the present system exists. But of the three forms of social injustice—chattel slavery, feudal slavery, and wage slavery—the last will be of the shortest duration. In fact, there is every indication that capitalism has nearly run its course.

The duty of the church is to aid in bringing in a more righteous economic order. We cannot afford to be alienated before this tragedy in which God's humanity is being crushed by Mammon. There is a future for the church if it is wise enough to seize the opportunity. But it stands in such a relation to the existing order, and is so dependent upon the money of the ruling class that she dare not point out the political and economic crimes which inhere in our present system of industry, then the scepter of redemption will pass from it, and a new redemptive organ will arise.

The idea of Jesus is being given an economic interpretation. It is becoming clear that if his idea is ever realized, this competitive system must be replaced by a system of industrial brotherhood—the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution. Not until we have thus laid the economic foundation for the realization of the kingdom of heaven (social justice) can the church ever hope to go forward to victory.

P. S.—The above article was sent to the Universalist Leader, the denominational paper of the Universalist church. After waiting some four weeks for the article to be published, the author wrote asking them if they did not intend to publish the article to please return it. It was then returned with the excuse: "Your article is too long for us to print." Comment is unnecessary.

It would seem that the church in its various branches and the religious press as a whole are thoroughly subservient to wealth; that the church has made an unholy alliance with the powers of this world, and that her ministers are completely cowed by capital and power.

The church—negatively, at least, if not positively—upholds this system of social injustice and exploitation. Only here and there do we find a minister who has the courage to come out and denounce the evils of this pernicious system, or a paper, especially religious, that dare print an article in criticism of the same. As a rule, we find them indifferent, if not openly defending the present constitution of society. The church has become largely a social club, and so does not care to have social distinctions abolished.

THE PLATFORM

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness for every man, woman and child are conditioned upon equal political and economic rights.

The present ownership of the means of production and distribution of wealth has caused society to split into two distinct classes, with conflicting interests, the small possessing class of capitalists or exploiters of the labor force of others, and the ever-increasing large dispossessed class of wage-workers, who are deprived of the socially-due share of their product.

That capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people.

That the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system, will compel the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare, or result in the destruction of civilization.

That the trade union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its economic production and distribution, and that both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system of production and distribution.

Therefore, the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be the establishment of a system of co-operative production and distribution through the restoration to the people of all the means of production and distribution, to be administered by organized society in the interest of the whole people, and the complete emancipation of society from the domination of capitalism.

The wage-workers and all those in sympathy with their historical mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist organizations, and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America.

The control of political power by the Social Democratic Party will be tantamount to the abolition of capitalism and of all class rule. The solidarity of labor connecting us with millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international Socialism, the brotherhood of man. As steps in this direction, we make the following demands:

1. Revision of our antiquated Federal Constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to full and complete control of government by all the people, irrespective of sex.

2. The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

3. The public ownership of all means of transportation, telegraph, telephone, all means of transportation, communication, water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

4. The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal and all other mines; also of all oil and gas wells.

5. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of work.

6. The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of a large number of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

7. All useful inventions to be free to all, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

8. Labor legislation to be made national, instead of local, and international where possible.

9. National insurance for the aged, the sick, against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.

10. Equal civil and political rights for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

11. The adoption of the initiative and referendum, and the right of recall of representatives.

12. Abolition of war as far as the United States are concerned and the introduction of international arbitration instead.

NATIONAL FUND

The following is a list of comrades who have agreed, in response to the appeal of the National Executive Board, to contribute monthly for one year to the national fund. Other names will be added as they are received.

CONNECTICUT
Finley, N. H., Hartford
Holman, B., Hartford
ILLINOIS
Stedman, S., Chicago
Jesse Cox, Chicago
P. A. Ayer, Chicago
A. Friend, Chicago
Dr. J. E. Gray, Chicago
Mrs. C. Brown, Chicago
"Friend", Chicago
MASSACHUSETTS
Flanders, P. B., Haverhill
Cohen, A., Boston
Parker, Levi, W. Newton
Monette, G., Brockton
Bosworth, W. P., Brockton
Tate, Peter, Everett
Hitchcock, D. G., Warren
Goldman, S., Haverhill
Hough, E., W. Newton
Hase, J. C., Haverhill
Brown, J. W., Templeton
Grieve, C. B., Amesbury
Alton, H., Lynn
Keown, D. J., Lynn
MICHIGAN
Kaiser, S., Grand Rapids
MINNESOTA
Geerwin, F. Red Lake Falls
MISSOURI
Flacher, Wm., St. Louis
Fellner, Henry, St. Louis
Ruesche, Wm., St. Louis
MARYLAND
Jacobson, E., Baltimore
NEW HAMPSHIRE
Gordon, F. G. Manchester
Howie, Geo., Manchester
Mellen, H. R., Somersworth
"Somersworth Branch"

NEW YORK
Fales, I. C., Bensonhurst
Abbott, L. O., New York
Butcher, Wm., Brooklyn
Thomas, E. H., New York
Kahn, Arthur, New York
Helm, F., New York
Leopold, J., New York
Panken, J., New York
Weyell, Chas., New York
Mark Raphael, New York
Philip Gruber, New York
NEW JERSEY
Pankoff, Carl, Jersey City
Karl Kander, Newark
"Comrade", Newark
OHIO
Becvar, Jos., Cleveland
Zorn, Julius, Cincinnati
Ragan, F., Cleveland
Altenbernd, C. Cleveland
PENNSYLVANIA
Lewis, J. H., Pittsburg
F. W. Hirt, Erie
TENNESSEE
Enloe, Dr. R. H., Nashville
Hamilton, W. A., Nashville
TEXAS
Price, R. S., Houston
WISCONSIN
Berger, V. L., Milwaukee
Booney, E. H., Milwaukee
Fisher, E. H., Milwaukee
Doerfer, John, Milwaukee
Baumann, G., Milwaukee
Arnold, L., Milwaukee
Mister, E., Milwaukee
Heumann, C., Milwaukee
Tuttle, H., Milwaukee
Heath, F., Milwaukee
Branch, Milwaukee

THE HERALD IN BUNDLES

25 copies \$.20
50 copies35
100 copies65
200 copies 1.20

It must be understood that this offer is for bundle orders mailed to one address only. Send orders to

THEODORE DEBS,
126 Washington St., Chicago.

BRANCH SUPPLIES

Charters \$2.00
Membership Cards (per 100) 1.00
Membership Applications (100)25
Constitutions (each)03

Send orders with cash to Theodore Debs, 126 Washington Street, Chicago. No supplies sent on credit.

CLUBBING OFFERS

The Herald and Appeal to Reason .70
" " " Public Ownership .70

Order from THEODORE DEBS,
126 Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

When visiting Greater New York you desire to meet comrades, go to the

INTERNATIONAL CAFE AND RESTAURANT
428 Grand St., Near Attorney
NEW YORK CITY

Prompt attention and satisfaction guaranteed. All are welcome.

CALL TO ACTION

ORGANIZE FOR 1900

There are few communities in this country today without one or a dozen Socialists who are not affiliated with a Socialist organization. At the last State election in Missouri votes were cast for the candidates of the Social Democratic Party in nearly every county in the State.

In almost every community a thoroughly wide-awake and earnest Socialist, with little exertion, could in one week effect the organization of a Branch of the Social Democratic Party.

What they CAN DO
The Declaration of Principles and Political Demands of this party will be found in this paper; read it and you will see that the party is a straight, uncompromising Socialist organization, recognized as such in the International movement for Socialism.

UNCOMPROMISING SOCIALIST PARTY
The triumph of the Socialist cause, which is the cause of the world democracy, requires organization, and without it nothing can be accomplished; this party is controlled by no individual nor by any set of individuals short of its entire membership.

DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATION
The year 1900 will be one of great and far-reaching importance to the people and especially to the intelligent, wealth-producing people of the United States; the latter have surely by this time begun to see the futility of any longer giving support to capitalistic parties.

THIS YEAR'S CAMPAIGN
Socialists should have as their main object in 1900 the polling of every vote possible for straight and uncompromising Socialism, and to do this the co-operation of every unattached Socialist in the work of organization, where he lives, is necessary.

ORGANIZE WHERE YOU LIVE
The Social Democratic Party is now organized in more than half the States; it consists of Local Branches, State Unions and a National Council. A Local Branch may be organized with five members.

HOW ORGANIZED
It will nominate candidates for President and Vice-President next March.

Full instructions and all necessary supplies for organizing Local Branches may be obtained from the National Secretary, Theodore Debs, 126 Washington St., Chicago, Illinois.

Headquarters for Literature.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC.

1. Liberty, Debs, 5c.
2. Morrie England, Blatford, 10c.
3. Municipal Socialism, Gordon, 5c.
4. Prison Labor, Debs, 5c.
5. Socialism and Slavery, Hyndman, 5c.
6. Gov't Ownership of Railways, Gordon, 5c.
7. Orator on Voltaire, Victor Hugo, 5c.
8. Evolution of Industry, Watkins, 5c.
9. Hard Times and Cure, Gordon, 5c.
10. Women: Past, Present and Future, Bebel, 25c.
11. The Red Light, Casan, 25c.
12. The Pullman Strike, Carwardine, 25c.
13. Co-operative Commonwealth, Gronlund, 50c.
14. The New Economy, Gronlund, \$1.25.

MECHANICAL AND ENGINEERING.

15. Progressive Examination of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, Hill, 5c.
16. Locomotive Running Repairs, Hitchcock, 50c.
17. Simple Lessons in Drawing for the Shop, Reynolds, 5c.
18. Air Brake Practice, Phelan, \$1.00.
19. Ready Reference, Alexander, \$1.50.
20. Locomotive Running and Management, Sinclair, \$2.00.
21. Compound Locomotives, Woods, \$2.00.
22. Twenty Years with the Indicator, Pray, \$2.50.
23. Hand-Book of the Locomotive, Roper, \$2.50.
24. New Catechism of the Locomotive, Forney, \$1.00.

Note.—Nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 in lots of 10 copies, 25 cents; in lots of 100 copies, \$1.50. No. 2 in lots of 10 copies, 60 cents; in lots of 100 copies, \$3.50. Send orders to DEBS PUBLISHING CO., TERRE HAUTE, IND.

THE BOOK YOU NEED

PRINCIPLES OF Scientific Socialism

By Rev. Charles H. Vail
Author "Modern Socialism" and "National Ownership of Railways."

CONTENTS:

The Industrial Revolution. The Analysis of Value. The Origin of Surplus Value. The Advantages of Socialism: Production, Distribution, Elimination of Unnecessary Labor, Prevention of Waste, Elevation of Woman, Proper Care and Training of Children, Efficient Directors, Solution of the Monetary Question, Abolition of Taxation, Simplification of Government, Benefits to Capitalists, Benefits to Laborers.

The Evidence of the Moral Strength of Socialism: Abolition of Divorce; Abolition of Business Dishonesty; Restriction of Profits; Prevention of Prostitution; Elimination of Crime; Prevention of Intemperance, Inequality, etc.

Poverty—Its Cause and Cure. Wage Slavery vs. Chattel Slavery. Rent and Interest. The Law of Labor: That Labor and Nationalization are Identical; that Labor is Better Off Today Than Ever Before; that Cheap Prices are Beneficial to Labor; that Foreign Markets are Beneficial to Labor; that Luxury is Beneficial to Labor; that Nationalization is Beneficial to Labor. The Social Question: that Extravagance is the Chief Cause of Economic Want; that Socialism Would Thwart Inventions and Improvements; that Socialism Would Destroy Individuality, Conciliation and Ideals.

12mo, 238 Pages; Paper, 5c; Cloth, \$1.00.

SEND UNDER TO
THEODORE DEBS, 126 Washington St., CHICAGO

Haverhill Social Democrat

Published Weekly at Haverhill, Mass., by the Social Democratic Publishing Association of Massachusetts. Subscription, 50 cents per year. Make remittances payable to J. J. Fogarty, Business Manager, Address,

SOCIAL DEMOCRAT,
25 Washington St., Haverhill, Mass.

CAREY'S SPEECHES

Delivered in the Massachusetts Legislature. The popular verdict pronounced it simply "great."

"SOCIETY'S RIGHT TO LAND AND CAPITAL"
An argument that is irresistible, couched in language clear, graceful and poetic. Don't fail to order this.

Price 5 cents a copy, or \$3.00 a hundred. Send orders to MRS. A. KONIKOW, 1043 Washington St., Boston

Pacific Coast Socialists

Books on economic subjects can be ordered to your advantage from the Bureau of Socialist Literature, 38 Turk Street, San Francisco, Cal.

Following is a partial list of the works of G. B. BENHAM, which we recommend:

History of the Paris Commune of 1861, paper cover, 25 cents; full cloth, \$1.00.
Gospel of Discontent (compilation) \$1.15
Snap Shots at Capitalism (compilation)15
Story of the Red Flag05
Crimes of Capitalism05

G. B. BENHAM
38 Turk Street San Francisco, Cal.

JOS. BARONDESS FIRE AND LIFE INSURANCE

Life Insurance effected by mail in any part of the country. The Insurance attended to in Greater New York and New Jersey.

6 Rutgers St., NEW YORK.

NOTES OF THE SCIENCE OF LIFE

AN EXTRAORDINARY COURSE OF PRACTICAL LESSONS IN PHYSICAL AND MENTAL DEVELOPMENT, THOUGHT, TRANSFERENCE AND PERSONAL POWER.
Price of the notes, \$2.00, or 25c each, but they will not be sold out of the regular order.

CHICAGO CORRESPONDENCE SCHOOL OF LIFE SCIENCE.
1541 CENTRAL BOULEVARD CHICAGO, ILL.

Social Democratic Party Button

This Emblem was designed by Comrade John H. Grady, of Brockton, Mass., and its meaning represents the following:

Its Outline forms a maltese cross pattern; one of the nearest designs there is for a gold pin or watch chain. Colors, red, white and blue, representing our national colors. Hand Clasp represents Friendship, Unity, Fraternity and true Brotherhood Love. Scales represent Justice and Equal Rights, giving to every one their due. Ballot Box represents Vote to express one's choice by the written ballot. Quill Writing Pen represents Arbitration, that the pen is mightier than the sword, Education, etc. The Earth represents that all shall have their equal rights and share of what the earth contains and produces, etc.

S. D. P. A. Social Democratic Party of America.

MADE IN FOUR SIZES

4-inch Pin Button 5c. each, 50c. per doz.
3-inch Lapel Button 3c. each, 30c. per doz.
2-inch Lapel Button 2c. each, 20c. per doz.
1-inch Lapel Button 1c. each, 10c. per doz.

This is the only button in the field at present that stands for the party in its full name, according to our General Constitution. Remember, the entire profit from the sale of these buttons goes the National Propaganda Fund. All orders promptly filled.

For Sale by Comrade JOHN H. GRADY,
90 Winthrop St., Brockton, Mass.

Pocket Library of Socialism

1. Woman and the Social Problem. By MAY WOOD SIMONS. Shows that the emancipation of women will only come with the emancipation of man through socialism.
2. The Evolution of the Class Struggle. By WILLIAM H. NOTES. A historical study showing how socialism is coming.
3. Impudent Narratives. By ROBERT BLATCHFORD. A masterly answer to the argument that "syndicalism" would help the laborer.
4. Backward to the Future. By M. SIMONS. A study of the United States, China, Japan, etc., showing that man and man are alike scientifically exploited.
5. Realism in Literature and Art. By CLARENCE S. DAWSON. Shows how the workers of modern art and literature are helping on the new social order.
6. Single Tax vs. Socialism. By A. M. SIMONS. Shows the inadequacy of the Single Tax as a remedy for the evils pointed out by Henry George.
7. Wage-Labor and Capital. By KARL MARY. The essence of the great philosopher's theory, in his own words.
8. The Man Under the Machine. By A. M. SIMONS. Tells how wage slavery began, what it is today and how the workers are going to free themselves. A condensed handbook of socialism.
9. The Mission of the Working Class. By REV. CHARLES H. VAIL, author of "Modern Socialism."
10. Morals and Socialism. By CHARLES H. KERN. Shows how popular ideas of morals are manipulated in the interest of the capitalist class.

Daintily printed, five cents each, post-paid.
SPECIAL OFFER: For one dollar we will mail forty copies of the Pocket Library, all of one kind or assorted as preferred.

SEND ORDERS TO

THEODORE DEBS

126 Washington St., CHICAGO

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LIBRARY

Karl Marx, Capital, Cloth, \$2.00
F. W. Spring, Socialism from Genesis to Revolution, Cloth, 1.00
Gronlund—The Co-operative Commonwealth, Paper,50
August Bebel—Wages, Past, Present and Future, 1871,50
Blatchford—Morrie England,50
Edward Bellamy—Looking Backward, 1.00
Edward Bellamy—Equality, Cloth, 1.00
Lassalle—History of the Social Movement of 1871, 1.00
Charles Vail—Modern Socialism, 1.00
Asplund—Heterodox Economics and Orthodox Profits,25
Henry D. Lloyd—Wealth Against Common Wealth, 1893, 1.00
Volney—The Ruins of Empires,50
Thomas Paine—The Rights of Man,50
Henry George—Social Problems,50
Cabrera Ward—The Abolition of Slavery,50
Adams—President John Smith,50
Richard T. Ely—Socialism and Social Reform, 1.00
Buchner—Man in the Past, Present and Future, 1868, 1.00
Bernstein—A History of the Paris Commune (cloth 75c.), paper cover,50
Chas. H. Vail—Principles of Scientific Socialism,50
Herron—Between Jesus and Caesar,50
Fabian Essays,50
Rogers—Six Centuries of Work and Wages,50
Paine—Rights of Man,50
Donnelly—Cesar's Column,50

PAMPHLETS

F. G. R. Gordon—Hard Times: Cause and Cure..... .50
Leonard D. Abbott—The Society of the Future..... .50
F. Lassalle—What Is Capitalism..... .50
E. M. Hyndman—Socialism and Democracy..... .50
F. Lassalle—The Workingman's Program..... .50
Chas. H. Vail—The Industrial Revolution..... .50

THE HERALD LEAFLETS

No. 1 Contains "A WORD WITH YOU, JOHN!" being an admirably prepared paper by "Wayfarer," based on the chapter in "Modern Socialism" by Charles Vail.

"THE REAL MASTERS"—pertinent questions addressed to workingmen.

The "DECLARATION OF POLITICAL DEMANDS" of the Social Democratic Party of America, 1899.

No. 2 Contains "ABOUT YE SLAVES!" a ringing address by E. V

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

VOL. II. No. 32.

CHICAGO, ILL., U.S.A., SATURDAY, JANUARY 27, 1900.

Whole No. 82.

MERLIN'S MIXTURE OF BRIGHT SAYINGS

Hope for Harvard.

The formation of a Socialist club in Harvard is one of the most promising signs of the time. Recently, it seems, a number of the students who are imbued with Socialistic sympathies decided to form a social reform club. Its purpose is to study social conditions and to find the cause and cure of social evils. Its effect will be to form a nucleus of Socialist sentiment in the college, whose influences may be very far-reaching.

It is encouraging, indeed, to see this fountain of knowledge springing up in the oasis of Harvard's intellectual ignorance. Ordinarily we do not expect to find modern students who know anything—except about a football punt or a rowing skiff. We have learned to consider, and not without good cause, that the average student develops his calves at the expense of his brains.

This social club, therefore, disproves the impression that in these centers of learning the muscle had crowded out the mind, and that dead languages were universally considered to be of greater importance than living issues. There is still hope for Harvard.

Parrotic Propagandists.

While in a barber shop yesterday, I was sounding the barber on his social views, and on the views of the public concerning Socialism.

He said: "There was one of those fellows in here an hour ago, talking about Socialism."

"What did you think about it?" "Oh," he replied, "I think some things he said were all right. He went pretty deep into the subject. Trouble was, he went into it so deep I couldn't follow him at all."

Herein lies the secret of our frequent failure in personal propaganda work. We are so profoundly wise that our auditors remain profoundly ignorant. We try to crowd six-inch ideas into two-inch minds. We try to teach the advanced principles of economics to kindergarten students of reform.

There was once an old Scotchman who said he only knew two tunes. One was "Old Hundred" and the other wasn't. And so there are many Socialists who only know two words. One is "proletariat" and the other isn't. Let us cease repeating, parrot-like, a few pet phrases, and express, in clear and common English, the plain principles of Socialism.

The New Brotherhood.

On the last Saturday of the old year a number of us were spending the evening at Dr. Konikow's, in Boston. Several comrades from New York and Newark were present, on their way to attend Mayor Chase's inaugural. During the evening Leonard D. Abbott of New York related the following charming incident, illustrative of Socialist comradeship:

Not long ago he received a communication from a Jewish Socialist. Not being able to interpret it himself, he carried it into a part of the Literary Digest publishing rooms, where a number of Jewish compositors were at work. Handing it to one of them, he asked him to read it. The printer took it and complied with the request. He commenced: "Dear comrade," and then, while his face lighted up in a smile, he exclaimed, "Oh, you're a Socialist?" "Yes," replied Abbott. "Are you?" A glad affirmation and a hearty handshake changed the strangers into comrades. And yet folks say we Socialists are irreligious! I tell you, comrades, if there is any religion worth having, it is found in that Socialist spirit that makes strangers kin and brothers of us all.

Who's Got the Button?

At St. Helen's a mechanical device has been introduced into the glass factories that displaces all the blowers. What hitherto has been done by the human mouth will be done hereafter by a mechanical process. As a result, the workers will be given ample time to "blow" about the beauties of a social system that makes a mechanical blessing into a human curse.

This is but one of a myriad cases where machines are replacing men, and where steel fingers are taking the places of human hands. There is not a department of industry in which this tendency is not seen and felt.

Only a fool would claim that human invention in itself is wrong or injurious. The real source of the trouble, as any sane person can see, lies in the misapplication of these new powers and processes. Instead of being used to lighten labor and benefit all, they are used instead to increase profits and benefit a few.

Pretty soon, in the evolution of ma-

chinery, all toil will be reduced to the pressing of a button. Then, methinks, capital and labor will have a merry game of "Who's got the button?" Don't you think you'd better learn how to play it now?

The Sanity of Socialism.

Sometimes when I think of social conditions as they exist today, and of the countless incongruities and absurdities that are everywhere apparent, I cannot but fancy that this world is the lunatic asylum of the universe, and that all the fools in creation have been dumped on this planet.

The system of planless production, of competitive waste, of nightmarish advertising, of misapplied forces, of class conflict, seems one that could only be planned by idiots and perpetuated by fools.

And when I think of the sane and sensible propositions of Socialism, and see how they are ridiculed and rejected by the mass, the impression of prevalent idiocy is confirmed.

All that is good and workable in our social life is based on Socialistic principles. Our schools, parks, fire departments, postoffice, and all the public utilities that are of most service and give best satisfaction are already socialized.

When we become sane, as a people, we shall recognize the fact that the Socialist principle of public ownership is the one, and the only one, on which modern society can exist at all.

A Windstorm.

Last night I attended a big pro-Boer meeting in Faneuil hall, in Boston. The old "cradle of liberty" was jammed full of struggling and uproarious humanity. From the superabundant quantity of my native brogue that was in evidence, it might literally have been called a Patriot-ic meeting.

Every expression of hatred for the British bully, and of sympathy for the Boer patriot, was cheered to the echo. If every word had been a bullet, then the flow of eloquence would have proven as deadly a stream to the British as the Tugela river.

It was a sad waste of wind. Apart from its littleness of influence upon the conflict in South Africa, the energy exerted could have been used to better purpose.

As a matter of fact, the Boer is just as oppressed as the Boers. The latter are defending their gold mines; the former is defending his very life from the greed of capitalists at home. When we have fought our foes at home, we may perhaps have time to indulge in a little denunciation of foreign tyrants.

Tolstoi on Labor and Property

A man is not brought into the world for some one to work for him, but to work himself for other men.

The principal cause of pauperism is riches. In a society where, under any form, exploitation and violence exist, riches cannot represent labor. In the existing society it rarely happens that riches is the product of the labor of its possessor. It represents almost entirely the past and present labor of other men—the real workers. Riches is but a conventional sign which gives the right and the means to profit by the work of others. The domination of one man over many is simply owing to the fact that the workers do not receive the full product of their labor.

For what reason are some deprived of the use of the land and the instruments of production, which land and instruments are in the possession of others, and for what reason are those who work on the land deprived of the instruments of production?

The man who considers labor as the goal, the joy, of his life, should not seek to deprive others of the fruits of their labor.

He should not seek to acquire useless things which we call property. Property signifies something which has been given to, or acquired by, and which belongs exclusively to the individual, with which he can do just as he pleases, and of which he cannot be deprived, and which remains with him to the end of his life, and the value of which he must continually seek to increase.—Tolstoi, translated by P. P. Ayer.

The Boston Herald noted the inauguration of two Social Democratic mayors in Massachusetts as follows: "The inaugural addresses of the two Socialist mayors appear to have attracted more attention in the newspapers throughout the country than the utterances of all the other mayors put together. The former get several columns of space, with their pictures thrown in, while the latter are all boiled down together into a stickful or two. Such is the fate of conservatism, as compared with the other extremity."

Workingmen should give their support to the Social Democratic party, because it stands uncompromisingly for the interests of the working class.

THE RANK AND FILE

By Arthur R. Andre

Old Bob Clayton held a monopoly of repairing shoes in the sleepy little town of Santa Juanita, state of California.

Nobody could tell when the old man's store became the Socialist headquarters of the little town. There is a revolutionary inspiration in the pungent odor of new leather, and the "boys," who came to the store to kill time, had talked themselves into Socialism so long ago that the inhabitants of the place evinced little surprise when discussions of the co-operative commonwealth and other kindred subjects rose above the sound of old Bob's hammer and lapstone. The customers did not complain, either, when they came for their shoes; on the contrary, they rather liked it, and so long as good nature and an easy toleration of each other's peculiarities marked the proceedings the old shoemaker was perfectly happy.

But latterly a new and ugly spirit was creeping into the discussions of the little group. Johnson and Brown, the inseparable "rank and file" (they had earned that sobriquet by being silent on all occasions), were the first to notice the change. They did not like it, and were provoked almost to the point of utterance. Bob, the old shoemaker, who had been looked up to with great respect as a high authority on all things Socialistic, was thoroughly miserable. He was regarded with suspicion as a despicable Utopian. O'Hara, the grocer, had been the first to observe Bob's treasonable fall from grace, and O'Hara was becoming more aggressively clear-cut and class-conscious with each new number of his "official organ." So there could be no doubt about the truth of his charges. A first-class feud was also growing up between Hartley, the baker, and Merton, the banker's clerk. Hartley was nothing if not a materialist, and he was quite sure that religion was the great stumbling block to Socialism. He repeated often and so often being a Christian, often and so often, quietly dropped out.

Things gradually went from bad to worse until, from being the rendezvous of the wits of the town, the shoe store became first an armed camp and at last was completely deserted. The Rank and File held the fort to the last, in gloomy silence, but since there was no one to listen to any longer, they tilted their chairs back and indulged in reminiscences of the good old times when any one could call himself a Socialist without being expected to repeat a catechism as long as the forty-nine articles.

Mary Ellen Hartley, the baker's daughter, was home again. She made a pretty picture as she came down the main street of the quiet little town, dispensing smiles and greetings, right and left, with a reckless prodigality, to her numerous friends and admirers. Bustling into the old man's shoe store like a whirlwind, with a "Hello, Bob! Merry Christmas! Don't get up!" she drew a chair up to the side of his bench, seized his hand in both her own and inquired about his health with almost maternal solicitude. Having satisfied herself on this point—for Bob did not take as good care of himse as he should, and needed watching—she then narrated her achievements and experiences in the big city whither she had gone to "be" something (as she called it), and the shoemaker listened with a glow of mingled pleasure and pride on his old face.

And why should he not be proud of Mary Ellen? Did he not always come to him with her childish joys and troubles? Was it not at his knee that she had learned the lessons that are not to be found in books, and when she had grown up and one away to the city, and the neighbors shook their heads doubtfully, did not Bob expressed confidence in Mary Ellen to everybody? Now, so quickly the time had flown! She had come back, triumphant, famous, and a real doctor to boot. Why should Bob be proud of Mary Ellen?

After having satiated the old man's curiosity, she began ply him with questions about San Juanita and the "boys." She soon noticed, however, that he was holding something back from her, evidently wishing to spoil her home-coming with bad news, but a few well-directed quons brought out the whole story of dissolution of the club.

Johnson and Brown the "Rank and File," now, alas! completely demoralized, came aimlessly uttering in an hour later to find Mary Ellen in deep consultation with the shoemaker. They tried to escape but were discovered and promptly interrogated as to

the cause of hostilities. The "Rank and File" looked blankly at each other for inspiration, till Johnson finally, in sheer desperation, mustered up courage enough to remark, gallantly, albeit somewhat disjunctedly, that it was because Mary Ellen had deserted them. Brown indorsed this immediately, but they were both brought up short with "Rubbish!" and another volley of questions. Mary Ellen, however, could get nothing out of the "Rank and File," except that probably the papers were the cause of the trouble. They stuck to this point so persistently that finally she gathered up a pile of back numbers of official and unofficial organs and took them home to read.

No one knew how she managed it, but when New Year's eve came around every member of the club was in his place around the table at the Hartley cottage, and Mary Ellen resplendent in a new gown, was such a perfect hostess that she soon dissipated the frost with which the "boys" had come together for the first time after their recent estrangement. O'Hara, who had been purposely seated next to old Bob, was perceptibly cool for some time, but he melted at the second helping of turkey, and completely forgot his "official organ" while he discussed the local gossip with the old shoemaker.

The baker, on the other side of the table, was tempted to air his materialistic views at Merton's expense, but a warning "Dad!" from Mary Ellen, "Don't forget—to pass Mr. Merton the cranberry sauce!" made him look quite ashamed for some reason. However, he quickly rallied and told his best story, just as he used to do "before the war," as Bob called the "late unpleasantness."

The "Rank and File" were so enraptured at the trend of affairs that they forgot to be bashful, and applauded the baker's story with an enthusiasm born, probably, of experience. They had certainly heard it often enough to know its good points. Their mirth was infectious and pretty soon every one was laughing and talking at once.

The table having been cleared, Mary Ellen rose to her feet and called the assemblage to order. It was conceded that she could rattle off a speech with as much grace as any of the "rank and file" could. She looked fixedly at O'Hara, and he bowed a ready acquiescence. He was willing to repudiate his "official organ" on the spot. "You don't know how it pains me to come back to Santa Juanita to find my old comrades divided. [The baker and clerk looked decidedly uncomfortable.] I am not going to blame any one. Your zeal for our noble cause has outrun your discretion—that is all. You can't make all Socialists think alike on all subjects. You have tried it and you have failed. Now try the other method and tolerate each other's differences of opinion."

"Mr. Merton, your insistence on a high ethical standard to our movement does you credit. [Her father's materialistic brows contracted.] It was certainly needed here when I came home. [The brows smoothed out again.] Mr. O'Hara, your clear insight into the class struggle is certainly commendable; but remember you will find Socialists of other schools of thought shoulder to shoulder with you in the hour of victory; and, comrades all, if you would escape a repetition of recent misfortunes, never forget that the spirit of toleration is the grandest product of the century now drawing to its close." [Enthusiastic applause.]

The "Rank and File" were evidently in a state of volcanic eruption. Old Bob said afterward that it was Mary Ellen's work, but that will never be known. Johnson told Brown confidentially afterward that it was a mystery how he ever managed to do it, but at any rate he rose in great trepidation and moved that they celebrate the new year by sending for a charter from the Social Democratic party—the party that stood for the sentiments so ably expressed by our worthy comrade, Miss Mary Ellen Hartley, and of which member.

"The longest speech of my life," he breathlessly whispered to Brown, as the latter hastily seconded the motion.

There was not a dissenting vote when the motion was put, and after Mary Ellen had been gallantly escorted to the door by old Bob, and the wine was brought out, "The New Woman," "The New Branch," and so many other things were toasted that when the meeting adjourned rumor has it that Merton and O'Hara went home arm in arm, mutually agreed that the new branch must maintain a high moral standard and be strictly class-conscious.

Arthur R. Andre.
San Francisco, Cal.

Subscribers will find their expiration number on wrapper. Prompt renewal is requested.

MUSINGS IN MY LEISURE HOUR

By M. Winchovsky

Here, young folks, is something which Capt. Cuttle would have advised you to "overhaul and make a note on." Speaking at the Hanover conference of the German Social Democracy, on the questions raised by Bernstein, Aug. Bebel, on Oct. 10, 1899, said:

"Holding judgment over heretics would presuppose that we have dogmas. But if ever a party was free from them, it is the Social Democratic party, and if anybody ever resolutely opposed dogmatic teachings, then Marx and Engels did. Having no dogmas, we, as a consequence, cannot have any trials for heresy. A party, moreover, among whose foremost demands on the present state is the removal of all limitations to the free expression of opinion, would belie its own principles if it would deny to its own members that which it claims at the hands of existing society. The right of free criticism is something beyond questioning. Criticism is, of course, always unpleasant, because neither individuals nor parties ever change opinions over night. The freedom of criticism is our life principle; it is the very air which we live on."

The crowned swashbuckler who answers to the title, name and number of Emperor William II. is of the opinion that the Social Democracy aforesaid is on the wane. Some fifty years ago Johann Jacoby, who subsequently became a Socialist at the age of 70, told one of William's ancestors to his face that it was always the misfortune of kings that they would not hear the truth. It would seem that they cannot see it either.

By the way, those words of the great Jacoby are engraved on his tombstone. He is buried in Koenigsberg-Prussia, and in the hearts of thousands of Socialists.

On my way home from Philadelphia, where I inflicted a lecture on a patient audience, I made up my profit and loss account.

Gained—Five members for the local branch. Lost—One Sunday's rest, an umbrella and a front tooth. Considering that the new recruits were of the right stuff, while the tooth was a decayed one, the umbrella a wreck of its former self, and the day's rest of a somewhat doubtful quality, I should have very little to grumble at. The trouble is that the new members were acquired not by my eloquence, but by a promise, duly fulfilled, to give them a reading. Such is life in the recruiting business.

John Swinton writes for the New York World. Here is the old fable of the gem in the dust bin adequately illustrated. We can all admire the gem all the same, even those of us who may not find its glittering exactly to their taste. And how young the old man is!

Of course unity obtained at the expense of tolerance and freedom would be an undesirable bargain, but the thing can be discussed without assuming that we are facing or proposing an unconditional surrender. What we ought to be able to bring about is that much of harmony which would suffice to obviate the disgraceful spectacle of a three-cornered fight among Socialists next fall. Our working together would be sure to have amalgamation follow in its wake, if it could not be preceded by it.

The Molineux poison case has already taken up over fifty days. The question before the jury is: Has he or has he not intended to kill Harry Cornish? A miscarriage of justice would result in the destruction of one innocent man, and we are laudably cautious. Of course, homicide on a large scale is quite a different thing, as Mark Hanna and Joe Chamberlain will conclusively prove to you, should they ever be pleased to vouchsafe an explanation.

When the Reveille of Butte, Mont., says the Socialists do not propose to "assist the labor element," it does not understand the attitude of the Social Democratic party toward the labor element, which has always been friendly. It seeks the support of trades unionists for Socialism, but it does not support trades unionists who are seeking jobs in the Democratic Republican camps. If that is the kind of assistance the Reveille is thinking about, then it is quite true that Social Democrats have none to offer.

What guaranty has the workingman that if Democratic expediency attracts his vote, Democratic expediency and not principle will attract the men he votes for?

Social Democratic Herald

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board
JESSE COX, Chairman
SEYMOUR STEDMAN, Secretary
EUGENE V. DEBS, VICTOR L. BERGER, Treasurer
FREDERIC HEATH

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, 50 cents. Six months, 25 cents. No papers sent to any one on credit. If, without having subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and no bill will follow. Foreign subscriptions \$1.00.

Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

A. S. EDWARDS, Editor
THEODORE DEBS, National Sec'y-Treas.
126 Washington St., Chicago.

82 is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 82 your subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, JAN. 27, 1900.

HERRON NOT A COLONIZER

The Herald referred last week to a new ideal community to be started by colonizers in New Jersey. The fact that the names of Prof. George D. Herron and Mayor Jones were connected with the scheme was not mentioned. We purposely omitted these names until we had some positive information that the use of them by the promoters (who, we now understand, are the publishers of a paper called the *Assayer*) was, as we suspected, unwarranted and without the sanction of the two gentlemen referred to. We are now able to state positively upon the best information obtainable that so far as Prof. Herron is concerned he never consented to the use of his name in any way. On the contrary, being solicited to give his support and influence to the enterprise, he replied with an explicit declination and declared that he "did not approve of colony schemes." He protested twice against being identified with the proposed venture, yet his name was used and has been given out as one interested in its promotion. Prof. Herron is being subjected to much misrepresentation by the public press because of this improper association of his name with a scheme whose promoters deprecate politics and political parties. Selah!

MORE MISINFORMATION

In answer to a correspondent the Workers' Call (S. L. P.) says in its issue for Jan. 20:

"C. Claus, Walden, Mass.: The national executive committee of the S. D. P. removed the farmers' plank from their platform, and some time afterward submitted their action to a referendum vote."

This is a fair sample of the way misinformation is served out by all the S. L. P. papers, with the exception, which we are happy to note, of the Cleveland Citizen and the Class Struggle. The purpose of it is clear to any man who can tell a hawk from a handsaw. It is to create the impression among members of the S. L. P. and Socialists generally that the Social Democratic party is not free from boss rule, the existence of which within the S. L. P. has played such havoc with that organization.

What are the facts relative to the elimination of the "Demands for Farmers" from the platform?

1. That for several weeks prior to July 6, 1899, the Herald printed a call for a conference to be held on that day at Chicago to consider matters of importance to the welfare of the organization.

2. That such a conference was held with the result that five different propositions were SUBMITTED TO A REFERENDARY VOTE OF THE ENTIRE MEMBERSHIP.

3. That among the recommendations of that conference was one favoring the elimination of the "Demands for Farmers."

4. That this recommendation was immediately thereafter submitted to the members, was voted upon and approved by a large majority.

5. That the "Demands for Farmers" were, therefore, "removed," not by the executive board, as the Workers' Call says, but by the members of the party, according to the rule of our organization governing all such matters.

In addition to the foregoing, the conference was preceded by a full and free discussion of the "demands" and the final action of the members has been accepted throughout the country.

More than this it is unnecessary to say.

A PRACTICAL REFORM

A new stroke of economy is soon to be made as a result of recent agreements and combinations among the railroads. And it is to be a practical reform that will meet with our unreserved approval. The private owners of the great trunk lines east of Chicago—that is, the entire transportation system between the Mississippi river and the Atlantic seaboard—have concluded to reorganize upon a basis that will oust from their easy jobs about fifty thousand men employed as local, general, traveling and district freight and passenger agents and solicitors. Separate city ticket offices in all the cities are to be abandoned and joint offices take their place. Besides this, all forms of commissions heretofore paid

for "getting business" will be abolished and the incomes of thousands of agents will vanish. Then, too, the scalper is to be eliminated and an army of superfluous clerks and assistants will be made to hit the cinder path in behalf of this practical reform and stroke of economy. Again, it has been discovered that too many fast trains, put into service as the result of sharp competition, are running. As competition is something the babbler about it don't want, these trains will have to go, and a lot of trainmen will quit howling prosperity when they thrust their hands into empty pockets.

You probably remember that congress failed to legalize pooling, so that the railroad barons could plunder the people with the sanction of more law. But these corporations, the regulators of the commerce of the country, can always find a way to accomplish their purposes. So they will pool anyhow, law or no law. However, it is an excellent reform; its effects will be felt by a quarter of a million people, many of whom, indifferent to the fate of millions of their fellows engaged in productive industry, have imagined themselves among the most important people "in the push." A little practical reform will now convince them that they are of very small consequence—a crowd of parasites, mere clothes-wearing folk, for whom the onward sweep of economic evolution has no use. Such master strokes of economy are doing more for real progress and the settlement of the social problem than all the Bryanite reformers between the two oceans have ever dreamed of.

IGNORANCE AND MALICIOUSNESS

The New York People (that of 184 William street) prints a long article from the Coming Nation anent the subject of Socialist unity, in which the last-named paper repudiates the class struggle and incidentally indorses the Social Democratic party, in apparent total ignorance of the truth that this party takes its stand squarely upon that fact in the social revolution and declares in language that leaves no room for doubt or quibbling that society is divided into two classes with conflicting interests. These interests never can be harmonized under capitalist production.

Now, the Social Democratic party does recognize the class struggle; there would be no place for it, and it would not be a Socialist party if it did otherwise. Every copy of the Herald ever printed has contained the platform of the party; the platform distinctly proclaims the class struggle. Every Social Democrat believes in the class struggle. There has never been any question among honest men as to the attitude of the party on the fact of the class struggle. But what does the People do? It seizes upon an article written by somebody ignorant of the facts and the truth, "whose utterances," it says, "are in general absolutely unworthy of notice," and, with its own comments, occupies nearly two columns of editorial space in an endeavor to make it appear that the Coming Nation "speaks for the Social Democratic party." So this is the way the matter stands, according to the ingenuous editor of the People: "The utterances of the Coming Nation are unworthy of notice, except when it speaks for the Social Democratic party, and then, if in its speaking it misrepresents that party, it is worthy of two columns of space." We say this because, though the Coming Nation is misinformed as to the attitude of the S. D. P. on the class struggle, the People is not, and if the editor of the People should claim that he is, he has but to refer to the files of his own paper and read communications from comrades in the Socialist Labor party to become enlightened.

We have studiously avoided disputation with S. L. P. papers and ignored bitter assaults upon the S. D. P. and its officials, realizing that no good could result to the Socialist movement from engaging in a war of words with another Socialist party. When, however, in the face of the fact that the members of both parties have for many weeks been earnestly discussing pro and con the subject of unity, representative S. L. P. papers like the People and Workers' Call (both anti-De Leon) choose to renew their tactics of misrepresentation, we feel fully justified in publishing this reference to the People's attitude and that of the Workers' Call on the subject of the "Demands for Farmers." It is well, however, that readers of the Herald should understand that the present departure from the consistent course we have followed does not mean an abandonment of that course nor an invitation to controversy with another Socialist party. Both the People and the Workers' Call are clearly wrong and it is unfortunate that at this particular time either of them should have attempted to jeopardize the approachment to fraternal relations between the two parties.

This number contains the announcement of a work compiled by Comrade Frederic Heath and now ready for delivery. If you look over the contents as they are barely outlined in the advertisement on page 4, you will see that "The Social Democracy Red Book" is going to supply a need. Send for a copy—price, 15 cents—to Debs Publishing company, Terre Haute, Ind.

BRYANISM AGAIN

The Herald has received from a subscriber in Massachusetts a letter in which this question is put to the editor: "I want to ask you whether, if Mr. Bryan is placed squarely upon the Socialist platform, we should not vote for him?" * * * It is a question whether we will take the essence through the Democratic party, or whether we shall refuse it and wait another four years for success?"

The writer is not a member of a branch of the Social Democratic party, or he would certainly not propound such a question. A Social Democrat knows that the chances of Mr. Bryan's being "placed squarely upon the Socialist platform"—that is, the platform of the Social Democratic party—are about equal to the chance that Mr. McKinley will next week convert his imperialistic cabinet into a branch of our party and start a Socialist propaganda in the white house. It is worth while remembering, and no restatement of the fact ought to be necessary, that Mr. Bryan is not a Socialist. He has taken some pains to have this understood by declaring against Socialism. In 1896 he would have none of the tenets of Populism, except free silver, in his platform. He was quite willing, with the aid of the Democratic "board of strategy," to corral Populist votes, but he was opposed to being placed squarely or otherwise upon the Populist platform. The sole purpose of any attempt by the "board of strategy" in 1900 to place him upon the Socialist platform would be to get votes. If they succeeded in that to the extent of electing him, the Socialist platform would be relegated to the limbo of the forgotten. Socialism would not be advanced by anything the Democratic party might be likely to do.

Mr. Bryan is a middle-class reformer, an advocate of free-silver coinage and the folly of smashing the trusts by legislation. Like Mr. McKinley, he has a way to rid society of the trust problem. The former wants a commission, with powers similar to those of the interstate commerce commission, which has been a failure, while Bryan wants a licensing board to authorize good trusts to do business and prevent the bad trusts from doing anything. There is no choice between the two, since both are supremely ridiculous.

It is not a question whether we will take the essence of Socialism through the Democratic party, because that party does not understand what that essence is; neither does Mr. Bryan, although he is opposed to it. His unintelligent and illogical method, so far as he may be said to have any of dealing with trusts, shows clearly enough that he does not understand the modern industrial movement and has no real conception of the revolution now going on in society. If his dimwitted following insists that he has, then we in turn insist that no American politician ever so thoroughly covered up his true convictions in a torrent of mere words and an overworked advocacy of fatuous and inadequate reforms. Democrats may take which horn of the dilemma they choose. We take the former. Mr. Bryan, like the Democratic party, is not up to date.

In this year—1900—with a presidential campaign on hand—those who are not for Socialism are against it; those who are not with us are against us, and they who support the Democratic party will be against us and against Socialism equally with supporters of Republicanism. The essence of Socialism can be had only through a Socialist party.

We repeat again that Social Democrats are not supporting Bryanism.

NOTES AND COMMENT

The city officials of Milwaukee who were found guilty of contempt for violating a court injunction are not yet in jail. One of the lawyers, James C. Flanders, who argued in court that the judge could not enjoin the council from passing an ordinance, said:

"I say, if there was any man who was opposed to this ordinance—whether he was a member of the bar or not—that the company of the opposition had the right to procure his influence with money if this could be done. What is there illegitimate about the sale of power or influence to a passage or defeat of a measure? Here is the wrong? Or where the wrong if the person of power or influence with the common council is by a money retainer restrained from using his power or influence to aid either a passage of a measure or to prevent, but is prevailed upon to remain inactive?"

What do you we slaves who have to "submit" think this?

Make a note of this: The chamber of commerce of Cleveland, Ohio, promised to pay each of the 10 militia companies of that city \$1,250 a year if they would promise not to solicit subscriptions from the public. The b failed to "cough up" and the militia has brought suit for the amount. The plaintiffs' briefs the following thing exposure is made:

"The truth of matter is that this defendant (the chamber of commerce) did not want this militia company to solicit subscription from the public because it (the militia company) might feel under obligation not to shoot the public when it need to be shot; and

this corporation thought if it could stop that it would raise the funds from its own members with which to pay this militia company, so that this militia company would feel obliged to shoot the people whenever this company wanted it to do so."

The working class has the capitalist class on its back; through rent, interest and profit, the capitalist class is appropriating the fruits of the labor power of the working class; the capitalist class enjoys all the privileges and luxuries that unearned wealth can bestow, while the working class, living close to the subsistence line, is eking out a hand-to-mouth existence. And yet there are people who deny the class struggle! A bit of an oasis in Toledo doesn't alter the fact, either.

Mark Hanna unwittingly revealed the motive underlying all the Republican professions of virtue and patriotism, when, having been down to Philadelphia to collect the \$100,000 promised for the national convention and failing to do so, he said: "We only went to Philadelphia on account of money. There wasn't anything else to take us there." Your pure and unselfish patriotism is the patriotism of the dollar—the Mark Hanna and Republican brand.

We welcome to our table No. 1 of the *Miners' Magazine*, published by the Western Federation of Miners, at 1613 Court place, Denver, Colo. Alike in reading matter and typographical make-up, it is a credit to the organization, and under the editorship of the president, Edward Boyce, it will have the good wishes and should receive the practical support of all friends of the western miners everywhere. The subscription price is \$1.

Every political party that has ever been in power, in America or elsewhere, has upheld the economic system it found prevailing. No political party can establish justice for the people except one that proposes to control the economic powers of society in the interest of a free life based on economic security for the whole people. Such a party is the Social Democracy.

We have advocates of dress reform and millions scantily dressed.

We have advocates of food reform and millions without enough to eat.

We have advocates of educational reform and millions with no chance for education.

We have advocates of more boulevards and millions rotting in social cess-pools.

The trust managers are supposed to be trembling with fear since some of the reformers have suggested the publicity cure. What a terrible thing it would be to put their names in the papers if they don't behave themselves!

The capitalist employer of labor refuse to recognize workmen in their organized capacity, but they are quick to recognize the value of workmen's services at as low a rate of wages as will buy them.

END OF THE BEGINNING IN THE UNITED STATES

(M. Winchewsky in London Justice)

The history of the young and vigorous Social Democratic party will some day be written for the benefit of our "kin beyond the sea," which, in this case, of course, means the Socialists of the United Kingdom, irrespective of race or creed. Should it fall to the lot of the present writer to undertake that task, he will endeavor to make it clear to British Socialists in general, and his old comrades in the S. D. F. in particular, why, in view of the fact that another organization had been in existence here for upward of a quarter of a century, the new party was established.

For our present purpose, however, a brief outline of the party's past will suffice.

After the great railroad strike in Chicago some five years ago, the American Railway union virtually collapsed. Eugene V. Debs, its president, and some of his associates, got into prison for six months, and the railroad magnates breathed more freely. The most honest and most big-hearted of this country's "labor leaders"—friends and foes are a unit on this score—seems to have done a good deal of thinking while in jail, and the result was that on Jan. 1, 1897, he wrote his famous letter in the organ of his union declaring fully and unequivocally for Socialism.

Five months later he, at the head of a number of people, mostly members of the A. R. U., went to work and brought into existence what was then known as the Social Democracy of America.

The somewhat utopian appendage praised and derided respectively under the name of the colonization plan was, under the then prevailing circumstances, and more particularly on account of the deplorable state of the railway union, with thousands of men out of employment, not quite unnatural. It did not take Debs, however, very long to find out that the "plan" was not only useless owing to its illusory character, but actually harmful, inasmuch as it served to incumber the young Socialist

organization with all sorts of undesirable elements.

At the convention held in Chicago in July, 1898, the Social Democracy was captured by the colonists (what they have done with it has never transpired), and the "seceders" right there formed the present Social Democratic party.

When the fall elections of last year came around the party was still in process of formation. Even in the "commonwealth" of Massachusetts it had only thirteen branches. It should be borne in mind that in that state, the cradle of American liberty, the native country of Whittier and Emerson, as well as William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips, and—what is, perhaps, from the standpoint of modern Socialism, still more important—industrially one of the most advanced portions of the Union, the new party, even in its original shape, was a class-conscious political Socialist organization with no nonsense about it. We were, however, in the autumn of 1898, pretty weak even there.

How great and gratifying was, therefore, our surprise when the election resulted in a most substantial victory for our cause, two of our men—James F. Carey and Louis M. Scates—being elected to the state legislature of Massachusetts. This was followed one month later by the election of John C. Chase to the office of mayor, accompanied by six men (aldermen and councilmen), besides a few minor officers in the city government. All this took place in Haverhill, a city in the county of Essex, with a population of about 40,000, an important industrial center, it being one of the greatest shoe manufacturing places—a kind of Northampton in New England.

Two representatives and a Socialist mayor! The capitalist press, with an acumen born of a class-consciousness much more clear-sighted than is unfortunately that of the proletarians, sized the whole thing up very correctly, and made up its mind that at least in one city in America Socialism had got firmly entrenched. They hoped, however, that the movement would remain localized in Haverhill, and they furthermore consoled themselves with the expectation that the thing would not happen again, seeing that Chase got elected by a plurality, he receiving 2,300 out of a total of 7,000 votes, so that if they united their forces, they would easily defeat us.

As time went on the fond hopes of our friend the enemy grew smaller and paler—that is, with regard to our movement remaining confined to Haverhill. One day the S. D. P. elected a man to office in Amesbury; a little later "alarming" reports began to come in from Newburyport, Whitman, Quincy, Rockland and Danvers. "The red craze," as one of the papers called it, was clearly spreading throughout the state.

And so, when the last full campaign was reached, they made up their minds and a purse of \$40,000 to prevent the re-election of our representatives on Nov. 7 and that of the first Socialist mayor in America at the municipal election four weeks later.

Goldbugs, silverbugs and humbugs (of the water-cure persuasion) united against our lads in many cities and towns, notably in Haverhill. Probably for the first time within a generation Republicans and Democrats buried the hatchet, forgot the past, and fought shoulder to shoulder against the theories of Social Democracy. And the result?

Well, they wrested from us one district in the state election, defeating Comrade Scates in Haverhill, notwithstanding the fact that his vote increased by 150 since last autumn.

On the other hand, we re-elected Carey by an increased majority over the combined Republicans, Democrats and Prohibitionists (temperance men), De Leon's "Socialists" bringing up the rear.

We elected in Rockland Frederick O. MacCartney as representative to the state legislature by a clear majority over both old parties.

We more than doubled our vote in the state for governor.

We re-elected Chase as mayor of Haverhill against four parties, of which three were in coalition, Chase carrying nearly every ward in the city.

We elected Charles H. Coulter as mayor of Brockton, our man being on top of the poll in every one of the seven districts.

We elected two aldermen and one councilman in the last-named city and three of each in Haverhill.

We made a fine showing in every other place where we had candidates in the field.

As to the platform on which all this was done, the readers of Justice may be enlightened if the editor can find room later.

This is the end of the beginning. America is falling in line, with the beginning of the end in sight.

New York, Dec. 12, 1899.

Comrade Edlin, delegate from San Francisco to the S. L. P. convention, called upon us last week and passed a pleasant half hour in "the den." Edlin is for union—if not organic, then at least a political union on one candidate for the presidency. With Edlin we can all say "that is a consummation devoutly to be wished."

THE STRUGGLE IN THE RANKS OF SOCIALISM

By Jas. T. Van Ness

The Socialist factions, about evenly divided in numbers, three factions, holding separate Socialist meetings every Sunday evening in San Francisco and Los Angeles—this is the pleasant information I have to report from California. Now, comrades, are we wise in allowing these divisions to sap our strength? In the election of 1898, with the exception, possibly, of Massachusetts, California polled the largest Socialist vote, in proportion to its population, of any state in the Union. We all know of the great growth in Socialist sentiment since then, and many of us believe that with a strong Socialist party in the field we can command a vote of from 20,000 to 40,000 in 1900.

I submit that such a party is now in the field. Further than this, I submit that it is only from an entirely mistaken point of view—an entire misunderstanding of the true struggle in the Socialist Labor party—that two of the factions are not already one and actually drawing in numbers from the third.

To make my point clear, let me ask you to banish from your mind all prejudice, all personal animosity, all theoretical views of taxation, and all individual ideas as to constitutional procedure. Unless you do, it will be impossible to get at the truth, for beneath all the bitterness and vituperation lies a principle over which both factions of the Socialist Labor party are striving, and of the true nature of which, at least so far as I can judge, both seem equally in ignorance.

Any one joining that party is always struck by its correct theory and impossible practice. There we find a nearly perfect economic platform, which is being urged upon the people by the most absurd, discourteous and impracticable tactics. Lord Bacon said: "They be the best churcheons which, being learned, incline to the traditions of experience, or, being empirics, incline to the methods of learning." And, by contradiction, it might be said of the Socialist Labor party that no body of men ever seemed less inclined "to the traditions of experience" or "to the methods of learning."

It is this indifference to the traditions of experience, this self-centered view that they alone possess the truth, that has led the leaders of that party into the ultra-individualism which is rapidly developing the grave errors of bigotry and intolerance. Instead of adapting their policy to new demands made by a growth in numbers, these leaders have actually become more and more intolerant, until now their whole organization is on the verge of dissolution.

But what is the fundamental error which is tearing the party to pieces? I think the Rev. B. Fay Mills brought this out pretty clearly in the Arena. There he said: "The Socialist Labor party has almost an ideal program. It occupies in relation to the social question the position of the more radical of the old Abolitionists in the days before the war. It is possessed of a heroic enthusiasm, and it appears to have engendered the power and sacrifice that accompany the birth of a religion. But, in strange contrast, it seems to be practically without soul! It seems to aim exclusively at the establishment of an economic democracy, and lacks the vital conception of rational, unselfish spirituality." Here is the whole trouble. Instead of building on a sure foundation, which is ethical as well as economic, the founders of the Socialist Labor party eliminated the ethical and built solely on the economic. Hence we have a house built upon the sand.

The weakness of such a position can best be made plain by reference to law. Now, government is both founded and sustained by law, which is of two kinds—(1) the law of things and (2) the law of morals. The law of things is based solely on the existence of private property. As Socialists propose to do away with private property, they equally propose to eliminate the law of things. This can only be done by enhancing the law of morals.

But only in its relation to Social Democrats am I interested in the struggle, and the point I wish to make in their regard is this—that the Social Democratic party is founded on both an ethical and economic basis. Comrades in the Socialist Labor party, you cannot put new wine into old bottles. You are forced by a fight for principle—the principle of Socialism, as opposed to the principle of anarchism—to leave your party. You want to retain a little of the old bottles. To accomplish this purpose you ask us to form with you a new party. We cannot do it. We aim "at the establishment of an economic democracy," but we aim to do so with a "vital conception of rational, unselfish spirituality." You wish that conception dimmed. You have no right to ask it. Social Democrats in no sense can favor anarchism. They advocate pure and unadulterated Socialism. They stand on an absolutely firm ethical and economic foundation. They propose to do away with the law of things by substituting for it an enhanced law of morals, and you have no

right to ask them to be shaken in their course. Rather should you strengthen them in their resolve by joining their party at once.

For many weeks I have given this matter the most careful and impartial thought. For no body of men in the United States have I kinder feelings than for the rank and file of the extreme faction of the Socialist party, for I know them to be unselfish, though misguided. But their position is untenable, and they eventually must fall. And so I can think of no good reason why comrades dissatisfied with that party should not become Social Democrats at once. I can find no reason why a new party should be formed. But of one thing I am, and we can all be, certain, and that is that great harm is being done to our common cause by these unhappy divisions. Therefore, in concluding, I urge all Socialists to give this matter full and immediate attention.

Los Angeles, Cal.

AN END OF THE CENTURY OUTRAGE

A few weeks ago I was riding slowly and most uncomfortably through the state of Idaho on a mixed train, learning for myself how great were the discomforts of travel a score of years ago, before the dining-car and the sleeping-car arrived to ameliorate them. In the wretched little caboose in which I rode there were but few passengers, and most of them were so affected by their dismal state that they sat silent and sullen, refusing to respond to any overtures for acquaintance.

One young fellow, clean shaven, alert and intelligent, attracted my attention, and presently we fell into conversation. He was American born, but of Swedish parents, and had a slight foreign accent and a certain simplicity of mind which does not often appear in the thorough American. He was going to the Coeur d'Alene mining district, he said, to get a job. "I was going there myself to study the conditions under which men got and held jobs, and so I questioned him rather closely. He was not a member of a labor union, was a stranger in the west, and practically "broke." That is, he confided to me that he had money enough to pay for one night's lodging at Wallace, the county seat, and for his stage fare to the nearest mining camp.

We disembarked together at Wallace, and the next morning I saw him board a ramshackle stage for the camp at Burke. Two days later he turned up again, mud to his knees, unkempt and footsore.

"Hello," I said, "didn't you find that job?"

He swore viciously. "There's plenty of jobs out there, but a fellow has to come down here and get a permit to look for work before anybody dares to hire him. I spent all my money getting out there, and had to walk back. Now I have to go up to the state office and get a permit and then walk back again. What kind of an American place is this, anyhow?"

That was not my first introduction to the new system of state regulation of employment in Idaho, for I had read before of the intelligent plan of making every man who wanted work in Shoshone county get a permit from the governor's representative to go and look for it. It was, however, one of the most striking illustrations that came to me of the hardships that the system entailed.

Curiously enough, the plan has been forced upon the county by the very influences which last week wrecked two banks in Boston, caused a panic in Wall Street, ruined scores of speculators and almost stopped the course of business in the nation.

A certain mine at Wardner, Idaho, is owned by the Standard Oil crowd. For years it has been a "non-union" mine, while the other mines in the district were unionized. It paid wages more than \$3 a week less than those of its competitors and naturally became a menace to the welfare of all miners in the district. One day a gang of men went down to the mine and blew up its concentrator. Standard Oil influence at Boise City and Washington was strong enough to cause a speedy declaration of martial law, and since that time—eight months, now—the whole county has been under military domination.

For some time men were arrested arbitrarily and kept in a stockade for months without warrant or trial. That has been stopped now, but the authority still remains to renew the practice if the whim of the commanding officer shall suggest it. Martial law exists in the Coeur d'Alene now, though it is administered mildly. It was under martial law that my traveling companion was compelled to get a permit before the employer he found could give him work.

The purpose of this system is to drive out of the district all men associated with organized labor. Before getting a permit to look for work the man must forewear allegiance to any union. It is true that the form of the application does not mention by name any union, and apparently does not demand anything except a promise to avoid association with criminal and disorderly organizations, but the man who issues the permits is not so cautious as the verbiage of his printed forms, and, after listening to the conversation when several permits

were issued, I discovered that membership in either the Knights of Labor or the Western Federation of Miners was enough to disqualify an applicant.

What all this means is simply this: Mines in the Coeur d'Alene district are so managed that their owners and the state admit that they can only be manned by the aid of federal troops and under the constant supervision of the state. A whole country is kept as far from self-government under our constitution as is Zanzibar. There is no longer a pretense of observing American principles or methods. The employers control the troops and the troops run the district.

That seems to be the latest contribution of the United States to the history of the nineteenth century. Its correction might well be the first duty of the twentieth.—Willis J. Abbot, in Chicago Journal.

THE PLATFORM

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness for every man, woman and child are conditioned upon equal political and economic rights.

That private ownership of the means of production and distribution of wealth has caused society to split into two distinct classes, with conflicting interests, the small possessing class of capitalists or exploiters of the labor force of others and the ever-increasing large dispossessed class of wage-workers, who are deprived of the socially-due share of their product.

That capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people.

That the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system, will compel the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare, or result in the destruction of civilization.

That the trade union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its economic, the other its political wing, and that both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system of production and distribution.

Therefore, the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be the establishment of a system of co-operative production and distribution of wealth, the restoration to the people of all the means of production and distribution, to be administered by organized society in the interest of the whole people, and the complete emancipation of society from the domination of capitalism.

The wage-workers and all those in sympathy with their historical mission to realize a higher civilization, the public ownership of the means of production and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America.

The control of political power by the Social Democratic Party will result in the abolition of capitalism and of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting us with millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the world, and to international Socialism, the brotherhood of man.

As steps in this direction, we make the following demands:

1. Revision of our antiquated Federal Constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to full and complete control of government by all the people, irrespective of sex.
2. The public ownership of all industries, telegraph, telephone, all means of transportation, communication, water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.
3. The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal and all other mines; also of all oil and gas wells.
4. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.
5. The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of a large number of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.
6. All useful inventions to be free to all, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.
7. Labor legislation to be local, instead of local, and international where possible.
8. National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.
9. Equal civil and political rights for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.
10. The abolition of the initiative and referendum, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.
11. Abolition of war as far as the United States are concerned, and the introduction of international arbitration instead.

NATIONAL FUND

The following is a list of comrades who have agreed, in response to the appeal of the National Executive Board, to contribute monthly for one year to the national fund. Other names will be added as they are received.

CONNECTICUT	NEW YORK
Finley, N.H., Hartford	Fales, I. C., Bensonhurst
Holmes, B., Hartford	Abbott, L. D., New York
ILLINOIS	Butcher, Wm., Brooklyn
Stedman, S., Chicago	Thomas, E. W., New York
Johnson, J., Chicago	Kahn, Arthur, New York
P. P. Ayer, Chicago	Hols, F. W., New York
"A Friend", Chicago	Loupey, Jas., New York
Dr. J. H. Greer, Chicago	Paulsen, J., New York
Mrs. C. Brown, Chicago	Weyell, Chas., New York
"Friend", Chicago	Mark Raphael, New York
INDIANA	Philip Gruber, New York
E. V. Debs, Terre Haute	NEW JERSEY
MARSHWORTH	Pankopf, Carl, Jersey City
Flanders, P. B., Haverhill	Karl Linder, Newark
Cohen, A., Boston	"Comrade", Newark
Parker, Wm., Boston	OHIO
Monette, G. (Brooklyn)	Boerav, John, Cincinnati
Bosworth, W. F., Brockton	Zora, Julius, Cleveland
Tate, Peter, Everett	Braun, F., Cleveland
Hitchcock, D. G., Weymouth	Altshere, C. Cleveland
Goldman, S., Haverhill	PENNSYLVANIA
Hough, E., W. Newton	Lewis, J. H., Pittsburgh
Chase, J. C., Haverhill	F. W. Hirt, Erie
Brown, J. W., Haverhill	NEW YORK
Griener, J., Amesbury	Enloe, Dr. R. H., Nashville
Allen, Helen N., Lynn	Hamilton, W. A., Nashville
Keown, Dr. J. A., Lynn	TEXAS
MICHIGAN	Price, E. S., Houston
Kaliber, B., Grand Rapids	WISCONSIN
MINNESOTA	Berger, V. L., Milwaukee
Gesswein, F., Red Lake Falls	Booney, E. H., Milwaukee
MISSOURI	Ziegler, E., Milwaukee
Flischer, Wm., St. Louis	Doerfer, John, Milwaukee
Fellner, Henry, St. Louis	Bauman, G., Milwaukee
Benecke, Wm., St. Louis	Arnold, L., Milwaukee
MARYLAND	Meister, E., Milwaukee
Jacobson, E., Baltimore	Heumann, O., Milwaukee
NEW HAMPSHIRE	Tuttle, H., Milwaukee
Gordon, F. G., Manchester	Heath, F., Milwaukee
Hitchcock, C. H., Warren	Branch, J., Milwaukee
Mallen, C. H., Somersworth	
"Somersworth Branch"	

CLUBBING OFFERS

The Herald and Appeal to Reason .70
" " " Public Ownership .70

Order from THEODORE DEBS, 126 Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

When visiting Greater New York you desire to meet comrades, go to the

INTERNATIONAL CAFE AND RESTAURANT

428 Grand St., Near Attorney
NEW YORK CITY
Prompt attention and satisfaction guaranteed
All are welcome

CALL TO ACTION

ORGANIZE FOR 1900

There are few communities in this country today without one to a dozen Socialists who are not affiliated with a Socialist organization. At the last State election in Missouri votes were cast for the candidates of the Social Democratic Party in nearly every county in the State.

In almost every community a thoroughly wide-awake and earnest Socialist, with little exertion, could in one week effect the organization of a Branch of the Social Democratic Party.

WHAT THEY CAN DO
The Declaration of Principles and Political Demands of this party will be found in this paper; read it and you will see that the party is a UNCOMPROMISING, straight, uncompromising Socialist organization, recognized as such in the International movement for Socialism.

DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATION
The triumph of the Socialist cause, which is the cause of the world democracy, requires organization, and without it nothing can be accomplished; this party is controlled by no individual, nor by any set of individuals short of its entire membership through the referendum.

THIS YEAR'S CAMPAIGN
The year 1900 will be one of great and far-reaching importance to the people and especially to the intelligent, wealth-producing people of the United States; the latter have surely by this time begun to see the futility of any longer giving support to capitalistic parties.

ORGANIZE WHERE YOU LIVE
Socialists should have as their main object in 1900 the polling of every vote possible for straight and uncompromising Socialism, and to do this the co-operation of every unaffiliated Socialist in the work of organization, where he lives, is necessary.

HOW ORGANIZED
The Social Democratic Party is now organized in more than half the States; it consists of Local Branches, State Unions and a National Council. A Local Branch may be organized with five members. It will nominate candidates for President and Vice-President next March.

SEND FOR INSTRUCTIONS
Full instructions and all necessary supplies for organizing Local Branches may be obtained from the National Secretary, Theodore Debs, 126 Washington St., Chicago, Illinois.

Headquarters for Literature.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC.

1. Liberty, Debs. 5c.
2. Merrie England, Blatchford. 10c.
3. Municipal Socialism, Gordon. 5c.
4. Prison Labor, Debs. 5c.
5. Socialism and Slavery, Hyndman. 5c.
6. Gov't Ownership of Railways, Gordon. 5c.
7. Orations on Voltaire, Victor Hugo. 5c.
8. Evolution of Industry, Watkins. 5c.
9. Hard Times: Cause and Cure, Gordon. 5c.
10. Women: Past, Present and Future, Bebel. 5c.
11. The Red Light, Gordon. 5c.
12. The Pullman Strike, Carwardine. 5c.
13. Co-operative Commonwealth, Gronlund. 50c.
14. The New Economy, Gronlund. \$1.25.

MECHANICAL AND ENGINEERING.

15. Progressive Examination of Locomotive Engineering and Firemen, Hill. 50c.
16. Locomotive Running Repairs, Hitchcock. 50c.
17. Simple Lessons in Drawing for the Shop, Reynolds. 50c.
18. Air Brake Practice, Phelps. \$1.00.
19. Ready Reference, Alexander. \$1.50.
20. Locomotive Running and Management, Sinclair. \$2.00.
21. Compound Locomotives, Woods. \$2.00.
22. Twenty Years with the Locomotive, Fry. \$2.50.
23. Hand-Book of the Locomotive, Roper. \$2.50.
24. New Catechism of the Locomotive, Forney. \$3.00.

Note.—Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 in lots of 10 copies, 25 cents; in lots of 100 copies, \$1.00. No. 3 in lots of 10 copies, 60 cents; in lots of 100 copies, \$2.50. Send orders to

DEBS PUBLISHING CO., TERRE HAUTE, IND.

The Book You Need

PRINCIPLES OF Scientific Socialism

By Rev. Charles H. Vall

Author "Modern Socialism" and "National Ownership of Railways."

CONTENTS:

The Industrial Revolution. The Analysis of Value. The Origin of Surplus Value. The Advantages of Socialism: Production, Distribution, Elimination of Useless Occupations, Prevention of Waste, Elevation of Woman, Proper Care and Training of Labor, Abolition of Slavery, Solution of the Monetary Question, Abolition of Taxation, Simplification of Government, Benefits to Capitalists, Benefits to Laborers.

The Evidence of the Moral Strength of Socialism: Its Spirit and Aim; Abolition of Business Dishonesty; Restriction of Divorce; Prevention of Prostitution; Elimination of Crime; Prevention of Intemperance, Inequality, etc.

Popular Economic Errors: That Value is Determined by Capitalist Cost of Production; that the Interests of Laborers and Capitalists are identical; that Labor is Better Off Today Than Ever Before; that Cheap Prices are Beneficial to Labor; that Foreign Markets are Beneficial to Labor; that Luxury is Beneficial to Labor; that Land Nationalization Would Solve the Social Question; that Extravagance is the Chief Cause of Economic Want; that Socialism Would Thwart Inventions and Improvements; that Socialism Would Destroy Individuality. Conclusion and Index.

12mo, 238 Pages; Paper, 35c; Cloth, \$1.00.

SEND ORDERS TO
THEODORE DEBS, 126 Washington St., CHICAGO.

Haverhill Social Democrat

Published Weekly at Haverhill, Mass., by the Social Democratic Publishing Association of Massachusetts. Subscription, 50 cents per year. Make remittances payable to J. J. Fogarty, Business Manager. Address, Social Democrat, 28 Washington St., Haverhill, Mass.

CAREY'S SPEECHES

"CHILD LABOR"
Delivered in the Massachusetts Legislature. The popular verdict pronounced it simply "great."

"SOCIETY'S RIGHT TO LAND AND CAPITAL"
An argument that is irresistible, couched in language clear, graceful and poetic. Don't fail to order a copy.

Price 5 cents a copy, or \$3.00 a hundred. Send orders to MRS. A. KONIKOW, 1043 Washington St., Boston.

Pacific Coast Socialists

Books on economic subjects can be ordered to your advantage from the Bureau of Socialist Literature, 38 Turk Street, San Francisco, Cal.

Following is a partial list of the works of G. B. BENHAM, which we recommend:

History of the Paris Commune of 1861, paper cover, 25 cents; full cloth, \$0.75
Gospel of Discontent (compilation) .15
Snap Shots at Capitalism (compilation) .15
Story of the Red Flag .15
Crimes of Capitalism .05

G. B. BENHAM
38 Turk Street, San Francisco, Cal.

JOS. BARONDESS

FIRE AND LIFE INSURANCE

Life Insurance effected by mail in any part of the country. Fire Insurance attended to in Greater New York and New Jersey.

6 Rutgers St., NEW YORK.

NOTES OF THE SCIENCE OF LIFE

AN EXTRAORDINARY COURSE OF PRACTICAL LESSONS IN PHYSICAL AND MENTAL DEVELOPMENT, THOUGHT TRANSFERENCE AND PERSONAL POWER

Price of the notes, \$2.00, or 25c each, but they will not be sold out of the regular order.

CHICAGO CORRESPONDENCE SCHOOL OF LIFE SCIENCE
1841 CENTRAL BOULEVARD
CHICAGO, ILL.

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRACY RED BOOK

EDITED BY FREDERIC NEATH

Printed on Plain Paper Handsomely Illustrated

This is an annual publication for Social Democrats who will find it indispensable for reference purposes. This first issue is of especial value because of the historical character of its contents. Among the features are:

A HISTORY OF SOCIALISM IN AMERICA
Covering 76 pages, with portraits of Robert Owen, Etienne Cabet, Wilhelm Weitling, etc., etc.

ALBERT HIRSHMAN
The first American agitator, with portrait.

A TRIP TO GIRARD
By Wayfare, with view of Appeal to Reason office.

KARL MARX ON THE SINGLE TAX
MACHINE VS. HAND LABOR
Compiled from government reports by Leader Ladd.

SHORTER PIECES
Labor Conflicts in 1899. Gronlund. Grant Allen. Chronology for 1899. Directory of Social Democrats. Socialist Controversies of 1899. The "Golden Rule Mayor." Prof. Heron's Case. Social Democratic Platforms, Etc.

BIOGRAPHIES OF WELL KNOWN SOCIAL DEMOCRATS. Twenty in all.

ELECTION STATISTICS
Covering the Socialist movement down to the present year. A valuable reference.

A SOCIALIST PORTRAIT GALLERY
Comprising seventeen likenesses of leading workers in the movement, distributed through the book.

Sent postpaid on receipt of price, 15 CENTS.
DEBS PUBLISHING CO., TERRE HAUTE, IND.

Pocket Library of Socialism

1. Woman and the Social Problem. By MAY WOOD SIMONS. Shows that the emancipation of woman will only come with the emancipation of man through socialism.
2. The Evolution of the Class Struggle. By WILLIAM H. NORTON. A historical study showing how socialism is coming.
3. Imprudent Marriages. By ROBERT BLATCHFORD. A masterly answer to the argument that "prudence" would help the laborer.
4. Packingtown. By A. M. SIMONS. A study of the Union Stock Yards, Chicago; how nature and man are alike scientifically exploited.
5. Realism in Literature and Art. By CLARENCE S. DARROW. Shows how the workers of modern art and literature are helping on the new social order.
6. Single Tax vs. Socialism. By A. M. SIMONS. Shows the inadequacy of the Single Tax as a remedy for the evils pointed out by Henry George.
7. Wage-Labor and Capital. By KARL MARX. The essence of the great philosopher's theory, in his own words.
8. The Man Under the Machine. By A. M. SIMONS. Tells how wage slavery began, what it is today and how the workers are going to free themselves.
9. The Abolition of the Working Class. By REV. CHARLES H. VALL, author of "Modern Socialism."
10. Morals and Socialism. By CHARLES H. KRAK. Shows how popular ideas of morals are manipulated in the interest of the capitalist class.

Daintily printed, five cents each, post-paid.
SPECIAL OFFER.—For one dollar we will mail forty copies of the Pocket Library, all of one kind or assorted as preferred.

SEND ORDERS TO
THEODORE DEBS
126 Washington St., CHICAGO

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LIBRARY

- | | |
|--|--------|
| Karl Marx, Capital, Cloth..... | \$0.50 |
| F. W. Sprague—Socialism, from Genesis to Rev. | 1.00 |
| Adams—Cloth..... | 1.00 |
| Gronlund—The Co-operative Commonwealth..... | 2.00 |
| Paper..... | 1.00 |
| August Bebel—Woman: Past, Present and Future..... | 2.00 |
| Blatchford—Merrie England..... | 1.00 |
| Edward Bellamy—Looking Backward..... | 1.00 |
| Edward Bellamy—Equality, Cloth..... | 1.00 |
| Leisurely—History of the Commune of 1871..... | 1.00 |
| Charles Vall—Modern Socialism..... | 1.00 |
| Adams—Heterodox Economics and Orthodox Profits..... | 1.00 |
| Henry D. Lloyd—Wealth Against Commonwealth..... | 1.00 |
| Volney—The Ruins of Empires..... | 1.00 |
| Thomas Paine—The Rights of Man..... | 1.00 |
| Henry George—Social Problems..... | 1.00 |
| Osborne Ward—The Ancient Lowly..... | 1.00 |
| Adams—President John Smith..... | 1.00 |
| Richard T. Ely—Socialism and Social Reform..... | 1.00 |
| Buchner—Man in the Past, Present and Future..... | 1.00 |
| Benham—A History of the Paris Commune 1871 (with 75c.), paper cover..... | 1.00 |
| Chas. H. Vall—Principles of Scientific Socialism..... | 1.00 |
| Herron—Between Jesus and Caesar..... | 1.00 |
| Fabian Essays..... | 1.00 |
| Rogers—Six Centuries of Work and Wages..... | 1.00 |
| Paine—Rights of Man..... | 1.00 |
| Donnelly—Caesar's Column..... | 1.00 |

PAMPHLETS

- | | |
|---|----|
| F. G. R. Gordon—Hard Times: Cause and Cure..... | 5c |
| Leonard D. Abbott—The Social Question..... | 5c |
| F. Lassalle—What Is Capital..... | 5c |
| H. M. Hyndman—Socialism and Slavery..... | 5c |
| "THE REAL"—The Workingman's Program..... | 5c |
| Chas. H. Vall—The Industrial Revolution..... | 5c |

THE HERALD LEAFLETS

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

VOL. II. No. 33.

CHICAGO, ILL., U.S.A., SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1900.

Whole No. 83.

MERLIN'S MIXTURE

Astor the Benevolent.

I see by a recent dispatch that our renegade citizen, Astor, has been playing the part of the benevolent philanthropist. Out of the fullness of his English heart and his American pocket, he has given \$1,000 dollars to the British war fund.

The soldiers who are being shipped out in consignments by English commercialism to the South African abattoir are being promptly disposed of by Oom Paul. And as the result there are many homes in England full of sorrow and empty of bread. And for the relief of these Astor has opened his purse.

The act in itself was apparently praiseworthy. It won for the giver the warm encomiums of the British press. Doubtless the pious paupers who will share the gift consider it an act of providence on their behalf, and will regard Astor as a Christian.

It was kind—of a kind. One cannot help suspecting that Astor was simply furthering his design to become an "Astoroid" in the constellation of English snobbery. It would give him prestige with the royal 'ighnesses whose interest at present is equally divided between the commercial slaughter of the husbands and the charitable relief of the wives.

Astor the Malevolent.

We are justified in accusing him of motives less noble than kindness when we consider his actions on this side of the sea.

Coincident with the report of his English generosity, came a report of his American greed. The agents of Astor have just raised the ground-rents of their New York real estate to over double their former figure. The rent has gone up from \$350 to \$750. A large portion of New York is owned by the Astors, and with criminal cunning they have never disposed of it, but have permitted buildings to be erected on land leased from them. And now, secure in their possession, they demand a double figure.

It seems that many homes have been built on Astor property, and that as the result of this act of legalized greed their owners will be unable to retain them. And so, while Astor contributes a paltry sum to support English homes, he extorts a fortune by robbing and ruining American homes.

The elder Astor made his pile by skinning animals. The last of the line, Willy Wally, is carrying on the same business by dealing in human hides.

How long shall we allow this rascally renegade to open his purse and give away our money? How long shall we let the Malevolent play the Benevolent, at our expense? I don't object to china Astors, but I do to American ones!

Bryan's Blunder.

During his recent visit to New York, William J. Bryan sounded the slogan of his presidential campaign in the words "Kill the trusts!" To quote him more fully, "the battle cry of paramount issue is kill the trusts, the big trusts, the little trusts, the money trust, the industrial trust, the international land-grabbing trust."

Poor Bryan! Poor blind leader of the blind! I had given him credit for more sense. Nay, more, after hearing his utterances during his campaign of '96, I am inclined to give him credit for more knowledge concerning industrial affairs, and the futility of his trust-smashing scheme.

It is Bryan's expressed wish and plan that as a nation we go back to free competition again. He wants to see grocery stores on every village corner, with their different delivery wagons passing each other on the street and their myriad mean methods of catching trade.

Bryan really knows better. He must know that the trusts are inevitable. They are simply the instrument whereby the curse of competition is being eliminated from business. There remains now the clear duty of substituting co-operation in its place.

The trusts must be used, not killed. They must be taken advantage of instead, as now, of being permitted to take advantage of us.

The Socialist Sequel.

The sure sequel of all the industrial evolutionary processes of today is Socialism. It is the logical and inevitable concluding chapter of the story of the trusts. "There is no other name given among men whereby ye may be saved."

There are but three stages in the progress of modern industrial evolution. The first is competition, the second is combination, and the third is co-opera-

tion. At this present time the second stage is being reached. Combination of capital has displaced competition of capital.

It is not a step backward. It is not a sign of decadence. On the other hand, the trusts denote progress, and along scientific lines. Only the ignorant man deplores the trusts. Only the fool seeks to destroy them.

The trusts are a curse to cowards, but a boon to the brave. They denote oppression to the uninformed, but they prove progression to the open-eyed man who studies the true significance of events.

The pangs of poverty that are convulsing our land today, as the result of the trusts are but the labor-pains preceding the birth of the child, Socialism!

A Canadian Haverhill.

The recent municipal election in London, Canada, gives substantial evidence of the progress of Socialism there.

For many years the mayoralty contest in that city has been fought on strictly party lines. But the socialist sentiment has grown so strong during the past year that the socialists, with the endorsement of the labor unions, put up an independent socialist candidate, Frederick J. Darch.

As the only means of escape from defeat the Conservatives and Liberals dropped party differences and united on a common candidate. Even with their united strength they polled only 2,638 votes, as against the 2,419 votes cast by the socialists.

The latter made this splendid showing in spite of the fact that Mr. Darch did not get the full support of labor, many workmen refusing to subscribe to the socialist platform, or to endorse Socialism in any way.

It was therefore a clear-cut issue between labor and capital, and like our own Haverhill, it was an augury of the time soon to come when labor's right will meet and vanquish money's might. Watch London next year.

A Society Bud's Root.

In this morning's paper I find the following society note: "Miss Katharine Clark is the presiding genius in the big New York palace which her father, Senator William A. Clark, built last year. Her father is a multi-millionaire and gratifies her every wish."

And upon another page of the same paper there is this news note from Washington: "Representative Murray, of the Montana house of representatives, testified that he was offered \$10,000 to vote for Senator Clark by persons whom he considered representatives of that person."

The second article explains the first. The fortunes of the rich are based upon bribery and theft and falsehood. The gay flower that blossoms in the blaze of society is supported by roots that twist their sinuous way through darkness and filth. At one end of Senator Clark's fortune is a pampered daughter; at the other end is the sneaking agent, who lurks in the dusk of lobbies.

"He gratifies her every wish." So does the tiger gratify the wish of its whelps, but only when some unsuspecting deer has fallen into its bloody clutch. And many an exploited workman has had to deny his daughter almost every wish in order that he might pay tribute to the highwayman of politics and trade.

History repeated.

Just previous to the fall of Rome the aristocracy indulged in all manner of insane pleasures and riotous dissipations. They threw aside all restriction and abandoned all decency and propriety.

Such a period seems to be coming in our own land today. Every here and there may be seen a premonitory bubble in the volcano of vice, predicting a social eruption.

This week three such cases are worthy of note. The French ball of New York was marked by an equal absence of decency and clothes. Feminine poverty and masculine wealth met in riotous licentiousness.

A Chicago dispatch gave an account of a new dance that had been indulged in by a club in that city, particulars of which are not printable.

And strangest and worst of all, is an account of a young woman's "Degradation Club" in Toledo, one of whose members, chosen by lot, voluntarily went into a life of vice, in fulfillment of her promise to live the most degraded life possible, and died in a hovel!

Dark is the augury of these things. They show that the links of civilization are snapping beneath the weight of social sin and industrial injustice, and that we are drifting back to barbarism.

There is but one hope, one chance, one escape, from the chaos of vice and tumult, and that is—Socialism! Merlin.

GEORGE D. HERRON DECLARES FOR SOCIALISM

On the eve of his departure for an extended trip abroad, Prof. George D. Herron, speaking in New York City, January 27, declared that "Socialism is the only living religion, the only program of faith that is offered at the present time." The real significance of this utterance will be understood by those acquainted with the mental processes through which Prof. Herron has passed during the last year. The speaker's subject was "Socialism and Religion." The address, delivered before the Social Reform Club of New York, was intended as a definite pronouncement in favor of Socialism. It distinctly shows that Prof. Herron has come to accept the social revolution and the class struggle. He said: "It is no wonder the cries for Socialism are heard when we look into the wheels of this hideous machine called civilization and see men dead in body and soul who are its grist," and "it is no longer a question whether you will have a social revolution—it is only left you to decide what kind of a revolution you will have; there is nothing else left for the class disinherited."

The New York Times says the address was given "before a gathering which would have filled an auditorium twice the size of the club's quarters; many had to leave, being unable to get within hearing distance." From the Times' report and the dispatches we take the following in addition to the quoted passages above:

"I have no expectation that the present system can be mended—it can only be ended. Socialism comes to us as an uncompromising fact without regard as to whether you or I want it or not. It stands for a new spirit and a new world."

"From the various forms of individualism, through capitalism, from what a man is supposed to earn and what he really needs, we must finally reach that stage where human need is the only recognized coin of the realm for a decent society. But the central idea of Socialism is that of every human being an equal inheritor of social wealth and benefits. And in this day all things objective and subjective are tending toward the socialistic idea."

"Progress up to date has been largely a progress of slaves. We still live in a miserably enslaved world. When men take it into their heads that they can make any kind of a world they choose, history will begin to go across-lots, wandering no more through tragedy and failure."

"One of the grave questions is the effect Socialism will have on religion. What will be the effect on the general mental attitude of human life if Socialism should predominate? What will be the effect on the creeds and the dogmas, the gods and the temples?"

"The effect of a socialistic idea possessing the world would change the whole attitude of human life toward the future. Protestantism stands (though it does not stand very well to-day) by menacing the integrity of the human soul. The element of fear has been dominant in men for centuries. They are afraid of the gods they worship and must propitiate them. They must sacrifice to their unknown gods more fruits of one kind of monopoly or another—perhaps by founding universities of theological seminaries."

"There is not a bit of spiritual difference between the Standard Oil combination and the Protestant Church, or, rather, take the Presbyterian Church, in which I was born and reared. One demands tribute in the form of cash and the other in the form of enslavement of souls and all the cash it can get besides. But when the social revolution comes to something like a really defined conflict with the capitalistic classes it will come as a programme of uncompromising Socialism without regard as to whether you or I want it or not."

"If we really had democracy—if it were a fact instead of a dogma—in the state and in industry, we could not escape democracy in ethics. No human being has a right to impose ethical or religious authority on another human being. All imposed authority is essentially atheistic. The man who seeks to coerce another into accepting his views is atheistic, and cannot believe in a god. What you call religious authority is essentially a monopoly."

"Socialism is the only living religion, the only programme of faith that is offered at the present time."

After the address Prof. Herron said that he meant to make no discrimination in favor of Roman Catholicism, but had referred only to Protestantism because he was a Protestant himself.

The Herald Leaflets are good for propaganda at 25 cents per hundred copies.

SOCIETY'S "DARE-BASE" GAME

"Dare-base" is a familiar game to every school child, and possibly to every American who has ever attended school. To play the game successfully, the company should usually be divided into two equal parts; but many times have I seen one swift runner take a stand by himself and win over to his side the entire school.

Society is so perfectly organized on the plan of "dare-base" that the features of the latter are boldly stamped on life's practical game—the struggle for wealth and worldly position. The successful members of society have planted their "legal line," "dare-base," and stand bantering the other side, the unsuccessful members of society, to cross it. And, on the other hand, the unsuccessful members, in order to win in this desperate game of life, are obliged to keep dangerously near the "dare-base" line, and if opportunity is offered, they make a desperate grab for anything in sight. Only to the by-stander, who has become tired of this ceaseless running to and fro and halting midway in the game, can anything like a definite knowledge of the end be determined. He sees at a glance the enthusiasm manifested on both sides, and his opinion of the finality is worth more than the opinions of all the participants combined. And when the passion for life is arrayed against the passion for approbation, it should not take a prophet to foretell the end.

"You are at liberty to cross this line," says society, "but if you do, I have a place prepared for you, and I dare you to cross it!"

The rush is on, and if one of the unsuccessful catches his man, and the catch proves to be a good one, he immediately changes places with the man he caught, takes his position in the ranks of the successful, and turns over his old position to his victim. If the catch is not something extra, they are both compelled to take their positions among the unsuccessful. And thus this disgusting game of national "dare-base" goes on.

How natural it is for those who have not learned the lesson of justice to desire to show their strength and authority! I once saw a boy place a chip on his shoulder and dare any boy in the crowd to knock it off. It fell before he could wink his eye. And when I see the majesty of the law walking up and down the earth in that same imperious, chip-on-the-shoulder spirit, I say to myself: "Your majesty will surely get that chip knocked off."

True, the majesty of the law, when directed by love and justice, should, and, I believe, would, be upheld; but when it seeks the enslavement of 90 per cent of the human race for the benefit of the remaining 10 per cent, it ceases to command respect, and deserves the full measure of loyalty which it is today receiving.

Instead of directing their attention toward the amelioration of existing conditions, the successful members of society, generally speaking, notwithstanding their vapory protestations to the contrary, are frantically engaged in making laws with which to grind the less fortunate still harder, and thousands and thousands year by year are thus being swept to the opposite of the "dare-base."

The problem of the law should not be how to catch thieves, but how to avoid making thieves. Millions of dollars—enough to actually hire the thieves not to steal—are spent annually for jails and locks and officers, and the very people who are already dangerously near the "dare-base" line are taxed to their utmost, and sometimes taxed entirely across the line, in order to provide a place to keep them when they are bagged.

Is there no better way than this to prevent crime? If not, let us quit calling ourselves civilized?

If President McKinley would take that chip off his shoulder and turn his attention toward "benevolent public improvement," instead of "benevolent assimilation of the Philippines," he would certainly confer a blessing upon a grateful but hampered people; but if he continues to disregard the wishes of the people, some one will knock that chip off his shoulder as sure as his name is Mack.

The ranks of the unfortunate are steadily growing. Thousands of our best business men find themselves being daily crowded nearer and nearer the "dare-base" line. The one swift runner—adversity—is about to proclaim himself the champion of the game. These men, notwithstanding they have sold their birthright for a mess of pottage, are neither fools nor jumping-jacks designed for the entertainment of Rockefeller and his clerks at Washington, and some day, when we get enough of them on the side of the unfortunate, they'll stand up in the vigor of renewed manhood and demand the restitution of their good names and at least an opportunity to win back by honest labor that which has been stolen from them. "Kelpie."

A TRIBUTE TO RUSKIN

By Leonard D. Abbott

One of the greatest, noblest and purest men of our generation is gone. Ruskin was an intellectual giant; we are as yet hardly able to conceive the vast influence that his books have had upon every department of our thought—art, literature, religion, science and sociology. Like his disciple, William Morris, he was consumed by a passion for beauty; in an age which is frankly abandoned to Mammon, and which has blasted and blackened the face of the earth in its mad struggle for money, he held up before manhood superb, artistic ideals. He was one of the most finished and exquisite writers that the world has ever known, and his books will live as long as the English language. Yet, after all, the important thing in his life was not his art nor his literature, but his social idealism. From earliest youth his whole soul was in revolt against the brutalities of capitalism, and he could never be happy unless he was fighting the injustice around him. We find this current of revolutionary thought gathering strength in his earlier writings—through "Sesame and Lilies," "A Crown of Wild Olives," "Time and Tide," and "Unto This Last"—and finally bursting the floodgates in that burning series of letters to workmen entitled "Fors Clavigera," which was almost the last of Ruskin's writings. "Fors Clavigera" is one of the most stinging indictments of modern society and religion ever penned, and in one of these letters Ruskin plainly avows himself a Communist. Ruskin considered "Unto This Last" his greatest book. It was a bombshell thrown into the camp of the conservative political economists of his day, and in this book Ruskin states that the sole test of a country's wealth is the character of its men and women. "THERE IS NO WEALTH BUT LIFE," he said, and this noble sentence sums up Ruskin's message to the world.

On a bright spring morning, nearly three years ago I was at Coniston Lake, one of the most beautiful spots in the British Isles, and for many years Ruskin's resting place. As I passed by the gate of his home, "Brantwood," the old man himself walked out slowly, leaning on the arm of an attendant. He was ill at the time, and his back was bowed with age, and yet there was a light in his eyes, and a massive sweep of his great brow and white beard that proclaimed him a king among men. I watched him walk down the country road, to the lakeside, and there he parted the hedge, laden with honeysuckle and wild roses, and gazed wistfully over the water to the storm-clad mountains beyond.

And there let us leave him, amid the flowers of his idealism, looking with yearning eyes toward the sunrise of Socialism! Leonard D. Abbott.

New York.

Attacks the Constitution

It is not often that a public man, a professor in a state university, so boldly and learnedly attacks the constitution of the United States as did Prof. J. Allen Smith of the economics department of the University of Washington, last night. The occasion was the regular Sunday evening meeting of the Social Democratic party at Labor hall.

Prof. Smith spoke of the relation to the government of all forms of social reform, pointing out the present dire need of political revolution. In the course of his remarks he called attention to the fact that the constitution was formulated by representatives of the aristocracy of the colonial days; that it was written and considered behind closed doors; that the people as a whole were allowed no voice in it, and that it is and always has been a constitution better fitted for an aristocratic than a democratic form of government.

"It was formulated," he said, "with the view of protecting the well-to-do classes against the masses rising up and overturning the existing form of government. It was made a difficult matter to amend the constitution, solely with this object of stability in view. In fact, it is an extremely difficult matter even by popular vote to propose an amendment. This is wrong. The people of this country should be given power by popular vote to change the constitution of the United States whenever they see fit. I maintain, therefore, that the American constitution was not a democracy at all. On the contrary, it was a system of government in which public opinion is not allowed to dominate the governing power. Its mission is also to protect the few against the many—the aristocracy against the lower classes."—Seattle (Wash.) Star, Jan. 22.

Social Democratic Herald

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board
JESSE COX, Chairman
SEYMOUR STEDMAN, Secretary
EUGENE V. DEBS, VICTOR L. BERGER
FREDERIC HEATH

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, 50 cents. Six months, 25 cents. No papers sent to any one on credit. If, without having subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and no bill will follow. Foreign subscriptions \$1.00.

Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

A. S. EDWARDS, Editor
THEODORE DEBS, National Sec'y-Treas.
136 Washington St., Chicago.

83 is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 84 your subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, FEB. 3, 1900.

JOSEPH H. SCHWERZGEN

When Comrade Joseph H. Schwarzgen, after a wonderfully heroic struggle for a year against the insidious encroachments of disease, died at his home in Chicago early in the morning of Friday last week, there passed away one of the noblest men it has ever been our privilege to know. A man of buoyant, hopeful nature, courageous to an extraordinary degree, true as steel to the cause we all love and to all true friends of that cause, Joseph Schwarzgen won the affection of men in the busy mart where fortunes come and go, and in the street, the shop and the mine, where the poor struggle to sustain life; wherever there were human suffering and need that he could reach and alleviate, his generous heart and ready hand went forth.

From the time the Social Democratic party was organized until he died he was in full sympathy and accord with our purposes, a Social Democrat, and a most liberal contributor to the propaganda. Among the last to be called to his bedside were comrades living in Chicago, and while it was his own wish that his old friend, Eugene V. Debs, should speak a few words over his bier, that duty was necessarily assigned to another, Comrade Jesse Cox, who expressed in words of love and tenderness the loss felt by those who had known "Joe" as a loyal friend of labor and the Socialist movement.

He died as he lived, with supreme confidence in the cause where his heart was, and as we placed beautiful flowers upon the casket last Sunday morning and they carried his body away to be laid in the earth, with tears we enshrined him in our hearts, where, let us hope, his devotion, his courage, his sweetness will live again.

FRATERNAL GREETINGS

The following letter from the executive board of the S. D. P., signed by Chairman Cox and Secretary Stedman, was sent to the convention of the Socialist Labor party at Rochester:

"To the Officers and Members of the Socialist Labor Party, in Convention Assembled—Comrades: The national executive board of the Social Democratic party sends fraternal greetings. The board has learned of the divisions which have arisen within the ranks of the Socialist Labor party, and, recognizing the desirability of concerted action of all class-conscious Socialists in this country, hereby extends a hearty invitation to your convention, as well as to all members of your party, to join the Social Democratic party in the struggle to emancipate humanity from class rule and the slavery of capitalism by the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth.

With an earnest desire for the success of the cause, we remain, yours fraternally,
Jesse Cox,
Chairman National Executive Board.
Seymour Stedman,
Secretary National Executive Board.

FOR THE PEOPLE'S BENEFIT

For the benefit of the people who produce things for the capitalist class to appropriate, prices have been advanced on the commodities enumerated as follows:
Dressmakers' Supplies—Advance in everything from 15 to 25 per cent. More capital needed to carry stock.

Envelopes—Forty per cent, and notice out for a further advance.

Enamelled Ware—Fifty per cent.
Builders' Hardware—Forty-five per cent.

Iron Beds—Thirty-five to 65 per cent.
Brooms—Forty to 50 per cent.

Copper Wire—One hundred per cent.
Chairs—Twenty-five to 33 1-3 per cent.

Furniture—Twenty-five per cent.
Flour—Thirty cents a barrel.

Glassware—Twenty per cent.
Ham—Delicatessen, 3 cents a pound.

Iron—One hundred per cent.
Knit Wool—One dollar to \$1.50 per dozen.

Photograph Paper—Nearly 110 per cent.

Plumbers' Supplies—Thirty to 50 per cent.

Rubber—Everywhere greatly advanced.

Refrigerators—One dollar to \$1.25 each.

Ranges—Twenty to 33 1-3 per cent, and another advance expected.

Shoes—Advance in all grades 10 to 20 per cent.

Common Soaps—Twenty-five cents a box.

Spool Cotton—From 8 to 25 per cent.

Salt—Ten to 15 per cent.

Stoves—Twenty-five to 33 1-3 per cent.

Tea—Advance to consumers 15 to 25 cents a pound, owing to war tax of 10 cents a pound; wholesale advance, 10 to 15 cents a pound.

Tinware—From 100 to 500 per cent.

Wall Paper—Twenty-five to 80 per cent.

HEADED FOR THE MILLENIUM

The news that a prominent company of labor exploiters at Chicago has decided upon a new departure that will result in the speedy inauguration of the millenium will be received with joy by readers of The Herald everywhere. It appears that the John V. Farwell Company, manufacturers of overalls, shirts and coats have made the discovery that the air of Chicago is smoke-laden and foul and is not fit for girls and women employed at overall and shirt making to breathe. If there is any one thing that employers of labor are solicitous about in these times of benevolent assimilation of the fruits of labor, it is the health of the people employed. We have noticed that large employers have been engaged in a strenuous effort to outdo each other to better the condition of their slaves. The Farwell company, however, proposes to beat the record, and is looking for a country town where a factory can be built to employ 500 girls and women under conditions that will enable the latter to retain their health. The city is not conducive to health and the importance of keeping slaves in a fit condition physically to perform their work is at last being recognized.

But, hold on! The report says further down that something else actuates the Farwell company. It says: "Fear of strikes and the belief that country-bred girls are better workers than their sisters in the cities has caused the Farwell company to seek one of the smaller towns near Chicago in which to establish a factory." And—what's this? "Benton Harbor agrees to furnish a suitable building free for five years." So the truth is that the Farwell company, while professing deep concern for the welfare of their employees, is interested quite as much in getting free rent for itself as in securing fresh air for its factory hands. It is a perfectly safe proposition that the company's main object is fresh victims instead of fresh air for old ones, for one of its managers said: "The girl who is raised and lives in the city is not as strong nor can she accomplish the work as can the girl who has been raised amid green fields."

So it is not the millenium that the John V. Farwell Company are headed for after all, but fresh victims and free rent, more work and larger profits. By and bye the bloom of youth will fade from the cheeks of the "country-bred girls" at Benton Harbor, while the hideous factory system goes on with its horrible grind and their sisters in the cities eke out an existence by resorting to ways that a brutal economic system forces upon them and then shamelessly calls them criminal.

For all this there is no help, no cure, no reform, only in the substitution of social production and distribution in place of the private factory system which destroys body and soul in the interest of profit. Socialism, with its free life and its economic security for women and men is the hope of the world. Workingmen and workingwomen unite for the overthrow of oppression!

GEORGE D. HERRON, SOCIALIST

On the first page of this paper will be found as full a report as we are able to give of Prof. George D. Herron's declaration for Socialism, made just before leaving New York for a trip abroad. The significance of Prof. Herron's coming out, taken in connection with what must be the inevitable future attitude of a man of his profound convictions to the Socialist movement, seems to have been fully appreciated by the journalists of capitalism, for, with few exceptions, they found it convenient to ignore the speech. So long as Prof. Herron presented to the people his high ideals—and no man living has purer ideals than he—there was scarcely any limit to the space given his utterances. But now, when after years of serious preparation for bearing a practical part in the arena where all questions are decided in this country, still holding to his ideals, he declares for action, the overthrow of the capitalist system, and proclaims the co-operative commonwealth, the truculent penmen find a sudden pressure on their space, and his speeches are thrown out. It makes a vast difference to the apologists of capitalism whether one regards the social problem from the academical point of view or from that of the masses who feel the galling chains of oppression and struggle to cast them off. The one is a harmless speculator to be tolerated, the other a menace to property and to institutions maintained to conserve property, therefore an object for derision or neglect. But all history proves that the tactics of oppression ultimately prove futile and react upon those who use them.

In addition to his address before the Social Reform club, Prof. Herron spoke at Dr. Rainsford's church, the Get-Together club, and wrote an article published by the New York World. In the latter he distinctly declared against Bryan and the Democratic party. He said:

"Bryan's election will not help conditions. His election would not help solve the social problem. Anti-trust legislation is child's play. In the white house his hands would be tied. Bryan does not understand the great social economics of the present day."

Prof. Herron strongly insists in the World article that existing politics must be overturned, and says:

"There is no remedy but a changed economic system."

A system that enables one man or a set of men to starve thousands at his will, this is the disclosure that will awaken the masses, this is the rapidly approaching climax to which Social Democrats direct attention, and Prof. Herron says "the result is inevitable."

More than this it is unnecessary to say to convince Social Democrats that ere many months have come and gone this man who has done so much to awaken the social conscience to the dangers that threaten society and is so admirably equipped for effective appeal to the people to avert the storm by intelligent, collective action, will find comradeship and a welcome and a place to work in the Social Democratic party.

NOTES AND COMMENT

Who are the prosperous? Well, there's the Standard Oil company, with a prospective dividend this year of 45 per cent; and for last year, the Central Trust, 263; Farmers' Loan and Trust, 88; New York Life Insurance and Trust, 80; Union Trust, 78; Mercantile Trust, 44; Continental Trust, 41; Guaranty Trust, 40. And while this sort of thing is going on the workingman who is sure of a dollar and a half a day for the year round is exceptionally fortunate. And this is the sort of thing most workingmen vote for—prosperity for the rich and those who speculate to get rich and a mere subsistence for themselves.

F. W. Reitz, the Transvaal state secretary, has written a parody upon Mr. Kipling's "Recessional." It is entitled "Progressional" and is dedicated to "Mudyard Pipling." The first stanza follows:

Gods of the jingo, brass and gold,
Lords of the world by right divine,
Under whose baneful sway they hold
Dominion over mine and thine—
Such lords as these have made them rotten,
They have forgotten. They have forgotten.

The teachers' organizations of Chicago are in favor of quitting work when the appropriations for their wages become exhausted. They think there is no justice in requiring their services without remuneration. And we think so, too; but it seems rather a funny position for teachers to be in. As a class they are arrogantly patriotic and indifferent to the struggle of other people who work for wages. Wonder if they will learn anything from the cut in their wages, due to the tax-dodging corporations?

The Pullman Sleeping-Car company wants to build a monumental school in honor of the individual who caused the strike of 1894, and in order that it may be able to do so in a manner worthy of the great labor oppressor, a 20 per cent cut has been ordered in the wages of its sleeping-car conductors. Such a canting, hypocritical outfit, with enormous wealth at its command, deserves to be wiped off the face of the earth in order that decent people may breathe freely and enjoy life.

Senator Thurston has accepted employment with the Standard Oil company, and will represent that corporation in the senate for the next year. Senator Depew is a director of the Western Union Telegraph, so is Secretary Hay. All three are Republicans and supposed to be representatives and servants of the people. But they really represent capitalism and are serving the corporations.

A record-breaking meeting is what Comrade Debs had at New Orleans. For two hours and a half, says the Daily Picayune, he spoke to an audience that overflowed Washington Artillery hall, and it was the great popular demonstration in the history of the city. All classes of men and women heard him and applauded to the echo his eloquent presentation of Socialism.

Mark Hanna's organized raid on the public treasury for \$20,000,000 to promote the building of ships to be privately owned is getting along very nicely and promises to go through. Hanna is a Republican and the closest personal friend of that esteemed patriot and friend of the working class, William McKinley.

It is really too bad that Mr. Roberts of Utah ever tried to break into our moral congress. He seems to have been quite unaware of the high Christian character of the political tools of capitalism at Washington.

A bible trust and a raise in prices owing to increased cost of production is the latest phase of the industrial question with which the gospel promulgators have to deal. It's all an economic question from whatever point of view you regard it.

Since a union of all the "reform forces" to support Bryan is impossible, all who believe in the order of society that Socialists propose will vote for Socialism this year.

WHAT JOHN RUSKIN SAID AND WROTE

The true veins of wealth are purple, not in rock, but in flesh. The final outcome and consummation of all wealth is in producing as many as possible full-breathed, bright-eyed and happy-hearted human creatures.

You were ordered by the founder of your religion to love your neighbor as yourself. You have founded an entire science of political economy on what you have stated to be the constant instinct of man—the desire to defraud his neighbor.

Luxury at present can only be enjoyed by the ignorant. The cruelest man living could not sit at his own feast unless he sat blindfolded. Raise the veil boldly! Face the light! And if, as yet, the light of the eye can only be through tears, go thou forth weeping!

Dick Turpin is blamed (suppose) by some plain-minded person for consuming the means of other people's living. "Nay," says Dick to the plain-minded person, "observe how beneficently and pleasantly I spend whatever I get!" "Yes, Dick," persists the plain-minded person, "but how do you get it?" "The question," says Dick, "is insidious and irrelevant."

The guilty Thieves of Europe, the real sources of all deadly war in it, are the Capitalists—that is to say people who live by percentages or the labor of others; instead of by fair wages for their own. All social evils and religious errors arise out of the pillage of the laborer by the idler; the idler leaving him only enough to live on (and even that miserably), and taking all the rest of the produce of his work to spend in his own luxury, or in the toys with which he beguiles his idleness.

I have been asked to contribute to the purchase of the Alexandra Park, and I will not; and beg you, my working readers, to understand, once for all, that I wish your homes to be comfortable, and refined; and that I will resist, to the utmost of my power, all schemes founded on the vile modern notion that you are to be crowded into kennels till you are nearly dead, that other people may make money by your work, and then taken out in squads by tramway and railway, to be revived and refined by science and art. Your first business is to make your homes healthy and delightful; then, keep your wives and children there, and let your return to them be your daily "holy-day."

We, of the so-called "educated" classes, who take it upon us to be the better and upper part of the world, cannot possibly understand our relations to the rest better than we may where actual life may be seen in front of its Shakespearean image, from the stalls of a theater. I never stand up to rest myself, and look round the house, without renewal of wonder how the crowd in the pit, the shilling gallery, allow us of the boxes and stalls to keep in our places! Think of it;—those fellows behind there have housed us and fed us; their wives have washed our clothes, and kept us tidy;—they have bought us the best places,—brought us through the cold to them; and there they sit behind us, patiently, seeing and hearing what they may. There they pack themselves, squeezed and distant, behind our chairs;—we, their elect toys and pet puppets, oiled and varnished, and incensed, lounge in front, placidly, or for the greater part, wearily and sickly contemplative.

Fort Smith (Ark.) Democrat.
Socialism is the hope of the just man in things governmental. When we have a socialist government many abuses now existing will depart. We shall get the benefit of the corporate trust and not its extortion. We shall get the good of a monopoly and not the effect of its rapacity. We shall profit, for we shall run trusts ourselves.

WHAT THE EDITORS SAY

Public Ownership, Erie, Pa.
Quitting work and being starved into submission will never solve the trouble between the masters and the men. Not quitting, but working and keeping all the products of their labor is what will solve it. The miners of Pennsylvania are now engaged in trying to starve the mine owners into submission. And at the last election they voted all their power into the hands of the masters! They never will get relief until they learn better than that.

Farmers' Review, Bonham, Tex.
We must have united labor for the advantage of every human being, and united enjoyment of the fruits of labor. The present injustice can only be abolished by labor working for itself instead of for the idle rich, who make profit off of labor. Labor should reap the fruits of labor and not a few idle capitalists. This can only be done by labor owning all the machinery, all the land, in fact all means of production and distribution. These opportunities should all be free for labor to apply its energies to, in the creation of the necessities of life.

Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kan.
So you think there would be no incentive for men to do the work assigned to them when the income were an approximately fixed sum, eh? Sure of that now? Well, how do men work today who have fixed salaries—congressmen, senators, postmasters? Do they see how slow they can work because they cannot hope for increase in pay or even permanency in position? Do teachers, foremen, clerks soldier on their work more than those in private employment? Do postmasters and letter carriers become drones and sluggards and lose all interest in progress?

Warren (Mass.) Herald.
Representative James F. Carey of Haverhill, the Socialist leader who was re-elected last fall, does the state a service by attacking the lobby directly with a bill which he has introduced, obliging each lobbyist to wear a badge inscribed "legislative counsel" or "legislative agent." The bill further forbids any person employed as legislative counsel or agent of any corporation, firm or person engaged in mercantile, manufacturing, transportation, insurance or commercial business to enter the smoking, reading, writing or other rooms appropriated to members of the General Court, or the halls upon which such rooms open.

Chicago Evening Journal.
The only change for the better in the relation of the people to the street car monopolies of which there is the slightest hope, is the acquirement of the roads by the municipalities and their management for the people. This is not Utopian, not beyond the possibility of accomplishment—though it must be admitted that Mr. Johnson himself has dealt it a staggering blow by trying to sell his Detroit railways to the city at a price scandalously above their value. Probably when the people get ready to take the street railroads for themselves they will find safer guides than Mr. Tom Johnson, whose principles shine so much brighter in the preaching than in the practice.

The Co-Operator, Burley, Wash.
"Non-partisan" movements are always one man movements. They grow up around some one man's personality, and their object is always to give political expression to his views. The views are always good, and the man who holds them is always a strong, self-poised man, lacking, however, in the essentials of political leadership, because egotistical to a degree that prevents him from rallying his following around a set of principles that are dissociated from his personality entirely, and will not permit him to see that a party organization is the only thing that in the long run can accomplish the purpose he aims at. It must be a party, and a strong one at that, that will put in practice the principles the mayor stands for, and he will find before he is many years older that his "non-partisan political action" idea is a delusive dream. If he would throw his support to the Social Democratic party he might be able to make an impression on things political within a comparatively short time—but that is not a Jones movement!

LABOR AND PROGRESS

The Pennsylvania Railway Co. on January 1 relieved from active service about 660 employees, as a result of the operation of its new pension system.

Stenographers at Memphis have formed an organization, with registry office and headquarters for the convenience of business men requiring their services.

Under the wire trust the increase in the price of nails since 1897 is 100 per cent. The increase in nailmakers' wages in the same period amounts to only 12 1/2 per cent.

Woodworkers' Union, No. 15, San Francisco, has passed resolutions urging the members of the International Union to support such political parties as advocate Socialism.

The intercolonial labor conference at Sydney, Australia, has adopted the following fighting platform: "To one adult, one vote; the national referendum for exclusion of undesirable races; and old age pensions."

At the recent municipal election in London, Ont., Canada, Fred J. Darch, the Socialist candidate, received 2,419 votes, against 2,638 for the coalition ticket. David Ross, Socialist alderman in Ward 3, was elected.

A glass factory has been started at St. Helens, in which the whole system of blowing is replaced by an automatic arrangement of molds and blow-pipes worked by compressed air. The output has been much increased.

An English commission is busily engaged in investigating and preparing a report on the automatic coupling of railroad cars, as the percentage of injury and death caused by the present system has been so great a reform in the system has been demanded.

The Ohio miners declared for Socialism and the Associated Press suppressed the news. They declared in favor of "harmonizing with the economic emancipation movement of the world, whereby finally through political and legal means the present planless production, industrial warfare and social disorder is to be substituted by the co-operative commonwealth, and all means of production shall be owned collectively and operated scientifically by the people."

ANOTHER PRIZE OFFERED

Last week the announcement was made of three prizes offered by Comrade Albert Forman, of Milwaukee, for the three largest lists of new subscribers to The Herald sent in between February 1st and April 30th. The Forman prizes are as follows:

For the Largest List—One set of Carlyle's "French Revolution" and Dickens' complete works in fifteen volumes.

Second List—One set of Carlyle's "French Revolution" (two volumes).

Third List—One set of Carlyle's "French Revolution" (two volumes).

Comrade Geo. H. Goebel, of Philadelphia, believes this is a good way to increase The Herald's circulation and endorses Forman's initiative with the offer of a fourth prize of a first-class fountain pen for the fourth largest list.

Now let everybody hustle three months for The Herald.

NEW BRANCHES

The signs of the times, to eyes that are open to see, are multiplying upon every hand, and at no time since the organization of the Social Democratic party has there been so much activity or more substantial cause for encouragement to the comrades than now.

Not the least important event of the past week was a public declaration of Socialism by Prof. George D. Herron, and if the comrades will read between the lines they will doubtless discover suggestions as to what will probably be Prof. Herron's line of action on his return to the United States.

The month of January was one of marked growth in the membership of the organization, and when, as in this issue of The Herald, we report one branch a day, it will be seen that if this rate of new branches instituted is maintained, the whole country will soon be alive with Socialist activities. All the branches reported below start the work with enthusiasm and a determination to make themselves felt in the communities where they stand for emancipation from wage slavery and the inauguration of international Socialism. Not a day should be lost in effecting the organization of more branches and the affiliation of unattached Socialists with the Social Democratic party. The new branches are as follows:

BOSTON, MASS.—Chairman, H. A. Goodwin; secretary, A. G. Clifford; financial secretary, W. E. Tibbitts; treasurer, H. A. Goodwin.

ROSLINDALE, MASS.—Chairman, T. Goetz; secretary, Gustav Oberacker; financial secretary, Andrew Seidel.

MILWAUKEE, WIS.—Chairman, John Bettendorf; vice-chairman, Christ Stein; secretary, Jacob Reidenback; treasurer, Joseph Korbel; organizer, Henry Zens.

OMAHA, NEB.—Chairman, Clement Ryan; vice-chairman, James S. Collins; secretary, Walter M. Breen; treasurer, Joseph T. Miller; organizer, T. A. Edwards.

HIGBEE, MO.—Chairman, O. D. Wallace; vice-chairman, J. S. Watkins; secretary, Adam Young; treasurer, William McDonald; organizer, William Richards.

MANITOWOC, WIS.—Chairman, R. W. Burke; vice-chairman, John W. Steible; secretary, Joseph Spevacek; treasurer, Charles Frisemuth; organizer, Fred M. Althen.

WASHINGTON, MO.—Chairman, E. V. Mealer; vice-chairman, J. C. Eklers; secretary, S. K. Caldwell; treasurer, C. Hollmann; organizer, A. H. Vitt.

Washington on the Watch

What we want is organizers in the field to boom our party and to put them in the field it requires money.

Now, we have talked this matter up here amongst ourselves and the boys are willing to do their share towards this work. We have found eight comrades that have agreed to contribute \$1 per month for an organizer for the state of Washington, and I think we will be able to raise more than that per month. With the support of Seattle and other towns in the state we ought to have an organizer in the field all the time.

Frank Callahan.

Look Out for Swindlers

At the last regular meeting of the Evansville branch the following resolution was introduced and unanimously adopted:

Whereas: It has come to our knowledge that certain unscrupulous persons, calling themselves Social Democrats, have collected money in this city for the purpose, and that they have failed to devote the money to the purpose for which it was collected; therefore, be it

Resolved: That the public of this city be and hereby is warned not to pay any money to any persons claiming to be Social Democrats unless such persons shall first produce his membership card in this branch and shall by it be shown to be a member in good standing; and be it further

Resolved: That a copy of these reso-

lutions be sent to the Social Democratic Herald for publication therein.

Branch 7, Indiana.

Measures Introduced

In the Massachusetts house Representative MacCartney of Rockland introduced a bill to change the designation of the Democratic Social Party on official ballots to the Social Democratic Party; also a resolve to provide for the submission to the people, at the next state election, of the Boston & Albany railroad lease to the New York Central railroad, and the question whether the state shall own and operate the road.

Representative Carey of Haverhill introduced a bill to prohibit corporations requiring their employees to give bonds to cover damages or injuries suffered by such employee; also a bill giving any person except peddlers, book-agents, upon commercial business, the right to a private interview during working hours.

From Terry Hut

Although the comrades have not heard from the "Hut" for some time, it does not follow that we are dead or even dying. On the contrary, we are very lively in this part of Hoosierdom, and a constant agitation is being kept up all along the line, and scarcely a day passes that does not witness the surrender of some "Fillies." The branch is now holding regular educational meetings, and a committee has been appointed to arrange for a programme extending to the hot days of summer. Such questions as the class struggle, is Socialism a science? historic materialism, etc., will be discussed by the different comrades, which will be followed with questions from the audience and five-minute speeches from those who desire to take part in the discussions. We are adding some good material to the branch and weeding out some that have been a hindrance to us in the past. On the whole the outlook is bright for the comrades of T. H., and their work is just beginning to bear the fruit we have so long looked for. The branch has also put on sale photo buttons of Comrade Debs, and which can be had for 10 cents each or \$1 per dozen. Those who desire these buttons can have them at the price mentioned above by addressing The Toiler, Terre Haute, Ind. The profit on the sale of these buttons will be used as a campaign fund for the municipal campaign next spring. We intend to place a full ticket in the field, and expect to give the cohorts of capitalism a jolt in the solar plexus that they will not forget for some time. Remember what "Merlin" says about the button. Send in your orders, comrades. Come early and avoid the rush!

James Oneal.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND TRADES UNIONISM

For the information of new members and readers of The Herald the following resolutions, adopted when the party was organized, are printed:

"Whereas, We hold the trade union movement to be indispensable to the working people under the prevailing industrial system in their struggle for the improvement of their conditions, as well as for the final abolition of the wage system; we further recognize the need of organization among the workers; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we commend an honest co-operation to that end by the members of the Social Democratic Party of America, by becoming members of the unions in their respective trades or callings, or of the Federal Labor Unions, and strive to organize all such trades as have heretofore not been organized and assist the organization of labor in every way possible.

"Resolved, That in order to more effectively resist the encroachments upon labor we advise organized labor to combine into national and international unions, pledging ourselves to extend to them all possible assistance to accomplish this end.

"Resolved, That we reaffirm the truth expressed in the proceedings of the International Labor Congress, held in London in August, 1896, that while it is absolutely necessary for the working people to make use of the political power in order to secure and enforce the demands of labor, yet differences of political views held by members of the labor organizations should not be a reason for separate organization in the economic struggle, causing dissensions and disruptions.

"Resolved, That we consider strikes and boycotts as historically necessary weapons to obtain the demands of trades unionism; we further recognize in the union label an important factor in strengthening the power of organization, and educating the public to demonstrate in a practical way its sympathy and assistance to the cause of labor; and we therefore indorse all the labels of the bona fide trades unions, earnestly recommending to the membership of the Social Democratic Party of America to patronize only such concerns selling products bearing the same."

Have your card inserted in the **BRANCH DIRECTORY**, 25 Cents per Month. It will help you in the work in your locality.

A SPECIAL EDITION

"To signalize in an appropriate way the first national campaign of the Social Democratic party, the issue of The Herald for March 17 will be a special eighth-page paper of extraordinary value to the movement. It will contain the most complete exposition of Socialism in all its phases we have ever attempted to present to our readers, together with portraits of writers and of our candidates for president and vice-president who will be nominated at the Indianapolis convention; also a vast amount of interesting information about the Socialist movement in general, making it a paper for effective propaganda and a worthy opening of the great campaign for Social Democracy. We want the comrades in every branch to assist in putting a copy of this number of The Herald into the hands of all their friends. We shall be obliged to charge 1 cent per copy in bundle orders, but this is a small item for consideration in these times and on the eve of our first campaign. Every branch can raise a purse, large or small, for the purpose of carrying the good news of Socialism to the homes of those who do not yet understand it. Orders for this special number may be sent in, with cash, at any time up to March 12. We know of nothing more important than that the branches immediately after the national convention devise ways and means to attract the attention of the people at large to our candidates and our principles, and The Herald for March 17 will be just the thing. Don't pass this by till later, but take it up now and give it your best support.

NOTES FROM THE FIELD

There are now eight branches well organized in Boston.

Comrade William Horgan is actively at work preparing the way for organization in Chicago.

Comrade Victor L. Berger has visited Brockton, Haverhill, Boston and other places in Massachusetts.

Comrades F. O. MacCartney and Howard Gibbs were speakers at a meeting at North Abington, Mass.

Prof. Geo. D. Herron left New York Wednesday morning, Jan. 24, on the steamship Augusta Victoria for Europe.

Comrade Leonard D. Abbott speaks before the Printers' Club of New York, Feb. 21, on "Art and Socialism in England."

Comrade H. Gaylord Wilshire is announced to lecture before the branch at Los Angeles, March 4, on "The Danger of Thrift."

Old Missouri has "moved." She is setting a hot pace for other states. Hoehn and Putnam make a warm team and are watching the run with great satisfaction.

The Los Angeles branch, at a meeting held January 21, adopted a resolution welcoming all members of the antileon S. L. P., but strongly opposing any change of name, which would be detrimental to the best interests of the cause of Socialism.

A fact worth noting is that the new branch organized at Washington, Mo., by Comrade Hoehn, consists wholly of farmers. This is the first farmers' branch in the country, and we hope it will prove to be the forerunner of a thousand. This, by the way, is another sign of the times.

If fifty Social Democrats will hustle lively during the next ten days for new subscribers to the Appeal to Reason, that band can be won for this city. G. H. Merridith, 3501 Wabash avenue, authorizes us to say that he will be one of a hundred to contribute \$1 to cinch that band. If you want to co-operate with him, drop him a postal card.

Resolutions commemorative of the life and work of Comrade Henry Lenarz, recently deceased, have been engrossed upon the records of Branch 3, New Haven, Conn. Comrade Lenarz was a most devoted and unselfish worker. We extend to his family our deepest sympathy and to his co-workers our appreciation of their great loss.

Brockton's solitary Social Democratic common councilman will not lose his seat, a recount of the votes showing that he received more votes than did Mr. George E. Horton, Republican, who petitioned for a recount. Horton gained one vote and Brodeur lost two, and the vote as finally announced was Brodeur 323 and Horton 320.—Brockton Journal.

Branch No. 7, Evansville, Ind., will give a public entertainment at Weber's hall, Fourth avenue and Franklin street, Sunday evening, February 4th. Music will be furnished by Miss May Wytenbach, Mrs. Farrel, Bertha Hahn and others. Speaking by Dr. Ruminer, Russell Wytenbach and Mat Hollenberger. The public is cordially invited to attend. Admission free.

Comrade Eugene V. Debs during his visit to New Orleans was invited by Miss Lily Richardson, president of the Woman's Club, to speak before that organization. The Daily Picayune said his visit "is attracting the greatest attention from the thinking women of the city, and the representatives of all the prominent woman clubs and literary organizations have signified their intention of being present. The Local Council of Women will attend in a body, having been requested by Miss Sophie B.

LOCAL BRANCHES

Notices of Branch Meetings Inserted for 25 Cents per Month

CALIFORNIA

Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evenings, commencing at 8. Admission free. Educational meetings (for members) every Tuesday evening. Sociology, Economics, Public Speaking, etc. Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening. Membership, with advantage of Educational Course and Social Democratic Herald free to each member, 25 cents per month. Apply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk street.

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday evening at 8 o'clock in the room of the Friday Morning Club, 330 1/2 South Broadway. F. H. Gill, President. C. C. Ford, 623 W. 27th St., Secretary.

CONNECTICUT

Branch No. 3, New Haven, meets first and third Tuesdays in the month, at 18 State St., at 8 p. m. Cornelius Mahoney, Secretary, 186 Frank St.

Branch No. 4, Rockville, Conn., meets first and third Tuesdays at Turn Hall meeting room, Village street. Secretary, Richard Niederwieser, Box 704.

ILLINOIS

Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 53 Dearborn St.

Branch No. 1, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening, Thomas Kirwin, Secretary, 254 Westworth Ave.

Branch No. 2 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays at 2 p. m. at Nagli's Hall, 535 Blue Island Ave. Vaclav Jelinek, Secretary, 606 Blue Island Ave.

Branch No. 3, Chicago, meets second and fourth Mondays of each month at Jos. Dundras' place, 1605 W. 18th Place. Frank Ort, Secretary, 866 W. 18th St.

Branch No. 5, Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays of each month at Frank Lang's, 117 W. 18th St., corner Jefferson St. Paul Chapek, Secretary, 47 Ruble St.

Branch No. 6 (German), Chicago, meets every first Saturday each month at 8 o'clock at Nagli's Hall, 535 Blue Island Ave., near 18th St. Albin Gelsler, Secretary, 728 W. 20th St.

Branch 7, Chicago, meets at Lundquist Hall, corner 61st and Morgan Sts., every first and third Thursday. S. L. Westline, Secretary, 6243 Center Ave.

INDIANA

Branch No. 6, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichwein's Hall, corner Market and Noble Sts.

KENTUCKY

Branch No. 2, Covington, meets first and third Wednesday evenings and second and fourth Sunday afternoons of each month. All agitation meetings except last one in month. Good speakers. Secretary, F. C. Stumpf, 201 5th street.

MARYLAND

Branch No. 1, Baltimore, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m. at Carpenter's Hall, 550 E. Baltimore St. Public invited.

Branch No. 2, Baltimore, meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 311 W. German St. Frank Mareck, Secretary, 1408 N. Gay St.

MASSACHUSETTS

The Massachusetts State Committee meets the first Saturday of each month at 724 Washington St., Boston. All dues and moneys intended for the State Committee should be sent to the financial secretary, A. McDonald, 104 W. Springfield St., Boston. All other correspondence should be addressed to the Corresponding Secretary, Margaret Hall, 5 Glenwood St., Roxbury.

Branch No. 2, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Mondays of each month at Springdale Turner Hall. H. Schlichting, Organizer, 30 James St.

Branch No. 5, Lynn, permanent headquarters, 32 Summer St., near Market St. Business meeting every Monday night at 7:30 p. m. Open house. Public invited. E. W. Timson, Financial Secretary-Treasurer, 25 Albany St.

Branch No. 6, Brockton, meets the second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at 8 p. m. for business at Socialist Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Center Sts. Every comrade is expected to attend one meeting a month. Frank S. Walsh, Secretary, 62 Crockett St.

Branch No. 15, East Boston, meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 35 Chelsea St. Miss Jenny Segal, Secretary, 35 Chelsea St.

Branch No. 18, Newburyport, meets the second Monday of each month at Lester's Hall, 1 State St. E. F. McLean, Secretary, 39 Winter St. G. H. Evans, Treasurer, Prince Place.

Branch No. 21, Chelsea, permanent headquarters, Room 2, Postoffice Building. Open every evening.

Wright to give their attention to the subject which Mr. Debs will bring before the public."

The Bohemian comrades in Chicago are making an effort to start a new weekly paper in their language, which is to be under control of the national council. We now have four active Bohemian branches in this city, and the comrades are making great sacrifices for the cause. The branches all over the country are appealed to for such contributions as they can afford to aid this enterprise. The secretary of Branch No. 2, Vaclav Jelinek, 606 Blue Island avenue, Chicago, is authorized to receive contributions, and any assistance rendered will be gratefully appreciated and acknowledged in the columns of The Herald. Bohemian comrades can give valuable service by soliciting subscriptions to the paper, which will be \$1.50 per year.

BEER DRINKING AND OTHER FORMS OF RECREATION

"I'll agree that drink leads men to ruin and poverty," said the carpenter to the Prohibitionist, at our last lodge meeting; "and yet poverty is not a result of drink. Does that seem to you a queer statement? How so? Have you figured out, from statistics on the liquor business, how many nickel glasses of beer and pints of whisky the workingmen buy in a year and how many homes that beer and whisky will ruin? Then look over your figures and see if you have allowed a greater per cent of the whole money spent during a year, for the expensive wines and drinks of the rich. Having done so see what a small factor this liquor business is in making poverty-stricken homes."

"That's good," said I, "but the profit system is the important point on this subject. Take the profit out of beer dealing and treating will drop out; many saloonkeepers will work at useful trades, the national brewery will make only pure drinks and will not encourage its use. No man will be able to buy enough to get drunk."

My namesake, Joe, the gardener, was the next to speak. "I'm not so sure,"

evening. Business meetings every Thursday at 8 p. m. Public invited.

MINNESOTA

Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Gesswein, on Main St. Wm. H. Randall, Secretary.

MISSOURI

St. Louis headquarters, Room 7, 22 N. Fourth St. Address all communications to E. Val Putnam, Secretary. For information concerning ward branches, inquire at the above address.

Branch No. 7, Kansas City, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1200 Union Ave. G. J. Stors, Secretary, 1230 W. 9th St.

NEW JERSEY

Branch No. 1, Secretary, Michael W. Schor, 57 Livingston St.

Branch No. 8 (German), Paterson, N. J., meets first and third Mondays at 8 p. m. at Helvetia Hall, 34-36 Van Houten St. Karl Linder, Secretary, 246 Edmond St.

NEW YORK

The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York and vicinity meets first and third Tuesdays of every month in Whittier Hall, 55 E. 4th St. Elizabeth H. Thomas, Secretary.

East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every first and third Thursday at 112 Clinton St. Guyer, Secretary, 125 Suffolk St.

Branch No. 2, 24th Assembly District, meets second and fourth Wednesdays of the month at Central Hall, 1059 2d Ave. Henry Lang, Secretary, 324 E. 40th St.

Branch No. 4, West Side Branch, New York, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of every month at headquarters, 189 W. 29th St. Elizabeth H. Thomas, Secretary.

Branch No. 10, 4th Assembly District, meets every first and third Wednesday of the month at the rooms of The Voice of Labor, 428 Grand St. Jacob Panken, Organizer, 189 Division St.

Branch No. 12, Brooklyn, headquarters, 221 Rutledge St. Meets every third Thursday at 8:15 sharp. All persons interested are invited to attend these meetings and co-operate in organizing local branches in every district in the city. Wm. Butcher, Secretary, 251 Rutledge St.

Branch No. 20, New York, 25th Assembly District, meets first and third Thursdays of each month at Faulhaber's Hall, 1561 Second Ave. R. Hoppe, Secretary, 338 E. 90th St.

OHIO

Branch No. 2, Cleveland, meets in Ohlsen's Hall, 65 York St., second and fourth Sundays at third Tuesdays of every month in business meetings, first and third Fridays at 8 p. m.

Branch No. 3, Cleveland, meets first and third Sundays in each month at 8 p. m. in Ohlsen's Hall, 65 York St. Lectures and discussions.

Branch No. 4, Cincinnati, meets at Richelleu Hall, southeast corner 9th and Plum Sts., second and fourth Sundays in each month at 2:30 p. m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Chas. D. Linsley, Secretary, 1918 E. Auburn St.

Branch No. 5, Dayton, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2:30 in room 34, Davies block, Fourth and Main streets. Every one interested in practical government is invited. Burgard, J. C. Schawe, president; N. Dutle, secretary.

Branch No. 8, Cincinnati, meets every second and fourth Saturday in Workingmen's Hall, 1183 Walnut St. F. Hanel, Secretary, 124 Friar St.

Branch No. 11, German, Columbus, Ed Greiner, Secretary, 806 Mohawk St.

PENNSYLVANIA

Branch No. 2, Erie, meets every Saturday afternoon at 4 p. m. at L. Hall, 715 State St. Chas. Heydrick, Chairman. Geo. B. Laird, Secretary, 225 W. 5th St.

Branch No. 4, Pittsburgh, meets every Thursday evening at 7:30 p. m. at Funk Hall, 8, 24th and Josephine Sts. W. Bohn, President, 244 Addison St. J. H. Lewis, Secretary, 218 June St.

Branch No. 6, Philadelphia, meets every Friday at 8:30, 34 St. Discussion from 8 to 9. J. Gearson, Secretary.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee Central Committee meets on the first Monday of each month at 8 p. m. sharp at 618 E. Water St. Eugene H. Rooney, Secretary. John Doerfler, Treasurer.

Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Tuesday evening of the month at the Ethical Society Building, 558 Jefferson St. Visitors always welcome. Howard Tuttle, Chairman. Eugene H. Rooney, Secretary.

Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Saturday in Geatke's Hall, corner Green Bay and Concordia Ave.

Branch No. 3, Sheboygan, meets every fourth Thursday of the month at 8 p. m. at Meller's Hall, Hall on Pennsylvania Ave. R. Schoen, Secretary-Treasurer, 8, 12th St.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday of each month at Meller's Hall, corner 24 and Brown Sts. George Moersch, Secretary, 381 25th St.

Branch No. 8, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at R. Sigel's Hall, southeast corner Orchard St. and 9th Ave. Fred Brockhausen, Secretary, 781 Windlake Ave.

Branch No. 11, Milwaukee, meets the second Wednesday of each month at the office of the Wisconsin Vorwaerts, 614 State St.

Branch No. 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of each month at Kraus' Hall, 21 and Center St., at 8 p. m. John Koepfer, Secretary.

he said, "about the present form of government being able to do all the things you say. This whole drink business is a matter of recreation. Sir Lipton comes over to this country for a yacht race and spends a quarter of a million on the operation. That's his way of having fun. Another sport spends three thousand dollars on a race horse. That's all the fun he can afford. The next man, some of us fellows, spends a dollar, or fifty cents, on the theater. That's our fun; our way of forgetting business cares. Now the last one I will speak of is the man with a nickel. It won't buy much. No yachts, horses, bicycles, theater tickets, tennis courts, or even a ticket to the ball game. Yet this man needs recreation most of all. His work is the most unpleasant and his home the poorest. He must forget business cares and pains, and he has only a nickel. Well, that's all, men. He takes what his money will buy. It's just a straight question in economy."

I don't think even the carpenter had thought of it just that way before; I'm sure none of the rest of us had.

The meeting broke up soon after that speech, but before they all left I heard one of the boys say, "Nothing short of Socialism will settle this question and I will be a member of the Social Democratic Party before you see me up here again."

Forshoe Joe.

Help for Bohemian Paper

Tailor's Union, No. 102, U. G. W. of A., \$2; Vaclav Kotes, \$2; Socialni Demokrat, \$1; Ferdinand Svoboda, \$1; Frank J. Peter, \$1; F. W. Hirt, \$1; Theodore Debs, \$1; circulation, No. 72, \$3.85.

PROPAGANDA FUND

"Appeal to Reason" Kansas \$1.00
Branch No. 9, Milwaukee Wisconsin .25
John Hogan New York .10
A. Guyer New York .10
J. Shallop New York .15
J. Shallop New York .10
C. Mahoney Connecticut .25
\$3.85

BRANCH SUPPLIES

Charters \$2.00
Membership Cards (per 100) 1.00
Membership Applications (100) .25
Constitutions (each) .03
Send orders with cash to Theodore Debs, 126 Washington Street, Chicago. No supplies sent on credit.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

VOL. II. No. 34.

CHICAGO, ILL., U.S.A., SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 10, 1900.

Whole No. 84.

MERLIN'S MIXTURE

Art in China.

Once upon a time the Goulds used tin basins to wrestle with dust. That was before they began to smash railways, and accumulate dust of another sort.

Lately, presumably in a revulsion from the plebeian habits of his ancestors, Gould invested in a European basin and ewer. The article in question evidently was possessed of rare beauty, as it cost him \$14,000.

Bringing it across to his American palace, the government officials, in accordance with the law, charged the usual duty levied on decorated china.

Gould entered protest against this customary tax, and brought the matter up in the courts. It was a contest between legal right, on one hand, and moneyed might on the other.

Last week Judge Wheeler handed down a decision against the government, and permitted Gould to bring in his basin. The crockery, decided the learned judge, could be classed as oil and water paintings!

And so Gould, as the result of this brilliant decision, is spared the extra expense of \$8.00 for the privilege of scrubbing his ears in a concave oil painting.

Your ewer.

This is no trivial incident. It is pregnant with lessons that should be learned. It is full of warnings that should be heard and heeded.

It was Gould's ewer, but it was your gold. No man has ever yet, by reason of industry and economy, been able to indulge himself honestly in a \$14,000 wash-basin. The fact that some of you are not able to replace the old cracked basin you use by a new one, is coincident and explanatory of the fact that Gould is able to buy this bit of costly china.

Every pound of food, every yard of cloth, every dollar of rent, every ticket of travel that you buy contributes indirectly to the incomes of these princes of capital.

We are taxed that the rich might purchase their European crockery and we pay the tax. The rich are taxed that these luxuries might be imported into the country. They refuse to pay it, and succeed.

Why not imitate their example? If one man can resist a rightful tax, why cannot a majority of millions resist and escape an unjust tax?

The Social Democratic party, with some optimism, says we can.

Colts and Children.

At the annual meeting of the National Live Stock Association last week, Col. Henry Exall made an address showing the profitable character of colt-raising. He quoted his own success as proof of his assertion.

In marked contrast, is the case of George Simonds, of Boston. He was a tailor, whose marriage was blessed—an old phrase—with ten children. The family circle increased, until a dozen chairs surrounded the home table.

But all the father's troubles were not "little ones." The time came when he was unable to get work, and hence he was compelled to return, time after time, to his hungry brood without the means of satisfying their hunger.

At last, impotent, thwarted, foiled, he awoke one morning without the courage to face another day of disappointment, and thinking himself a hindrance, rather than a help, he swallowed a bottle of carbolic acid.

What hellish conditions have we when the man who raises colts makes money, and the man who raises children is crushed by the fact of fatherhood into failure and death?

Heart-breaks.

Dr. Seymour, a veterinary surgeon of Wolcott, N. Y., tells a story of a horse dying of a broken heart. When the horse died suddenly and strangely, an autopsy was made, showing that the animal's heart had been ruptured longitudinally. In looking for a cause, it was found that the horse had been suddenly separated from its mate, a young mare, and from the day of separation, had eaten nothing and had finally died, literally, of a broken heart.

How often, as the result of our competitive system of industry, are human beings forced from the side of those they love! How often are men compelled to pursue the will-o'-the-wisp of a job from state to state, leaving their wives and children behind! How often does the selfish negligence of the employer allow whirling wheels to permanently separate the husband from the wife!

If a horse can feel such grief as to break its heart, what must be the agony of the desolated human heart? Who shall measure the sorrow of the one who

mourns beside the corpse of a loved one stricken by the plague of poverty? Who shall compute the guilt of that one who, seeing the hearts broken by the cruel wheels of capitalism, persists in pushing them around?

The Criminality of Riches.

The rich are not to be blamed for the evils caused by the system that made them rich. Wealth is not a guarantee of vice, any more than poverty is a badge of virtue.

Still, while we must blame the mass, instead of the class, there are still indictments against the rich, strong enough to deprive all of them of the title to virtuous life.

A house is burning. The flames creep from floor to floor, breathing death at every lurid breath. The inmates rush to the upper windows and shriek for help. A ladder leans against a neighboring house. With it the endangered ones may be saved. The owner refuses its use. The flames spread. "The ladder cannot be used. It is mine. It will be burnt." The walls fall. The flames gush forth. The victims perish. And the man's ladder is unhurt.

So today the flames of poverty endanger a multitude of lives. In many cases there is no choice save starvation or suicide. Every paper chronicles a case of one or the other.

The millionaire has a ladder of wealth which might save thousands. Every millionaire represents 20,000,000 loaves of bread. That means a solid pyramid of bread 100 feet square, and 500 feet high.

Now, when thousands are starving, I say that no man has any moral right to retain, in his private greed that which is essential to the life of his fellow men. He has a legal "right," but it is a right he exercises at the cost of character and conscience.

Sometime we shall apply the law of eminent domain, not only to real estate, but to wealth as well.

Blind Man's Buff.

A one-time socialist, now a "reformer" a la "The Golden Rule," who has extinguished his socialist lantern in order to make money in the dark, gives utterance to the opinion that nothing can be done for Socialism so long as times are so prosperous! He says that money is so easily got, and that everybody in New York has a job!

In the words of Dooley, I can only say "The divvie he has!" Last week a man in New York found a two-dollar bill. He rushed to a restaurant, ordered a meal, and in his ravenous hunger choked to death.

The aforesaid opinion reminds me of an expression of a wealthy clergyman, who said he had lived in New York for five years and had only seen two cases of poverty in that time. He evidently lived on Fifth avenue, and was too lazy to walk.

The same parson, in speaking of the bonds of poverty, said he "felt no chains," and therefore denied the existence of any chains at all. The driver has no reason to complain of the steepness of the hill up which he whips his horse.

When a blind man declares that something does not exist because he cannot see it, it is not wise to accept his opinion as conclusive or correct.

Is Poverty Necessary?

But, to consider the assumption seriously, is it true that nothing can be done for Socialism, so long as men are prosperous, or fairly so? Is it wise to leave all effort looking toward the change of the industrial system until humanity shall have been crushed by the iron heel of poverty into a puttyish and pliable pulp?

On the contrary, I believe that the only hope of a peaceful and orderly solution of the question is to educate people in Socialism now. Otherwise, we shall be plunged into the horrors of mob rule, as the ignorant dash blindly for an unknown gate.

If all the prosperous will not listen to us, none of the pauperized can. You cannot talk sense into a starving man. You may urge him to do some desperate deed, but you cannot make him an intelligent believer in a just system.

It is an encouraging sign that so many of the better class of workers—financially and socially considered—are becoming active members of our party branches. It is a manifestation of that high ethical and moral feeling that is the mainspring of a true socialist's activity.

Merlin.

The Democratic party, which clamors for the annihilation of the trusts, had an opportunity to put that policy to the test under Cleveland. Did it do any "smashing" then? No, and it will not if the opportunity should occur again. But the opportunity will not come; and besides, the people are beginning to understand the trust problem—thanks to the Socialists—and they have serious doubts about the wisdom of trying to "smash 'em."

SOCIALIST'S VIEW OF BOER-BRITISH WAR

By Edward Carpenter.

"But what they fought each other for I could not well make out."

Yes, what are we fighting about? The Dutch are our nearest neighbors on the continent—nearest by ties of blood, language, customs and traditions. Amity has always prevailed between the English and Dutch peoples, bound together as they are in Europe by a common tradition of liberty and independence. Why then are we fighting each other in Africa? What are we fighting about?

This question has never been answered. We are plunged in war. The soil of Africa runs red with the blood of Boer and Briton; but as to the reason—we have never had a solid one, or anything like a solid one, yet. Chamberlain certainly, in his cheapjack style, has slid from pretext to pretext, pocketing one and producing another with unblushing effrontery. At one time we were treated to "wrongs of Outlanders"—but then, unfortunately, Cornish miners, themselves Outlanders, came home and told us they had little or nothing to complain of; and it turned out that of the 21,000 names to the petition which started this subject, many, perhaps most, were signed under pressure or without the contents being known, while many were actually written down unbeknown to their owners. And so that matter fell through.

Then came the franchise. But the difference between a franchise obtainable after five years' residence and one obtainable after seven, obviously could not serve as an excuse for a war—especially for a government which at home opposes every spread of the franchise! So that was dropped.

And a move was made to the suzerainty question. The cheapjack, in his slippery way, alluded to the suzerainty, in his dispatches, as if we still retained a right to interfere in the private affairs of the Transvaal. But a glance at the convention of 1884 showed that we had abandoned that claim fifteen years ago, and that it could not be openly revived now.

So at last there was nothing for it but to hurry out troops to Africa, and say we were doing so for fear the Boers would invade us—for fear, as Mr. Stead says, that the lamb would eat the wolf! for fear that the little Transvaal, with a population equal to that of Brighton, would attack against the great British empire. That ruse was successful—as, of course, it was bound to be. And Boer and Briton are now in mortal combat.

But what are we fighting about?

Every one knows, yet every one is silent, because we are ashamed to say.

Just think for a moment of the situation. Think of these Dutch basters or boers (farmers) who emigrated to South Africa in the 17th century; and one of the French Huguenots who followed—some of the best people in Europe. They settled at the Cape; but the English coming there a hundred years ago, soon began to crowd them out. And so, in 1836, occurred the Great Trek. Harnessing their bullocks to their wagons, and putting their wives, their families and all their possessions on board, they tracked a thousand miles up into the interior, and made for themselves a home afar from the English, in an arid, unfertile land where before the wild beasts had been. If ever a people on earth made good their right to their land these people did. They loved it passionately—it was the Promised land of their wanderings—and they love it still. (Perhaps our people who have no land, cannot understand that!) And they will fight for it to the end.

They may have their faults. They have been hard on the Kaffirs and other natives, barbarous at times, but I doubt whether they have been so systematically cruel as the English. They may be narrowminded and old-fashioned in their ideas, but so far in the present war they seem to have acted more humanely than our professional troops. Religious, almost puritanical (for they descend from much the same puritan sources as we do), simple in their lives, loving their land, their cattle, their homes—they have only asked to be left alone in their own country.

Well, think of this people so living; and then think again of Johannesburg since gold was found there, since the gold fever set in—a hell full of Jews, financiers, greedy speculators, adventurers, prostitutes, bars, banks, gaming saloons, and every invention of the devil. Think of this people, these peasant farmers, not only witnessing with utmost disgust this open sore of commercial corruption, but seeing the covetous eyes of Rhodes and his crew fixed upon them for their undoing, and the certainty that ere long their land would be completely overrun. You see, if the boers had chosen to

pack off the whole crew they would have had a perfect right to do so. (Think for a moment, if Liverpool were to be overrun by 100,000 Chinese, smothering our civilization, and introducing their hated customs and ways—what should we do?) They would have had a perfect right to pack them off, according to the very ideas of independence and freedom which the name of England has always stood for.

Instead of doing that Kruger and his people gave way. They climbed down from point to point. They offered terms of franchise, etc., most reasonable terms. But when, each time, our government evaded coming to a settlement, the meaning of it all became clear. It became clear to Kruger, it became clear to his people, it became clear to the whole world (except those among ourselves who were deluded by the press)—clear that if "the cry of the women and children" in 1895 was but a trumped-up excuse for the Jameson raid, "the wrongs of the Outlanders" and the other cries of '99 were only a pretext for another raid, and this time on a much larger scale.

So at last, and quite recently, the boers turned (our troops were already massing on the frontier)—they turned, took John Bull by the horns and declared war on him. They could do nothing else. Ever since 1895, and perhaps before that, they had foreseen these dangers; and had—and very rightly, too—prepared themselves.

And now, because they are prepared and can show fight, Chamberlain (having perhaps hoped that they would not venture to fight) makes his latest accusation—namely, that they have been intending this invasion for years, and that we are only defending ourselves against a deeply laid plot! (And yet after that we call Kruger a hypocrite!)

If ever there was a case of Naboth's Vineyard it is this one.

And now listen again! Commercial capitalism has been rampant in South Africa for years. Capitalism, the bloodless, soulless rule of companies, is bad enough here in England; but in Africa it is far worse. There is no public opinion to restrain it there; the Kaffirs and even the white wage-workers are at its mercy. Terrible have been the cruelties perpetrated in the diamond fields of Kimberley, and in the gold mines of Rhodesia. Kimberley itself, about which there is a good deal of sentiment just now, has been of late years uninhabitable except by minions of the De Beers Syndicate. A commercial tyranny reigns there, exceeding anything we know in England. Conditions in Johannesburg were rapidly drifting in the same direction. The financiers have been looking forward to complete control of the labor conditions there. "Wages would be cut down, dividends would be increased," said Mr. Hammond to the South African Goldfields Company, "by two million sterling per annum" as soon as the English obtained control. The Stock Exchange shouted itself hoarse with fiendish delight when war was declared. Rhodesian stock went up; the Chartered Company's shares rose from 25-8 to 41-4. Lies were circulated by a corrupt press; and a wave of silly jingo-imperialism swept over our land. And so in obedience to this money-mongering capitalism—our princes, our government, our official classes being all more or less entangled in it—we are fighting an inglorious war—a war to which there can be no satisfactory end, since with it the flames of disaffection spread faster than they can be extinguished.

HERE AND NOW

Stand not aloof nor apart,
Plunge in the thick of the fight;
There in the street and the mart,
That is the place to do right.
Not in some cloister or cave,
Not in some kingdom above,
Here, on this side of the grave,
Here should we labor and love.
—Ella Wheeler Wilcox.

British Land Grabbers

One hundred and twenty thousand square miles of country north of Alice Springs, in the northern territory of South Australia, has been applied for and granted to the Lands Department Syndicate, London. Australian papers say that Mr. Chamberlain is up to his neck in this land-grabbing scheme, and that all his influence and that of the Colonial Office is behind the gang who now seem to have got possession of this vast amount of territory. The next step will probably be to bring pressure to bear on the federal government to build a trans-continental railway, and thereby enhance the commercial interests of the earth-stealers. The territory will be worked by black and Asiatic labor to produce goods in competition with the goods produced by the better-paid labor of the eastern states. This will be called developing the colonies, but the profits will belong to the London syndicate.—Labor Leader.

MUSINGS IN MY LEISURE HOUR

John Ruskin, too, is now out of the ranks of the living. There are very few left of the intellectual giants of the Victorian age, except the aged Victoria, and she is only a figurehead, varnished and gilded, made to look as much as possible like a real live monarch, and preserved in good condition by being kept out of use.

* * *

Poor woman! To the ignorant she is still a picture card. She is queen of spades to the yokel, queen of clubs to the "policeman," queen of diamonds to the snob and his helpmeet and queen of hearts to the country parson who worships God in heaven and the squire on earth. But she is always conscious of being nothing more than a card in the governmental pack, to be produced every time the political game is on, when the shuffling and dealing are duly completed.

* * *

Britanniarum regina! A doll playing the part of a queen! Well, it may not do honor to my Socialist heart, but I pity her.

* * *

I always did.

Years ago I witnessed in London the performance of an unusually clever ventriloquist. The fellow had a dummy rigged out like a lady, whom he made say all sorts of things, to the great delight of a large deception-loving audience. A day or two later parliament assembled, the Grand Old Man was to come out in a new part, having, like all modern histrionic stars, the chief monologue and the best part of the dialogue. In due time he appeared before the footlights and the performance began. Before, however, he started, he had the time-honored queen's Speech (a capital S, please!) blazoned forth. As I afterward read it I heaved a sigh, and speaking to myself I said: "Alack-a-day! Here is the ventriloquist and his doll over again."

* * *

To start with John Ruskin and switch off to Queen Victoria! This is another illustration of the old adage that there is but a step between the sublime and the ridiculous.

* * *

What was Ruskin? William Morris has unfortunately gone before him, and he was the only one besides Ruskin himself who could have given us the true definition. To us of the disinherited class who have been reared in poverty and brought up amid scenes of misery, squalor and suffering; who have all through life been divorced from nature without ever being wedded to art; who have seen no pictures but to have our eyes ache, as we have never listened to strains of music but what were in our ears mingled with groans and sighs—what are to us Ruskin's word-paintings? How can we understand his "Stones of Venice," his "Modern Painters" and all the rest?

"We whose right to light

Heaven's high noon denies,

Whom the blind beams smite

That for yet shine bright

And but burn our eyes!"

As Swinburne, addressing the rich, has put it.

* * *

But then there is, of course, the other Ruskin, the philanthropic sage, the seer, the workman's friend, the man who takes up the cudgels in behalf of humanity against the British school of political economy, the author of "Fors Clavigera," "Time and Tide" and "Unto This Last"—the enemy of humbug and the truth-seeker. Him we understand. We cannot help it. The ancients said that the Gods must have spoken the language of Plato; if so, Wisdom and Logic could only have used the English of Ruskin if they hoped to find a place in the minds of men.

* * *

But he is not up to date? Of course not, Ruskin, don't you see, was the connecting link between the outgoing and the incoming order of things. He was the early dawn that has not yet quite shaken off the night but is already a promise of the bright day to come. He was the April that links the warm fruit-bearing summer to the winter just past and gone, the winter with its gloom and chills and barrenness. He was the light-winged dove that left the ark and proclaimed the end of the flood. Him we understand and love and honor, while we battle for freedom and right.

M. Winchevsky.

This is the year when Socialism as a political factor in the United States will make itself worthy of attention. Organize for the great battle at the polls. Read the "Call to Action" and organize.

Social Democratic Herald

Published Every Saturday by the
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board
JESSE COX, Chairman
REYNOLDS STEWART, Secretary
EUGENE V. DESS, VICTOR L. BERGERE
FREDERIC HEATH

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, \$2.00. Six months, \$1.00. No papers sent to any one on credit. If, without having subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and no bill will follow. Foreign subscriptions \$4.00.

Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

A. S. EDWARDS, Editor
THEODORE DESS, National Sec'y-Treas.
196 Washington St., Chicago.

84 is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 85 your subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, FEB. 10, 1900.

NO INFLUENCE AT WASHINGTON

The correspondent at Washington of a Chicago daily newspaper directs attention to the opposition of private concerns to any attempt of the government to engage in any enterprise that would compete with their interests. The navy department wants an appropriation of money to build a plant for the manufacture of powder; but the powder manufacturers are making big profits by supplying powder to the government and oppose the plan. Millions of people favor postal savings banks, but they cannot get them because private savings banks are opposed. The parcels post has been urged and approved by the people, but the private express companies see in it a loss of revenue, so there will be no parcels post. For years a public telegraph system has been urged by strong delegations representing the people, but the private telegraph companies have more influence at Washington than the people, and there will be no public telegraph.

All this proves what the Socialists have long declared—that government is controlled by the masters of the economic system under which we live; it also proves that the people have no influence at Washington. And they will have none so long as the present economic system, which involves government by capitalists, shall continue.

GLAD WE CAN'T DO IT

We have received a beautiful political mosaic from Pittsburgh urging a union of Social Democrats with Bryan Democrats, Prohibitionists and other people having confused ideas of the social problem, "to win Nov. 6." We can't do it. Fact is, we don't want union of that kind. If we did, the Prohibitionists and Bryan Democrats have made it impossible by uniting against us, as they did at Haverhill. Yes, with loud protestations of love for the workingman and a deep yearning to save him from the saloon, both combined with the Republicans to beat us. Perhaps the "unionists" are not aware of this. Another fact is that Socialists do not combine or trade with any party, however lustily it may proclaim its profound concern for the workingman or its high "moral" principles. There is only one escape from the tyranny of capitalism, and that is into Socialism, and that is something more than "direct legislation or public ownership of street railways," etc. Unless your etcetera includes the land and the entire productive capital of society, you are not favorable to Socialism. Neither Bryanism, Prohibitionism, Populism nor Single-Taxism stand for the adequate programme; therefore, save yourselves disappointment by abandoning the hope that Social Democrats will unite with any movement having as its objective anything short of the Co-Operative Commonwealth.

"UNPRECEDENTED PROSPERITY"

An "unprecedented year of prosperity" is followed by a winter of the usual hardship and deprivation for the poor, and the daily newspapers throughout the country are telling of great suffering among people whose poverty and wretchedness are due to inability to find employment. One Chicago paper appeals to the well-to-do to "give, give, give," and thus relieve the distress, and a Chicago merchant is giving soft coal by the half-ton to "deserving poor people," and thousands of such people, it is admitted, are in need of this help, after a year of "unprecedented prosperity." Many of those in need of assistance this winter are young married men who are compelled for the first time to ask for charity. They have failed for months to procure any sort of employment, have been living on credit, but the small merchants' inability to any longer carry their forces these young men to the extremity of seeking aid from public sources and charitable organizations. Poor men without work froze to death in the streets of Chicago last week.

Even property-owners, failing to collect rents because of the pecuniary distress of tenants, are seeking relief, and in Buffalo, N. Y., the authorities have been compelled to pay the rent for occupants of their houses who have not been touched by the "unprecedented prosperity." Women and children are found every day in every great city in the

country sick and without food or proper clothing. Men, disheartened by failure to get work, are asking the police to arrest them, declaring that they are slowly starving to death.

But the other class—the class which appropriates the earnings of the poor when they have work—is wearing silk stockings at \$10 a pair, and the great labor-skinning corporations are declaring dividends ranging from 40 to 400 per cent, and the country is enjoying a season of "unprecedented prosperity!"

THE S. L. P. CONVENTION

The convention of the Socialist Labor party at Rochester, N. Y., was attended by fifty-nine delegates, representing California, Connecticut, Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New York, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Ohio and Pennsylvania. The subject of union with the S. D. P. occupied the attention of the body for one day, following the reading of a communication and greetings from our national executive board. A reply was adopted conveying the notification that the S. L. P. will communicate its views on the relation of the respective parties to the national convention of the Socialist Democratic party at Indianapolis. Resolutions were adopted favorable to union by a vote of 55 to 1, three delegates not voting. A committee of nine was elected to convey these resolutions to the Indianapolis convention and invite the S. D. P. to choose a similar committee, the two to act as a permanent committee on Socialist union until the question is definitely disposed of. The members of the committee are: Hayes of Ohio, Harriman of California, Hillquit of New York, Sieverman of New York, White of Connecticut, Barnes of Pennsylvania, Fenner of Massachusetts, Stone of New York and Benham of California. The comrades of the S. L. P. will be cordially welcomed at Indianapolis, and it is our sincere hope that the work of the joint committee on union may in due season be crowned with success.

A CAPITALISTIC WAR

All wars are capitalistic and have as their procuring causes the extension of the dominion of capitalism over the world. The Boer-British war is peculiarly so. It had its origin in an economic question—the desire of the British to gain possession of the natural resources of the Transvaal. Of this there is no doubt, and no amount of sentimental or patriotic gush, no pious asseverations concerning the purposes of the Almighty, and no hypocritical cant about extending a superior civilization can alter the fact. In this issue of The Herald appears the view taken of this war for the extension of the empire of British capitalists by Edward Carpenter, the well-known English author and Socialist. It is well that Socialists in America should know that the war has from the beginning been denounced as unnecessary and brutal by our comrades across the sea.

The controversy over the war in England has brought out a statement from one writer which throws a flood of light upon the whole question of militarism, and plainly shows to what purpose the burden of taxation is placed upon the producing classes of the world. It is for no other purpose than to provide privileges for a class of aristocrats whose lives are spent in dissipation and intrigue resulting in war and the legalized murder of people between whom there is no quarrel.

This writer says that the British army in its higher branches is a great social class; that the society from which British officers are drawn is "distinctly degenerate, due to lack of intellectual training and the dissipation and vice of the aristocracy." "The class commonly known as society," he says, "provides 99 per cent of the officers." He then declares that if England is to win this war it can only be done by the English democracy.

If the English democracy and the American democracy—the common people everywhere who do the work of the world—would organize themselves to seize the political power of their respective countries and put an end to capitalist exploitation, they would be doing more good for themselves and future generations than by killing Boers in South Africa or Filipinos in Luzon.

NOTES AND COMMENT

The bankers of New York had a banquet and wanted the ice-cream served in a novel style. Each plate was put up to represent a pile of gold eagles with milled edges and the stamp; the motto "In God we trust" was changed to read "In good we trust." That was more than the vigilant and moral officers of the law could stand and the ice-cream counterfeit of the coin of the realm was confiscated. If the bankers had only stamped the delicacy "In gold we trust" they would have been nearer right and the law officers, recognizing the appropriateness of the motto, would probably have allowed them to finish the banquet according to the menu card.

A writer in the Forum calls attention to the futility of anti-trust legislation by pointing out that the Sherman law of 1890 has been a complete failure for ten

years. The reason for this is that the trusts have always been powerful enough to decide the choice of the attorneys-general under both Republican and Democratic administrations. The writer says, and of course Socialists do not believe it, that the Sherman law was adequate to reach every form of combination or monopoly. The Sherman law never was meant for anything more than a vote catcher, just as the Republican and Democratic anti-trust clamor now is. There is not a Republican or Democratic politician living who really believes the trusts can be disbanded; but they must have votes, hence the talk of regulating or smashing the trusts.

One of the pretenses for war set up by Great Britain was the excessive taxation put upon food by the Boers in order that a corrupt and riotous government might wallow in wanton luxury at the expense of the unhappy outlanders. What are the facts? Keir Hardie says in the Labour Leader that, in common with every colony in South Africa, the Transvaal republic has its customs tariff, but it is the lowest on the Dark Continent. Comrade Hardie gives the following comparison between the Transvaal and Cape Colony (British):

Taxes per 100 lbs.	Cape Colony (British).	Transvaal Republic.
Butter	£1 5 0	£0 5 0
Cheese	1 5 0	0 5 0
Coffee	0 12 6	0 2 6
Sugar	3 6 8	0 2 6
Soap	0 4 2	0 5 0

The assassination of Goebel in Kentucky is the logical outcome of a system of politics that is dominated by the interests of capitalism. Such occurrences ought to have the effect of opening the eyes of the working class to the fact that the real anarchists and disturbers of the peace in this country are the political tools of the corporations in both the Republican and Democratic parties. No really sane and unprejudiced man doubts for a moment that if the position of the two capitalistic parties in Kentucky was reversed Mr. Taylor instead of Mr. Goebel would have been the victim.

Socialists did not make the classes, be it remembered. They have been made by the economic evolution, and their existence in every country where capitalism holds sway is undeniable. In affirming the class struggle Socialists merely recognize the FACT. While the means of life are possessed by a few and the workers are dependent upon the few to gain a livelihood, there will be classes and a necessary struggle of classes.

What "cause" is it you want to aid? The Bryan cause? Then don't bother us; you are coming to the wrong shop. If you read The Herald and understand the language it is printed in, you should also understand that in sending your frenzied clamor for union here you are wasting both time and money.

Never hesitate to support a principle if it is right. You know Socialism is right. Don't wait for it to become popular before joining a Socialist organization. Unite with the Social Democratic party now and share with us in the great national campaign we will make this year for Socialism.

The answer to the question "What are the English fighting about?" is given in an article by the well-known Socialist writer Edward Carpenter, which The Herald received from England a few days ago. It is being extensively circulated among English workingmen in leaflet form.

The American Fabian has been eliminated from our exchange list by reason of suspension. The Fabian was in some respects an excellent publication, but so many Republican and Democratic journals in this country have adopted Fabianism that there was really no place for it.

Twenty-six millionaires legislating (for the people? nit!) in the United States senate. No wonder that all influence at Washington is monopolized by corporations and the tools of corporations, while the people who foot the bills are no longer in the governing business!

A woman living at Frederick City, Md., is trying to sell the Bible once owned by Barbara Frietchie, the heroine of Whittier's poem. The book is highly prized by the owner, but poverty compels her to sell it "to make my dear mother comfortable while she lives."

With all the brag and insolence of the military jingoes, it should be a source of real gratification to all lovers of freedom that the trained troops of one of the great military powers of the world are fought to a standstill by a band of farmers.

It is amusing to notice how some of the big trust managers insist that their concerns do not come within the provisions of any anti-trust laws. But suppose they did—what of it? Nobody doubts the ability of trusts to evade the provisions.

The most effective work that any man can do is to organize for the new order of things for which the Social Demo-

cratic party stands—the order that is to succeed the present state of political and industrial anarchy.

A Socialist in this year 1900 is a man who, understanding the platform of the Social Democratic party, votes for its principles this year and at all times, to emancipate himself from wage slavery and the tyranny of capitalism.

Members of the party are now selecting delegates to the national convention of the party at Indianapolis, March 6. Let no branch go without representation, though some sacrifices are necessary.

The poor are with us yet, as reports from every city in the country when the mercury is low clearly indicate. Where's your vaunted prosperity when people can't get employment enough to sustain life?

A curious but not inapt typographical error occurred in the Chicago Tribune a few days ago. It was in the narration of a Philippine war incident, the word comrades being spelled "comraids."

Free speech in the United States senate means speech that is in accord with the knavery and hypocrisy of the administration.

If "God is a Republican," as Mark Hanna said, one wonders whether He approves assassination.

AN OBJECT LESSON

By Charles Trench

There was a time, within the memory of men not yet old, when authors, statesmen, actors and men of science formed interesting topics of conversation in both the press and in society circles, but all this interest has been supplanted by news and anecdotes of millionaires and their families. We are informed, for instance, of Miss Shoddy's coming marriage with an earl or a duke, and that the fortunate couple are to set up housekeeping with twenty millions of dollars. Then the public is told about Mrs. Bullion's ball, the jewels she wore, and the great people who honored the occasion with their presence, not omitting the fact that the whole affair was a brilliant success and cost fifty thousand dollars.

All this is not to be wondered at, seeing that the orthodox press has degenerated into a mere tool to flatter and promote the gigantic interests of the moneyed power. Hack journalism now finds its most profitable field of enterprise in pandering to the vanity and greed of mammoth swindlers. No wonder that titled spendthrifts and scapegrace scions of nobility seek to retrieve their ruined fortunes by marrying American heiresses! What signify twenty or thirty millions to an American money king who can "jam" an appropriation bill through congress and obtain any amount he wants from the national treasury?

"The amount of money," says Prof. Davidson, in the Forum, "of which this country is annually drained in providing titled husbands for the daughters of millionaires is enormous. Such is the craze for title among the moneyed classes that no degree of iniquity will stand in the way of its attainment. If all the sacrifices which American fathers and mothers have made to buy titled husbands for their daughters were recorded, they would form a revelation so ignominious that it would not be believed. And after such a revelation patriotic Americans would hardly dare to look foreigners in the face."

It is not, however, the fathers and mothers of the brides who make any of the sacrifices just mentioned, but those fathers and mothers who struggle in hopeless and desperate poverty—a countless multitude of men and women whom protected barons can fleece at will. Never did eastern despots, in the olden time, hold their subjects more securely by the throat than do monopolist magnates hold the American people today. When King Oil, King Coal, King Meat, or king anything else wants to purchase a title for his daughter, or to reimburse himself for a bad speculation, he has only to increase the price on the commodity he controls, and the job is done!

What can the workman do under this grinding tyranny? A great deal besides scratching his head and dolefully repeating that phrase so familiar in every toiler's household: "Coal has gone up! Meat has gone up! Oil has gone up!" The way out of this wilderness of spoliation and robbery is straight. Socialism is that way. The power of the masses is unquestionable. It is only intelligence and determination that are needed.

Haverhill (Mass.) Social Democrat. The ubiquitous reporters of the capitalist press are nominating Mayor Chase for Congress, and we should humbly suggest that the Social Democratic party be given a voice in the choice of a candidate. When the time comes the party will name the man to make the race from this district and whoever he may be, Mayor Chase, or anybody else, he will be worth voting and fighting for.

CLUBBING OFFERS

The Herald and Appeal to Reason .70
" " Public Ownership .70
Order from THEODORE DESS,
196 Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

LABOR AND PROGRESS

Mr. Ernest H. Crosby tells of a factory he inspected where the manufacture of cheap socks was carried on. The manager showed him 400 machines that did the entire work of making a sock without the aid of human hand. Twenty boys did the work necessary in oiling the machines and putting the material in place. The machines run twenty-four hours in a day, and only fifty boys are needed for all shifts. Five thousand dozens of socks are made daily. Under the old method this work would have required 50,000 men.

The Hamburger Echo says that the doing away with school fees, one of the demands of the Social Democracy, which has been refused in Hamburg, on the flimsiest grounds, has been accomplished in great part in the grand duchy of Hesse. Up to the present, 676 parishes have abolished it, leaving but 310 in which the reform is yet to be accomplished. In all the common schools of the Mainz and Bingen district the fees have been abolished.

Gerauld-Richard urges great activity by the Socialist party in La Petite Republique. Let us, he says, work so that the proletariat may find all its wants supplied by the Socialist party. The workman should be able to find in Socialism moral, political and economic training.

The city of Chicago has within two years passed five ordinances touching department stores. The department stores carried the cases to the Supreme court and recently the court decided the five ordinances unconstitutional and void.

The Socialists of Denmark have been very successful in several communal elections. They have carried their candidates not only at Copenhagen and Elsinore, but also in several of the rural communes. Altogether fifty-nine Socialists have been returned.

The honesty of civil servants in Great Britain is shown by the fact that in twenty years only twelve cases of official corruption in the higher branches of the service have been discovered in the administration of the affairs of about 400,000,000 people.

One of the smallest of the states of the German empire is the principality of Reuss, a little state of 62,754 inhabitants. It returns one member to the German parliament (reichstag), and he is a Socialist, and is elected by universal suffrage.

There is a club in Vienna all the members of which pledge themselves to marry poor girls. If one marries a rich girl he is fined \$400, the fine money going to some impecunious couple engaged to be married.

Chicago contractors adopted rules that oppose trade union principles, no limitation of amount of work done in a day, no restriction as to machinery or use of non-union material; right to discharge at will.

Immediately after Stitt Wilson's return from England, about the beginning of April, the members of the Social Crusade will open a school of applied Christianity at the Hull house, Chicago.

Austrian coal operators say they will not arbitrate until the men return to work. Public sympathy is with the miners. Government ownership of mines is being hastened by mine owners.

The Birmingham (England) city council has just formally taken over the business of the Birmingham Electric Supply company, for which it has paid the nice little sum of £420,000.

The Socialist party of Sweden has lost A. Danielsson, the editor of the Arbete of Malmö. He was only 36 years old, but was one of the most active members of the party.

Owing to the large number of omnibus horses taken out of London for the war hundreds of employees in the omnibus yards are out of employment.

The Saturday Review thinks the first serious industrial pinch of the war will be felt in England by the breakdown of the coal trade.

In London there are 250,000 families who receive \$5 or less per week. In England and Wales there are 1,745,000 such families.

The Standard Oil company, according to the Iron Age, has secured control of the total salt output of the United States.

The salary of President Gompers of the A. F. of L. has been increased to \$2,100 and that of Secretary Morrison to \$1,800.

By a reduction in wages of natives working in the mines the Transvaal government will save \$7,500,000 a year.

Kansas City has lost \$200,000 worth of job printing because of the printers' strike—and the end is far away.

The street car trust of St. Louis denies the right of the employees to organize, and a strike may result.

Henry Clews, the banker, says that wages have been advanced 5 per cent and commodities 15 per cent.

The English railway congress recently in session decided to demand the eight-hour day.

The striking Kansas City leather-workers have been enjoined by the courts. Next!

The Standard Oil capitalists now control every public lighting franchise in New York.

Dayton, Ohio, according to recent compilation, now has over 6,000 trades unionists.

In the vicinity of Chicago 25,000 labels of the broom-makers are used every month.

In the fashionable thoroughfares of London a good house rents for \$50,000 a year.

It is reported that John Burns is going to Australia on a lecturing tour.

A factory at Redditch, England, makes 70,000,000 needles a week.

RECEPTION AND BALL

will be given to the two

SOCIALIST MAYORS OF MASSACHUSETTS

MAYOR CHASE OF HAVERHILL AND
MAYOR CHASE OF BOSTON
WHO WILL ADDRESS THE AUDIENCE,
AT MANHATTAN LYCEUM,
68-68 E. FOURTH STREET, NEW
YORK CITY, ON THE EVENING OF

MONDAY, FEB. 26, 1900

AT 8 O'CLOCK

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY
ADMISSION TWENTY-FIVE CENTS

YEAR OF EXPANSION FOR SOCIALISM

Nineteen hundred is the chosen year of American Socialists for the work of clearing away from the industrial and political problems the cobwebs of confusion and presenting to the masses of the people the complete and adequate programme of emancipation from the tyranny and hypocrisy of existing conditions through Socialism. Never in the history of the movement in this country has there been manifested among all classes of people, save and except the class which profits by a continuance of the "progress of slaves," an interest so great, backed by a desire to aid in some way the cause which proclaims the social revolution by the capture of the powers of government as the initial move, as now. The blind are beginning to see, and the blind leaders of the capitalist parties are discerning the sign that portends the beginning of the political revolution this year. "What does the Social Democratic party stand for?" is the question that is asked by thousands today, and it is being answered with good effect, as is shown in the weekly reports of new branches instituted in the various states from New York to California.

Everywhere it begins to dawn upon the minds of men who are heart-sick with the subjection of the people to organized greed, that the Social Democratic party is an attempt to realize a freer and a nobler life for those who toil. And as this conviction impresses itself upon the individual, he is moved to action and co-operation with his fellow-men to bring about the changes desired by the methods this party has adopted.

Last week The Herald conveyed the encouraging news to its readers that seven new branches had been organized and this was thought to be an excellent showing. Now we are happy to announce for the week ended Feb. 4 the largest number of new branches for one week since the party was started in June, 1898. The record is a most gratifying one and should give heart to every comrade and invincible purpose to every branch in the country. We have done little boasting, as our readers know, but we do want to say that on the eve of our national convention the organization is in splendid condition, not alone because of its actual achievements to the present time, but for the magnificent promise of the near future.

NOW IS THE TIME TO EXPAND FOR SOCIALISM! While international capitalism, with its policies of imperialism abroad and its continued degradation of labor at home, vaunts itself in the temporary possession of the world, let us be alert and active for the spread of the principles of international Socialism, pressing with unflinching courage the important work of organization.

Following are the new branches for the week:

CHICAGO, ILL.

A branch was organized at Scandia hall last Sunday afternoon after a speech by Comrade Stedman. Comrade Charles Hallbeck was chosen temporary secretary, and permanent officers will be elected at the next meeting.

KOKOMO, IND.

Chairman, A. Simpson; vice-chairman, M. Kelly; secretary, W. Blenke; treasurer, C. Favre; organizer, C. Bourne.

CONCORDIA, KAN.

Chairman, C. M. Ball; vice-chairman, S. B. Miles; secretary, A. A. Carnahan; treasurer, H. B. Williams; organizer, William H. Wright.

CEDAR JUNCTION, KAN.

Chairman, E. S. Murphy; vice-chairman, J. D. Hymer; secretary, Harry Corliss; treasurer, T. T. Evans; organizer, C. A. Gordon.

SOUTH BRAINTREE, MASS.

Secretary, W. O. Pinkney. Other officers to be reported.

WORCESTER, MASS.

Chairman, Thomas M. Carpenter; secretary, Martha C. Gibbs.

MENDON, MASS.

Chairman, Horace S. Coleman; vice-chairman, Florence Driscoll; secretary, William E. Dixon; treasurer, Charles A. Johnson; organizer, Nathan F. Towne.

CORFU, N. Y.

Chairman, L. J. H. Craft; vice-chairman, Robert Male; secretary, the Rev. R. E. Horn; treasurer, A. K. Maynard; organizer, Albert W. Harmon.

NEW YORK CITY

Chairman, A. Kopp; secretary, William Miller; financial secretary, George Finger; treasurer, J. Schwab.

BAKER CITY, ORE.

Chairman, J. Frank Porter; vice-chairman, J. P. Bowen; secretary, Isaac Hiatt; treasurer, Frank Casebier; organizer, Charles H. Ames.

MT. PLEASANT, UTAH

Chairman, W. C. Hunter; vice-chairman, W. W. Brandon; secretary, Will C. Closs; treasurer, Chris Larsen; organizer, Martin Wright.

EDMONT, UTAH

Chairman, Daniel Connell; vice-chairman, Reese Morgan; secretary, W. J. Skimmin; treasurer, James E. Thornton; organizer, Francis M. McQuivey.

JACONTA, WASH.

Chairman, E. T. Rotscheck; vice-chairman, Robert Laurin; secretary, James Hugh Ross; treasurer, H. H. House; organizer, George E. Boomer.

NOTES FROM THE FIELD

Mayor Chase has been chosen as delegate from the Haverhill branch to the convention.

Both McCartney and Carey are playing star parts in the Massachusetts state play at Boston.

Comrade William P. Lonergan has been elected as a delegate to the national convention from Connecticut.

On the evening of Feb. 16 Comrade McCartney lectures at Rockland, Mass., on "The Wage System as Slavery."

A new branch was sprouted at Scandia hall, Chicago, last Sunday afternoon. Officers will be elected at next meeting.

The Rev. Charles H. Vail spoke at Patchogue, N. Y., Jan. 30, and a branch at that place will be the result of his visit.

We have left a few copies of Imogene C. Fales' pamphlet, "Buffalo Conference and the Democratic Party," price 5 cents.

Branch No. 9, Milwaukee, elected Comrades Louis Arnak, Robert Meister and F. W. Rehfeld as delegates to the city convention to be held Feb. 12.

The People's Paper, Santa Barbara, Cal., is one of many weekly journals that run the platform of the Social Democratic party and endorse its principles.

All sorts of brief notes of meetings, personal mentions, future events, etc., relating to branch work or party matters are welcome and will find a place in this column.

Comrades J. F. Carey and William Mailly have been chosen as delegates to the national convention from the Merrimack valley branches in Massachusetts.

The Public Ownership party of Erie, Pa., has reaffirmed allegiance to the principles and platform of the S. D. P. and nominated a full ticket for the city council.

At Manhattan Lyceum, New York, Feb. 26, a reception and ball will be given the two Socialist mayors of Massachusetts, Chase of Haverhill and Coulter of Brockton.

For a new member Representative McCartney of Rockland is much in evidence at the statehouse this season. The reverend gentleman has ideas and is not afraid to give vent to them.—Brockton Times.

Comrade George W. Poague of Towner, N. D., was a caller at headquarters last Thursday. He will visit relatives in Ohio and Indiana for a month and attend the national convention March 6.

The Twelfth Assembly District branch of New York has expelled several members for "scabbing" by accepting jobs with the firm of Indig, Burg & Co., where the Brotherhood of Cloakmakers is now on strike.

The boys at Brockton miss no opportunity for a good time. January 26 they had a grand jubilee and concert with speeches from Mayor Coulter and Comrade W. P. Porter. The regular Friday night meetings continue to be a great attraction.

A joint meeting of the south side branches of Milwaukee will be held at Gambrinus hall, 715 Reed street, Feb. 15, at 8 p. m., to elect delegates to the national convention. All comrades are requested to be present to sign credentials of delegates.

Members of the Social Democratic party are now selecting delegates to the most important Socialist convention ever held in the United States. Upon its deliberations and action will depend in great measure the future of the Socialist cause in this country.

Comrade E. V. Debs lectured at Cleburne, Bonham and Greeville, Tex., and was at Tampa, Fla., on the 6th and 7th inst. Everywhere in the South his meetings have been unprecedented, the halls being packed to the doors and great enthusiasm manifested by the people.

Do you see how the West is moving? O, yes, it's coming! Will be irresistible before long, comrades. There's no doubt about it. Always remember that organization is our work. Comrades Gould, Rockefeller and others in the capitalist branch are doing the rest. Organize—organize—organize!

A large audience listened to an address by Comrade John N. Stewart at Somersworth, N. H., January 28, on "The Liquor Question from a Socialist Standpoint." Our correspondent says "the address created a favorable impression and was delivered in a manner to do credit to the Socialist movement."

Comrade George Koop, with the assistance of other Socialists, stirred up the time-servers in the Chicago Federation of Labor last Sunday. Koop is always on hand when there is opportunity to say something for Socialism, and what he says is never refuted by such people as tried to howl him down last Sunday.

Meetings are held on the first Saturday of each month at Hauselmann's hotel, One Hundred and Seventieth street and Webster avenue, New York. All persons living in the borough of Bronx wishing information or desiring to join should call on or address George Finger, 942 East One Hundred and Sixty-eighth street.

Last Sunday at New York Robert Rives La Monte lectured under S. D. P. auspices on "The Three Essentials." Future announcements are as follows: Feb. 11, "Land Nationalization and Socialism," Geo. Finger; Feb. 18, "Trusts," Wm. Butcher; Feb. 25, "The Socialism of Richard Wagner," T. F. Meade.

These lectures are given at Arios hall, 341 West Forty-seventh street.

One of the largest meetings ever held for business purposes by Branch No. 5, S. D. P., of Lynn, Mass., was held Jan. 29, the event being the securing of larger headquarters and the election of officers. The regular headquarters are at 71 Munroe street, Lynn, Mass. The officers elected are: William H. Hitchcock, chairman; Fred Weed, vice-chairman; Harry Gotimer, secretary; L. Cunningham, financial secretary; G. H. Barrett, treasurer, and Harry Wright, organizer.

Arrangements have been made for a series of lectures on Socialism every Tuesday evening at Hull House, corner of Halsted and Polk. The lectures are under the management of Robert Hunter and a committee representing the Socialist Labor and Social Democratic parties. A. S. Edwards, editor of the Herald, is the speaker for February 13, his subject being "The Greatest Fact of the Century." February 20, Peter Sissman; February 27, Seymour Stedman, "Imperialism"; March 6, James B. Smiley; March 13, Charles H. Soelke.

TO BRANCH SECRETARIES

The work done by your branch would be interesting and oftentimes helpful to other branches. The Herald is the medium through which information is conveyed from one branch to another. Long reports are seldom read and not often necessary. But if you send us short, newsy paragraphs, telling what is going on—paragraphs that will fit in to the "Notes from the Field"—they will be always welcome and find a place and many interested readers every week. You are urged to attend to this, and if your other duties prevent it, then have the matter brought up in your branch meeting and the duty assigned to someone else. Just send us the plain facts about what you are doing.

To Our Connecticut Readers

All unattached Socialists in the state of Connecticut are requested to write Louis Schlaf, 26 Spring street, Rockville, for information concerning the organization of branches.

Have You Paid Up?

All members enrolled at the present time are liable for the current quarter's dues; unless these dues are paid members are not entitled to representation in the national convention. This is in accordance with the decision of the referendum.

The Prize Contest

Lest you forget, we again remind you of the prizes offered by Comrade Forman of Milwaukee and Comrade Goebel of Philadelphia for the largest lists of new subscribers to The Herald secured between Feb. 1 and April 30. The prizes are well worth an effort to win, and along with the effort some good work for Socialism will be done. If a thousand comrades will make a canvass among their friends the circulation of the paper will be greatly increased and Socialism made known in homes where it is now misunderstood. And the prizes will go to those sending the four largest lists.

First Prize—One set of Carlyle's "French Revolution" and the complete works of Charles Dickens.

Second and Third Prizes—One set of Carlyle's "French Revolution." This work is in two volumes.

Fourth Prize—One latest improved fountain pen.

North Dakota Socialists

Socialists residing in North Dakota and desiring to organize for effective propaganda work in that state are requested to correspond with Math. Eidsness, Towner, N. D.

Price of Gas Reduced

The Massachusetts state gas commission has ordered that the price of gas furnished by the Haverhill gas company to this city be reduced from \$1 per 1,000 feet to 80 cents. This is the culmination of a bitterly fought contest started by Mayor Chase in the latter part of his first term and carried on before the state gas commission at several hearings. Mayor Chase had the assistance of Mr. G. W. Anderson, attorney, who has a record in cases of this kind, and also of Professor E. W. Bemis.

The reduction means a saving to the gas consumer of \$18,000, there being 90,000,000 feet of gas consumed yearly in the city. That this will be of benefit to the working class goes without saying, as the majority of the consumers are working people, gas being largely used for cooking, beside the usual lighting purpose.

The case has excited a great deal of interest throughout the state, owing to the facts which came out in connection with the Haverhill Gas Securities Company, a concern chartered, as it appeared, to absorb the surplus earnings of the Haverhill Gas Company.—Haverhill Democrat.

Merrimack Valley Delegates

A convention of the Merrimack Valley Social Democrats was held Sunday, January 28, at 2 p. m., in Haverhill, Mass.,

LOCAL BRANCHES

Notices of Branch Meetings inserted for 25 Cents per Month

CALIFORNIA

Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evening, commencing at 8 o'clock. Admission free. Educational meetings (for members) every Tuesday evening. Sociology, Economics, Public Speaking, etc. Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening. Membership, with advantage of Educational Course and Social Democratic Herald free to each member, 25 cents per month. Apply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk street.

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday evening at 8 o'clock in the room of the Friday Morning Club, 204 South Broadway. F. H. Olin, President. C. C. Ford, 628 W. 57th St., Secretary.

CONNECTICUT

The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at Turn Hall, Rockville. L. Schlaf, Secretary.

Branch No. 3, New Haven, meets every Tuesday evening at 8 p. m. at 5 p. m. Cornelius Mahoney, Secretary, 165 Frank St.

Branch No. 4, Rockville, Conn., meets first and third Thursdays at Turn Hall meeting room, Village street. Secretary, Richard Niederwieser, Box 70.

ILLINOIS

Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 62 Dearborn St.

Branch No. 1, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening. Thomas Kirwin, Secretary, 2504 Wentworth Ave.

Branch No. 2 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays at 2 p. m. at Nagel's Hall, 535 Blue Island Ave. Vaclav Jelinek, Secretary, 625 Blue Island Ave.

Branch No. 3, Chicago, meets second and fourth Mondays of each month at Jos. Dundras' place, 1080 W. 18th Place. Frank Ort, Secretary, 886 W. 18th St.

Branch No. 5, Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays of each month at Frank Lang's, 117 W. 18th St., corner Jefferson St. Paul Chlapacka, Secretary, 47 Ruble St.

Branch No. 6 (German), Chicago, meets every first Saturday each month at 8 o'clock at Nagel's Hall, 535 Blue Island Ave., near 18th St. Albin Geisler, Secretary, 726 W. 20th St.

Branch 9, Chicago, meets at Lundquist Hall, corner 6th and Morgan Sts., every first and third Thursdays. A. L. Westline, Secretary, 628 Center Ave.

INDIANA

Branch No. 6, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichwein's Hall, corner Market and Noble Sts.

KENTUCKY

Branch No. 2, Covington, meets first and third Wednesdays of each month and fourth Sunday afternoon of each month. All agitation meetings except last one in month. Good speakers. Secretary, F. C. Stumpf, 301 8th street.

MARYLAND

Branch No. 1, Baltimore, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m. at Carpenter's Hall, 500 E. Baltimore St. Public invited.

Branch No. 2, Baltimore, meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 211 W. German St. Frank Marek, Secretary, 1408 N. Gay St.

MASSACHUSETTS

The Massachusetts State Committee meets the first Saturday of each month at 74 Washington St., Boston. All dues and moneys intended for the State Committee should be sent to the financial secretary, A. McDonald, 194 W. Springfield St., Boston. All other correspondence should be addressed to the Corresponding Secretary, Margaret Hallie, 5 Glenwood St., Roxbury.

Branch No. 2, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Mondays each month at Springfield Turner Hall. H. Schlichting, Organizer, 30 James St.

Branch No. 5, Lynn, permanent headquarters, 71 Monroe St. Meetings every Monday night at 7:30. Open house. Public invited. Harry Gotimer, Sec., 423 Essex St.

Branch No. 9, Brockton, meets the second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at 5 p. m. for business at Socialist Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Center Sts. Every comrade is expected to attend one meeting a month. Frank B. Walsh, Secretary, 62 Crescent St.

Branch No. 15, East Boston, meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 99 Chelsea St. Miss Jenny Segal, Secretary, 99 Chelsea St.

Branch No. 18, Newburyport, meets the second Monday of each month at Lester's Hall, 1 State St. E. P. McLean, Secretary, 39 Winter St. G. H. Evans, Treasurer, Prince Place.

at the hall of Branch 16, at labor headquarters.

The purpose of the convention was to decide on the advisability of the branches uniting their efforts and sending delegates to represent the valley in the national convention.

Comrade Wm. Mailly of Haverhill, who is editor of the Haverhill Social Democrats, was chosen chairman and Comrade Walter R. Pickering of Georgetown secretary.

Delegates were present from Lawrence and Georgetown. Amesburg was represented unofficially.

A discussion was held in which it was the sentiment of the convention that West Newbury, South Groveland and Merrimack branches would join with the rest of the branches in sending delegates.

A lengthy discussion was carried on in regard to the anti-DeLeon faction of the S. L. P. and the S. D. P. uniting.

The sentiment was that the union of forces for the purpose of Socialist propaganda was desirable, and that a union of forces for the purpose of fighting the DeLeonites was not desirable. A large majority favored retaining the name of Social Democratic Party in case of union of forces. The entire matter was finally referred to the different branches.

It was voted to elect two delegates to represent the valley at the national convention. Representative F. J. Carey and William Mailly were chosen as the delegates.

It was voted that each branch attend to the collection of its share of the delegates expenses, and the secretary was ordered to so instruct the branches which were not represented.

Secretary.

OFFICIAL CALL

Annual Convention of the Social Democratic Party, March 6, 1900

In accordance with the action of the members in determining the time and place for the national convention of the Social Democratic party in 1900, the National Executive board of said party directs that said national convention be held at the city of Indianapolis, in the state of Indiana, for the purpose of nominating candidates for president and vice-president of the United States, to be voted for at the presidential election on Tuesday, Nov. 6, 1900, and for the transaction of such other business as may

Branch No. 21, Chelsea, permanent headquarters, Room 2, Postoffice Building. Open every evening. Business meetings every Thursday at 8 p. m. Public invited.

MINNESOTA

Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Gesswein, on Main St. Wm. H. Randa, Secretary.

MISSOURI

St. Louis headquarters, Room 7, 22 N. Fourth St. Address all communications to E. Val Parnum, Secretary. For information concerning ward branches, inquire at the above address.

Branch No. 7, Kansas City, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1300 Union Ave. G. J. Storr, Secretary, 1280 W. 9th St.

NEW JERSEY

Branch No. 1, Secretary, Michael W. Schor, 57 Livingston st.

Branch No. 6 (German), Paterson, N. J., meets first and third Mondays, 125 W. 9th St. Elizabeth H. Thomas, Secretary, 245 Edmond St.

NEW YORK

The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York and vicinity meets first and third Tuesdays of every month in Willag's Hall, 8 E. 4th St. Elizabeth H. Thomas, Secretary.

Branch No. 1, New York, meets every first and third Thursday at 112 Clinton St. A. Guyer, Secretary, 168 Suffolk St.

Branch No. 3, 24th Assembly District, meets second and fourth Wednesdays of the month at 1029 Second Ave., at the "Central," Henry Lang, Secretary, 234 E. 60th St.

Branch No. 4, West Side Branch, New York, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of every month at headquarters, 125 W. 9th St. Elizabeth H. Thomas, Secretary.

Branch No. 10, 4th Assembly District, meets every first and third Wednesday of the month in the rooms of The Voice of Labor, 429 Grand St. Jacob Panken, Organizer, 139 Division St.

Branch No. 12, Brooklyn, headquarters, 251 Rutledge St. Meets every third Thursday at 8:15 sharp. All persons interested are invited to attend these meetings and co-operate in organizing local branches in every district in the city. Wm. Butcher, Secretary, 251 Rutledge St.

Branch No. 20, New York, 25th Assembly District, meets first and third Thursdays of each month at Faulhaber's Hall, 1551 Second Ave. R. Hoppe, Secretary, 228 E. 90th St.

OHIO

Branch No. 3, Cleveland, meets in Ohlsen's Hall, 65 York St., second and fourth Sundays at 8 p. m. Lectures, discussions, business meetings, first and third Fridays at 8 p. m.

Branch No. 4, Cleveland, meets first and third Sundays in each month at 8 p. m. in Ohlsen's Hall, 65 York St. Lectures and discussions.

Branch No. 4, Cincinnati, meets at Richelleu Hall, southeast corner 9th and Plum Sts., second and fourth Sundays in each month at 2:30 p. m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. E. B. Schwan, Sec., 2151 Vine St.

Branch No. 5, Dayton, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2:30 in room 34, Davies block, Fourth and Main streets. Every one interested in practical government is invited to be present. J. Schawe, president; N. Dutle, secretary.

Branch No. 8, Cincinnati, meets every Saturday and fourth Saturday in Workingmen's Hall, 1218 Walnut St. F. Hamel, Secretary, 184 Frantz St.

Branch No. 11, German, Columbus. Ed Greiner, Secretary, 886 Mohawk St.

PENNSYLVANIA

Branch No. 2, Erie, meets every Sunday, 3 p. m., at K. of L. Hall, 718 State St. Chairman, Joseph Stain, Secretary, J. E. Perry, 119 Sansassess St.

Branch No. 4, Pittsburgh, meets every Thursday evening at 7:30 p. m. at Funk Hall, 8 1/2th and Josephine Sts. W. E. Zohr, President, 244 Addison St. J. H. Lewis, Secretary, 218 Jane St.

Branch No. 5 (Jewish), Philadelphia, meets every Friday at 8 p. m. at 23rd St. Discussion from 8 to 9. J. Gearson, Secretary.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee Central Committee meets on the first Monday of each month at 8 p. m. sharp at 618 E. Water St. Eugene H. Rooney, Secretary. John Doerfler, Treasurer.

Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Tuesday evening of the month at the Ethical Society Building, 628 Jefferson St. Visitors always welcome. Howard Tuttle, Chairman. Eugene H. Rooney, Secretary.

Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Saturday in Geary's Hall, corner Green Bay and Concordia Ave.

Branch No. 3, Sheboygan, meets every fourth Thursday of the month at Gustav Burgard's Hall on Pennsylvania Ave. R. Schoen, Secretary, Treasurer, 513th St.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday each month at Miller's Hall, corner 23d and Brown Sts. George Moerschel, Secretary, 391 25th St.

Branch No. 9, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at R. Sigel's Hall, southeast corner Orchard St. and 9th Ave. Fred B. Trausen, Secretary, 244 1/2th St.

Branch No. 11, Milwaukee, meets the second Wednesday of each month at the office of the Wisconsin Vorwarts, 614 State St.

Branch No. 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of each month at Krue's Hall, 21 and Center St., at 8 p. m. John Koepfer, Secretary.

properly come before it, and that said convention shall assemble at 10 o'clock in the forenoon on Tuesday, the 6th day of March, 1900.

The representation at said convention will be by delegates, chosen in accordance with the referendary vote of the members and reported in this number of The Herald, as follows:

First—Each branch shall be entitled to as many representatives as the individual members thereof in good standing may select for that purpose; provided, that each representative shall be entitled to one (1) vote for each member whose signature is attached to his credential; and provided further, that no member shall have his signature attached to more than one credential.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

VOL. 11. No. 35.

CHICAGO, ILL., U. S. A., SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1900.

Whole No. 85.

MERLIN'S MIXTURE

Journalistic jugglery.

The interest excited in the forthcoming attempt to be made by the Rev. C. M. Sheldon to publish a "Christian" newspaper for a week is a virtual acknowledgment of the existence of un-Christian conditions in social life.

On every hand doubt is being expressed as to the possibility of running a Christian paper in a so-called Christian country. The press derides the idea as absurd. Even Sheldon's fellow-preachers declare in many cases that the thing can't be done profitably, if at all.

Sheldon has tackled a tough proposition. On the one hand he will have the well-nigh impossible task of interpreting and applying the ideas of the Nazarene teacher, and on the other hand he will have to dissect and analyze the entire structure of modern trade.

If he does both clear-sightedly and conscientiously, he will find that Christian principles of religion and civilized principles of trade are diametrically opposed to each other. Christ denounced usury and profits, while these are the backbone of modern business.

Sheldon must cut loose from business, if he be honest, and must cut loose from Christianity, if he be successful. Poor chap!

Christ or Christian.

This journalistic juggle, for such it will undoubtedly be, will at least have the effect of showing the antagonism between the religion of an ancient Christ and the business of a modern Christian.

To my mind there is about as much resemblance between the Christ of Galilee and the Christian of America as there is between a sparkling mountain spring and a pool of ditch water.

When I read the sermon on the mount and then think of the pious Rockefeller, the Sunday school enthusiast Wanamaker, the devout McKinley and the church-going Russell Sage, I see a gulf that even 2,000 years of devotion can hardly account for.

When I contrast the sturdy and outspoken carpenter of Nazareth, flinging anathemas at the oppressing rich, driving out the stock brokers from the temple, boldly championing the rights of the common people, to whose class he belonged, with the fawning, mammon-mastered ministry and the conservative, cringing and cursed church of today, I feel certain that Jesus has petitioned the authorities of heaven to change his name.

Exceptions.

There are exceptions to the above. There are cases, and not a few, where there are Christian men and women who display the conscientiousness and courage of the Teacher whose religion they practice. But these exceptions simply prove the rule.

For instance, in the last issue of an Illinois Unitarian paper appears the following: "Socialism is one of the studies in the Chautauqua course this year, and those who are so fortunate as to be reading this course are finding that Socialism is quite a different thing and a much better thing than is generally supposed, or than partisan definitions make it. True Socialism is but a modern phrase for an endeavor to apply the religion of Jesus to self-government. When Socialism prevails, public water works, electric lights, etc., will be owned or controlled by the city or the commonwealth for the benefit of the people, instead of by corporations for the profit of a greedy few."

Even in the darkness of an ecclesiastical night there are here and there Socialist lanterns that are shedding their light.

The art of theft.

A few days ago, a man chanced to attend a mission service in Boston. He was touched by the appeal of the missionary, and, going forward, publicly confessed his sins as a pickpocket and expressed a desire to live an honest life. A policeman was hurriedly notified and the man was arrested as a self-confessed thief.

And yet I notice by this morning's paper that the Standard Oil company has had the temerity to declare a quarterly dividend of 20 per cent! Though lacking in contrition, it has confessed its sins as a commercial pickpocket, and no policeman, parson or president dares dispute with it concerning its freedom.

What a pitiful system of justice it is that condemns crime by retail and condones it by wholesale. We punish the repentant pickpocket and allow the arrogant thieves of monopoly to pursue their criminal vocation unmolested.

What would you think if the government permitted a band of licensed thieves to enter and pillage your houses?

And why, in the name of common sense, do you, as part of the government, allow this gang of Standard Oil thieves to pick your pocket of 5 cents every time you pay for a gallon of oil?

It should be called the Standard Oil come-penny. The penny—your penny—always comes.

A Kentucky augury.

The political happenings in Kentucky the past few days do not tend to make a believer in democratic government very optimistic. The disgraceful scenes enacted at Frankfort will leave a lasting blot on the historical feature of the state and nation.

It is a dark augury of times to come. Whether or not Goebel was murdered in accordance with a political plot, which many are rightly fain to believe, certain it is that the Republican party used every method, fair and foul, to defeat its opponents and to prevent adjustment by legal methods.

We are accustomed to hear of the militia presenting a steel front against workmen who demand their rights, but it is a new thing under the American sun to see troops threatening to shoot down representatives who seek to exercise the high prerogative of their office.

If that is done now, between Republican and Democrat, what won't the money power do when it is opposed and driven to its last trench by the Socialist party?

I tell you, men, that unless we haste with our socialist propaganda and put our every energy into the work, the time shall slip by when a peaceful, legal settlement of social conditions may be effected.

After that, the deluge!

"Capitalism's Gravediggers.

The small band of Socialists who are exerting every energy to inaugurate Socialism is in reality only a fractional part of the forces tending in the same direction.

Every capitalist, every trust-maker, every industrial exploiter, is doing his part toward the destruction of the old and the upbuilding of the new system.

Here is an acrostic catalogue of capitalism's real grave-diggers:

Gould
Rockefeller
Astor
Vanderbilt
Every other such.

They are in reality doing the dirty work preparatory to the inauguration of Socialism. And their work is almost done. Get ready for yours. Merlin.

YOUNG JOHN SWINTON

It was twenty years ago, or somewhere about that time, that I sat expectantly in a well-filled, cheerful hall, in Providence, R. I., waiting for the appearance of John Swinton, who was to address an assembly of workmen.

I had been a careful reader of John Swinton's paper for a long time, but had never thus far chanced to see the editor of this same plucky labor sheet. It follows, of course, that I was desirous of doing so, and the occasion referred to greatly gratified me.

If the typographer and photographer report truly, I may say that the John Swinton of today is "ye editor of ye olden time." The same jovial mien, the same searching gaze, poised, proclamation air, and proud-to-be-protestor attitude—this is the John Swinton familiar to New York and its all-the-world suburbs.

And what is he saying now? Oh, that men who burrow under ground for coal for "us folks" above ground ought to get \$10 and \$12 per day; saying that large wages should be paid certain of my kind for the privilege of dying for you and me. Doughty old warrior! With what infinite satisfaction I read between the lines the fine sarcasm of the man who has given the best of his life and means for the "under dog," and who promises us a "leader" when the masses are ready to march!

Could anything be more adroitly done than this shot thrown to the thugs of our cannibal conspiracy called civilization?

Indeed may we all rejoice that the brave old dissenter still sits at his desk, as of yore, prodding the pirates of commercialism with a glee which may be felt across the continent.

We who live on the Pacific slope, on the very rim, as it were, of the Caribonado horror, take off our hats to the champion satirist of the Atlantic seaboard, and wish that he may live a hundred years and a day.

Rev. Geneva Lake.
Olympia, Wash.

One of the "reforms" to be instituted during the Rev. Charles Sheldon's editorship of the Topeka Capital is a big raise in the price of the paper to subscribers from 12 cents to 25 cents for the week. This may be in accord with Sheldon's idea of what Jesus would do, but it gives the whole plan an ugly money-making look.

OUR LATEST MEMBER IS A CAPITALIST

We don't know just how it happened, but we have a new member at the lodge—one who don't exactly belong to our crowd, and yet he wants to be counted in. Jay, as we call him, is a young fellow from the east and has just started a new furniture factory with \$200,000 capital. He is also heir to three or four millions.

How he ever got into our lodge is beyond the understanding of all the old members, but we think he was caught by some of our reform ideas before he found out what they were.

Anyhow he takes to some of it, particularly what the carpenter has to say on Socialism, though he has some of the inherited ideas of his class that lands, money, tools and incomes may, by right, be inherited by men of one class if they come by them "honestly." At least, that's what he thought when he started with us. He said:

"Let's unite all these reform ideas and draw up a plan that will satisfy all classes. Not too radical, you know, but something that will lift the burden and give a chance for honest competition."

Since our last meeting he sees that such a plan is "in the air," but that anything short of Socialism is contrary to the natural evolution of industrial society; of the trusts and combines and the development of machinery; of educational systems and the natural desires of men who study these things.

"But don't be too hard on my class," said Jay. "I know you don't want charity, but still you must give us credit for the \$63,000,000 donations to educational institutions last year in this country as against \$16,000,000 to charity and churches. Only \$3,000,000 went to churches, while \$5,000,000 was donated to libraries and \$2,500,000 to art galleries and museums."

"Yes," I replied, "and though college trustees try to stop studies in social reform and turn down professors in economics, it is not always the fault of those who donate the money. As for charity, it simply gives back to the producer a fraction of a per cent of what belongs to him, and helps to keep up the system a little longer by covering up the worst places."

"Just as a woman thinks her complexion is all right if she can cover the freckles with paint," said Jay.

"As for libraries and art galleries," I continued, "those are much better and are along the line of education, yet they reach only the middle class and wealthy. The working poor never get food, clothes, or any other benefit from them. They have no time to read or study art, and very few in a large city like Chicago, Philadelphia or New York can even tell where such public buildings are located."

"How about church donations?" asked Jay.

"These may, in some cases, be intended as donations to spread Christianity, but the actual result is a donation to accumulate church property. Of course, in order to hold such property, the organization must uphold capitalism and the government, for under no other system could their properties be secure. The government in turn gives them special protection and requires no tax to be paid on the immense holdings they have gathered about them. At the present time a high church official is selecting \$20,000,000 worth of church property in the Philippines which he will require the president of the United States to give a clear title to, and that sum is just equal to the amount paid to Spain for the islands. Can there be any doubt which side the church property organizations will take; and are taking, in the evolution from capitalism to Socialism?"

"Well, I kind of think your way myself," said our new member. "I have observed that for centuries the mouthpieces of the church properties have been calling on the people 'in His name' to have their souls saved. And while a great many have answered the call, it still has been very unsatisfactory. Now, a few who have seen a vision of a better system of society on this earth, though a somewhat clouded vision, are again calling 'in His name' to rally round Him and save not only their souls but their lives, and a living. They altogether forget, or never knew, that each man has some power of his own, quite sufficient to overturn capitalism as soon as he finds out that it needs overturning. And then, as you say, all the interests of propertyholders, including church organizations, are in upholding the present system."

"You're all right," I replied. "There may not be 'much in a name,' but there is sometimes a great deal of confusion in a name and in the tyranny of custom that surrounds it. Otherwise there is not much in a name, and we must break away from any name that, through its

wrong use during the past or at present, gives a wrong color to our work of pointing out the evolution of society. It may be that capitalism will appropriate the word 'socialism' some day, as it is in the habit of doing with all good names. First it was ignored, now it is respected. When it is feared, as a possible successor, will be the time when capitalism may try to swallow it. But our work will never stop for the 'want of a name.'"

Horseshoe Joe.

"BE CONTENT"

Said the parson: "Be content;
Pay your tithe-dues, pay your rent;
They that earthly things despise
Shall have mansions in the skies;
Though your back with toil be bent,
Said the parson, "be content."

Then the parson feasting went,
With my lord, who lives by rent;
And the parson laughed, elate,
For my lord has livings great.
They that earthly things revere
May get bishops' mansions here.

Be content! Be content!
Till your dreary life is spent.
Lowly live and lowly die,
All for mansions in the sky.
Castles here are much too rare;
All may have them—in the air.

Monias Maguire.

SCARED CROWS

There is not a charge made, by the malicious opponents of a socialistic state, as a result of their superlative ignorance, which does not exist under the present infamous system in a most intensified and unbearable form.

Plainly put, what is so much dreaded by these frightened people as certain to exist under a socialistic state, exists today under the present system, and just the negation of all the evils we now have, would exist under a socialistic state.

Let us critically look into some of the wornout statements advanced in the place of argument by the opponents of Socialism, who say that under a Socialistic state "all incentive to labor will disappear." Now is it not a fact that this bete noire so much dreaded under Socialism exists in its fullness now?

Is it not a fact that if the wage slaves were to produce one-half more per day than they have been in the 'habit' of doing, they would throw away this one-half increase of production, besides hastening the glut of overproduction and their loss of employment? Indeed it is plain that under the present infamous system "there is no incentive to work;" and this is the reason why in large plants, factories and in wholesale houses a system of espionage exists, the robber class being well aware that the wage slaves left to themselves under this capitalistic system have so little incentive to work that they would produce as little as they possibly could.

Now, under Socialism, the people owning collectively the tools and machinery of production, if six hours labor per day be needed to obtain a certain quantity of product, at the expiration of a certain length of time it may be found necessary to reduce the day's labor to five hours, as this would suffice to keep up the production.

And to those who think that very little product would be turned out during the hours of labor let them be reassured to this: That it is not reasonable to suppose that many workers would shirk from their duty when knowing that under a perfected state, they would receive the full product of their labor, as compared with the present system where they receive but a fraction.

As a matter of fact, the incentive to labor would not disappear under Socialism. On the contrary it would receive an impetus never before known, for honesty would not only be the best policy, but the only policy possible. The most completely developed incentive under the present system is the "incentive to rob," which could not exist under Socialism, as Socialism prevents a scoundrel from taking something which does not belong to him.

In using the word "rob" bankers, financiers, merchants and professional men are included in the same category as the highwayman. They, like other evils, being necessary, "social institutions" under capitalism. This assertion is correct. It is not an exaggeration.

It must not be overlooked that scientific men, investors and others who are now subject to capitalism, and are also robbed of a portion of their labor, would in the perfection of their future discoveries and inventions greatly improve the condition of all the people.

"Lest we forget." It was Chateaubriand who said: "The wage system is the last form of slavery."

Let us make it an "incentive to labor" to abolish it.

P. P. Ayer.

LEGITIMATE FRUIT OF CAPITALISTIC POLITICS

The following press dispatch furnishes a bit of tragic comedy:

FRUIT OF CAPITALISTIC POLITICS.

Albany, N. Y., Feb. 4.—Gov. Roosevelt said today, regarding the death of Gov. Goebel: "It is to be regretted that such acts of violence can take place in this country, but at the same time our sympathy must be tempered by the realization that the dead politician himself established a violent and equally fatal precedent. If further bloodshed is to come, it must lie at the doors of those who conspired to accomplish by force what they failed to accomplish by fraud during the state election. Gov. Taylor is entitled to the heartiest support of every decent citizen in the United States in his effort to establish the fact that the will of the people expressed at the polls is not to be thwarted by shotguns and lawlessness."

We can fancy the serious, sober and solemn mien of the eminent rough rider as he delivered himself of this rare specimen of moral mosaics. Of course we have no part in the capitalist politics of Kentucky which had its tragic culmination in the assassination of Goebel, but the claim that Taylor—whose chief backer has been and is the utterly rotten and blood-smeared Louisville & Nashville Railroad company, for forty years notorious as a debaucher of politics and grinder of labor—is "entitled to the heartiest support of every decent citizen of the United States," is, in the presence of the horrifying facts, so ghastly and revoltingly ridiculous as to excite the wonder that even a Roosevelt could be capable of such an exhibition of asininity and mendacity.

The truth is that, deplorable as is the political situation in Kentucky, it is not a whit worse than in New York, under the rough rider's very nose, where Platt, the governor's political adviser, and Croker and their cohorts play the same rotten game of capitalist politics, but lack only, when quarreling over the spoils, the Kentucky courage to shoot it out.

There is no bloodshed in New York. The body politic is so rotten under capitalist misrule that blood will not flow—only pus oozes.

The Kentucky situation is pregnant with significance from the Socialist standpoint. It indicates unerringly the breaking down of the capitalist system. It is the politics of private property that is lashing itself out of existence. For years corrupt practices prevailed and all the capitalist parties engaged in it, and today the crop that has been sown to the wind is being reaped in the whirlwind.

Socialists alone can contemplate the picture with equanimity. The scenes that are being enacted in Kentucky indicate the Socialist conception of capitalist politics, whether Republican or Democratic. It is the strife born of the spoils of private property. It appeals to the basest and fiercest passions in human nature, and men naturally brave and noble thirst for vengeance that is appeased only with the blood of their fellow-men.

In all seriousness the question is being asked, "What can be done to purify our politics?" There is but one answer: Abolish the capitalist system of private property. As long as this prevails, politics will be corrupt, society will be demoralized and the world at large will continue a hell of horrors.

To the working class of Kentucky, as elsewhere, we make the appeal to cut loose once and forever from the capitalist parties, of whatever name; to abandon the sinking and stinking ship of capitalist corruption, and proclaim their manhood by joining the Socialist revolutionary movement, composed of men who are conscious of their class interests and who propose to achieve economic freedom and social equality by voting their class into power, and after seizing the reins of government, taking possession of all the sources and means of wealth production and having every department operated co-operatively by and for the whole people.

Look at Kentucky, then vote for Socialism and keep on voting for it without a flicker till we get it, and it will come sooner than you expect.

Jacksonville, Fla. Eugene V. Debs.

Eugene V. Debs is not only promulgating Socialist principles as no other single man has ever done in this country, but representative union men of the south declare that his work tells more effectively in strengthening the labor organizations than the combined efforts of all the regular organizers. Wherever he goes in the south his lectures are under the direct auspices of the central organizations. The Jacksonville Evening News regrets that the city had no public place of meeting large enough for the occasion of Comrade Debs' visit.

The convention of the Socialist Labor party at Rochester, before adjourning, nominated for president Job Harriman of California; for vice president, Max S. Hayes of Ohio.

Social Democratic Herald

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board
JESSE COX, Chairman
SEYMOUR STEDMAN, Secretary
EUGENE V. DESS, VICTOR L. BERGER
FREDERIC HEATH

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, \$5 cents. Six months, 25 cents. No papers sent to any one on credit. If, without having subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and no bill will follow. Foreign subscriptions \$1.00.

Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

A. S. EDWARDS, Editor
THEODORE DESS, National Secy-Treas.
126 Washington St., Chicago.

85 is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 86 your subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, FEB. 17, 1900.

FRANKLIN MACVEAGH'S ESSAY

One day last week, before the Chicago Women's club, a leading merchant of this city, Mr. Franklin MacVeagh, delivered himself of a ponderous essay, incubated during his leisure hours, on "The Responsibilities of Wealth," and told how society should guide the wealthy. As a contradictory, apologetic and half-hearted defense of his class, Mr. MacVeagh's essay is worthy of notice.

At the outside, Mr. MacVeagh said the source of wealth—that is, "the freedom, energy and enterprise of the individual"—must be preserved.

Socialists say that the labor, docility and slavery of the working class is the source of wealth; that all the learned talk about "freedom, energy and enterprise of the individual" is just so much cheap clap-trap, and that all of these attributes—enterprise, energy and freedom—are positively destroyed by a system which he said, further along in his address, "does not create classes."

Mr. MacVeagh said: "It seems to me we shall find some way to cure the excesses of democracy," and this he expects to do by still preserving private capital and controlling it by retaining a government from which the soul of democracy has been eliminated.

Socialists say that the only cure for the excesses of wealth is a purer democracy, based upon the social ownership and administration of industry.

Mr. MacVeagh thinks Socialism would not stand for the individual and that his democracy would. That is because he does not understand Socialism. His democracy is clearly behind the times, since it is not even aware of the fact that industrial evolution has created classes in this country, and is already defeated by the existence of classes.

Mr. MacVeagh said, "Men are politically free," but the struggle now on in Kentucky emphatically negatives his proposition.

Mr. MacVeagh said, "The right measure of individual reward is not established," and he comes no nearer suggesting a method by which it can be established than this—the inspection and control of capitalistic corporations by a capitalistic government.

Socialists say that the right measure of individual reward between one class in possession of the means of production and another class separated from these means is an impossibility.

Mr. MacVeagh said, "Wealth is poorer without altruism than poverty with altruism." This is the modernized version of "Blessed are the poor, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven."

Finally, Mr. MacVeagh said: "Neither wealth nor poverty, neither labor nor idleness, will or can create classes in any real or important sense in this nation. Classes would defeat democracy, and democracy is in no danger of defeat in America."

As a matter of fact, the sort of democracy for which Mr. MacVeagh pleads has already suffered defeat in America. Scarcely any really sane man doubts it, and it is secretly admitted by plenty of men identified with the political party to which Mr. MacVeagh is supposed to belong. So desperate have such men become that it is no uncommon thing to hear them talk of a violent revolution. It is quite remarkable that in recent discussions of this all-inclusive question of labor so many who contribute to it should find it necessary to deny that we have classes and a class struggle in America. To the Socialist it constitutes strong presumptive evidence that, in spite of denials, the public is waking up to that fact and becoming conscious of the truth. For it is true that we have classes; it is a fact that we are in a class struggle. The mere possession of wealth, nor the mere fact of poverty, it is true, has not created classes; but the private ownership of the means of life, on the one hand, and the growing consciousness that while such ownership maintains there can be no other condition than poverty for those who are separated from these means, has done this, and the classes are as distinct today in America as in many of the so-called effete monarchies of the old world. The classes are not to be created; they are already here and they are here from necessity—the necessity imposed upon us by the inexorable law of economic evolution.

Against this evolutionary progress Mr. MacVeagh's democracy and Bryanolatry will struggle in vain.

MISSSES THE MARK

Private property in natural resources or social wealth has ever been the source of injustice and a menace to public welfare, and the suggestion of Mr. William M. Salter, at the close of Mr. Franklin MacVeagh's address last week on "The Responsibilities of Wealth," that "the great land owners should do much toward filling the public treasuries," while it may strike some persons as very wise, would, if carried out, only serve to perpetuate robbery, and is utterly inadequate as a solution of the problem for which it is offered. Under capitalistic mastery of the governing function, what are public treasuries filled for, if not to invest the capitalist class with power to exploit the producing class? The public treasuries are filled by taxation, and what is the result? Raids by organized capitalists, sometimes bold and aboveboard, at other times subtle and under cover, as the capitalist adventurers see the need for caution in the temper of the people and the occasion for their depredations. The public treasuries are full, and a capitalist custodian of the public funds depletes the full treasury by generously delivering to overworked and underpaid bankers millions of these funds to be used in speculation and stealing the fruits of the people's toil. The treasury is full, and the cormorants of capitalism organize a raid for millions to enable them to build ships and expand their commerce over the seas. The treasury is full, and \$50,000,000 is placed at the disposal of a capitalistic occupant of the white house to carry on a war for no other purpose than enlarging the field of operations of the capitalist class. The treasury is full, and an expensive and unnecessary crusade is organized against a people ten thousand miles away to enlarge the kingdom of God on earth and (quite incidentally, of course) provide more slaves for plutocrats to pluck. The treasury is full, and a horde of expert cracksmen of the capitalist class attacks it with all sorts of jobs and jobbery, and the end is an empty treasury, a plundered people and—a new scheme to fill the treasury again, to be emptied again by the same processes.

All this is perhaps necessary in the passage from capitalist society and government to Socialism; but the higher ethics call aloud for something more than mere filling of the public treasuries. They call for abolition of private property in land and capital, the investiture of society as a whole with the possession and complete enjoyment of social wealth. Public welfare is not conserved by private property in a social inheritance.

BILL OF RIGHTS NULLIFIED

The bill of rights of the Massachusetts constitution says that all inhabitants of that state who are entitled to the ballot "have an equal right to elect officers and to be elected." Now it so happens that the Massachusetts bill of rights, which was intended to confer upon all citizens entitled to the ballot an equal right with all other citizens to "elect officers and be elected," has been nullified by the more-patriotic-than-thou Republican party. This has been done by enacting election laws that are hedged about with cunningly devised provisions the operation of which contravenes the bill of rights and destroys the equal right of citizens to elect officers and be elected. This is true not only of Massachusetts, but also of every state in the Union. The old political parties have been equally responsible in restricting the bill of rights of the people by systematic juggling with election laws to deny to anybody any rights whatever except such as they were willing to concede. Thus the provision that any body of citizens entitled to the ballot, instead of enjoying "equal right to elect officers and be elected," shall enjoy the privilege of being put to great expense of labor and money to procure signatures to a petition before election, is a political trick never contemplated by the bill of rights and in direct violation of its guaranty.

The bill of rights was not exhausted when the Republican party was born, and the odium of nullifying the right guaranteed to the people rests chiefly upon that party. In Massachusetts this highly moral and patriotic aggregation of capitalist lackeys has gone so far as to annul the right of a respectable body of citizens to have the name by which they wish to be known appear correctly on the official ballot.

The effort which our representative in the Massachusetts legislature, Frederick O. MacCartney, is making to have this injustice righted is, therefore, an attempt to regain in part what has been denied to independent people who do not wear the Republican collar, but is guaranteed them by the state's bill of rights which the party of great pretenses has flagrantly violated.

WHAT IS A DEMOCRAT?

A Chicago paper raised the question the other day as to what constitutes a "Democrat." That the question is pertinent at this time cannot be denied, for if ever partisans of any particular name had a wider range of conflicting opinion or an entire absence of opinion than the members of the so-called Democratic party, we have yet to hear from them.

The paper in question finds that leading Democrats are in direct opposition to what has been generally accepted as Democratic doctrine.

For example, Congressman Sibley declares himself for imperialism, for protection, against free silver, and is a Democrat.

Senator Morgan is for imperialism, for free silver, against protection, and is a Democrat. And there are others equally as prominent who favor Republican policies and are Democrats, while the rank and file of the Democratic party is quite as mixed in its politics as the public men named.

Congressman Sibley's case is a remarkable illustration of evolution in individual politics. In 1896 he was prominent as a free-silver advocate and favorably regarded as a possible candidate for the presidency. Many "radical populists" at St. Louis who assisted in the work of killing the People's party in the interest of Bryanism boldly asserted that Sibley was a "good Socialist." The editor of The Herald has a distinct recollection of a group of Kansas "radicals" in the Lindell hotel parlors hysterically proclaiming the virtues and the "genuine Socialism" of Joe Sibley. The truth is that Democrats are without principles; they are "any old thing" to get and to hold the public offices. There is so wide a range of opinion and no opinion among them that a definition is impossible.

JONES ON COLONIZATION

A few weeks ago The Herald undertook to deny, upon information in its possession, that Prof. George D. Herron was in any way connected with a new "ideal" community enterprise to be started in New Jersey. That denial was subsequently confirmed and the statement made in this paper that Prof. Herron had protested against the use of his name in connection with the proposed colony. At the same time we also discredited a report that Samuel M. Jones of Toledo was interested in the same colony venture. Since then Mr. Jones, in a letter to the Workers' Call, has given expression to his surprise that that paper in an article entitled "Advocates of Utopia" should have represented him as a believer in and supporter of the colony idea. In this letter he said:

"As for myself, I have nothing more to do with the colony movement than you. I repudiate it in toto as being unscientific and anti-Social."

Further than this Mayor Jones corroborates what The Herald said three weeks ago concerning Prof. Herron:

"I can say positively for Prof. Herron that he has nothing more to do with the affair that his name is connected with than I, and that he has no faith in the colony idea in any form whatever."

MORE PROOF OF PROSPERITY

The advance of 3 cents a gallon in the price of petroleum which the Standard Oil company made last December meant an increased profit on the 900,000,000 gallons which are annually consumed in the United States of \$2,700,000. At the last regular quarterly meeting of the directors, held for dividend purposes, a quarterly dividend of 20 per cent was declared, equal to 80 per cent annually. The rate paid last year was 33 per cent, and this enormous increase in the dividend rate is doubtless due to the 3-cent increase in price to the consumer.

Here's evidence of prosperity for you. How funny it is! Most of the people who use oil and make possible such enormous advances in dividend rates have the most ignorant and confused ideas about how the great fortunes of individuals are made, never stopping to think that the dividends of the rich are wrung from their own small earnings.

Since 1882 the Standard Oil company has distributed in dividends \$222,250,000. If that doesn't prove that the people are prosperous, what kind of proof, we would like to know, do the pessimists want?

CLASS-CONSCIOUS CAPITALISTS

The striking piano-makers of Chicago are up against a hard row of stumps. At the Kimball works the non-union men now employed are carried by the street cars to a point directly in line with the main entrance. The rule is that street cars stop only at street corners, but the class-conscious crowd who run the street railways and factories play into each other's hands, and the street-railway company accordingly stops its cars where the factory owners want their non-union slaves delivered at the gate. Then the city police are on hand to protect the men while they pass from the cars inside the works. And under the present system of industry these arrangements between capitalist corporations and the safeguarding of their property interests by the police are all right. The union strikers should turn their meeting places into centers of agitation for Socialism. So long as they support with their votes the existing order of things they will get just what is natural and logical in the system. The place to strike is at the ballot-box—for Socialism.

AN ECONOMIC REVOLUTION

It is a matter of special interest at this time to look back to the closing years of the eighteenth century. Just as during the past thirty years we have seen a new system slowly arise and prepare to crush the old; so in the century which closed with the orgies of the French revolution we saw arise a new system, which in time completely overthrew and did away with an older one. As at the end of the eighteenth century "the kingdom of capitalism was come, and Adam Smith was its prophet," so at the end of the nineteenth century "the kingdom of Socialism has come, and Karl Marx is its prophet." Just as economic individualism was Adam Smith's principle, and "Laissez-faire (hands off); away with all restrictions on individual enterprise!" became the war cry of his age, so "Hold off; away with all restrictions on collective enterprise!" is rapidly becoming the war cry of ours. Adam Smith simply expressed the instinctive spirit of his time. Karl Marx, in his writings, instinctively expresses the spirit of ours. Adam Smith voiced the long-delayed, inevitable revolt of individual economic rights against the outgrown restrictions of individualism. Karl Marx in his utterances foreshadows the inevitable revolt of collective economic rights against the outgrown liberties of unlicensed individualism. Today America is teeming with economic literature. The coming revolution will be an economic revolution, pure and simple. Its aim will be the establishment of an economic collectivism, for the captains of industry are here, and the capital is here, and all that any nation can demand is that those industrial leaders shall employ that capital solely to the best interest of the people.

All the great revolutions of history have been economic revolutions. The American revolution was an economic revolution. That monster upheaval of the eighteenth century which deluged France with the blood of its aristocracy was an economic revolution. Says one writer: "The French revolution was an economic revolution. Its aim was the establishment of an economic individualism. With all its blind outbursts, it never forgot this; with all its failures, it did not fail of this. The meaning of that era is summed up in one word—the application of invention and science to industry demanded large capital; capital must be free; the individual must be free in his enterprise with capital. The Third Estate revolution was not in the interest of labor, but of middle-class enterprise against feudal privilege."

J. T. Van Rensselaer.

Another Outrage

We are in possession of information from the Coeur d'Alenes saying that Gov. Steunenberg, in conjunction with the mine operators, have a petition in circulation, to be forwarded to the secretary of war, to continue the troops in that district permanently.

This petition did not meet with the approval of the people of the district, who naturally objected on the ground that such a procedure was unnecessary and was an insult to the people living in the county.

To the governor's surprise, when his deputies took the petition to the miners, even the permit men, who are allowed to work by the governor's permission only, refused to sign it. When this news reached the governor at Boise he immediately shipped the notorious Sinclair to the Coeur d'Alenes with instructions to carry out his orders.

When Sinclair reached Wallace he issued an order that all people who refused to sign the petition should leave the county. He then obtained the names of the men employed at the mines who refused to sign the petition and instantly revoked their permits and had them discharged immediately. Twenty-five men at the Tiger mine at Burke were discharged for refusing to sign, and a larger number at the mines in Mullan and Wardner were discharged on this account. Some of them were afterward told that they could return to their employment if they would sign the petition. This is American freedom with a vengeance.

It is doubtful if such arbitrary acts as this were ever perpetrated upon the people of any country—not even in Russia.

This petition will be sent to the secretary of war, and of course it is very easy to surmise that he will act favorably upon it, for the national administration from the day Gen. Merriam arrived in Idaho has worked hand in hand with the Democratic governor of Idaho in the interest of the Standard Oil trust and the other rich mining corporations.

This act proves conclusively that the military are to be used by the mine operators to reduce wages in the Coeur d'Alenes when the proper time arrives. This precedent, once established, will never be abandoned.

Knowing Gov. Steunenberg as well as we do, we have no hesitation in saying that he is well paid for persecuting the miners and destroying their unions.

There is nothing too vile for this man to descend to; he is utterly unscrupulous in all his acts, and from personal knowledge we can truthfully say that we have never known him to articulate the truth. His sole and only ambition is money, no matter how he obtains it.—The Miners' Journal.

WHAT THE EDITORS SAY

People's Press, Chicago: The schisms in the old parties are paving the way for the downfall of capitalistic oppression and wage-slavery. Now is the time to agitate, teach and spread the gospel of Socialism.

Social Democrat, Haverhill, Mass.: Congressman Moody is a much exploited man in the Massachusetts daily press the past few weeks. His importance is magnified out of all proportion evidently with a desire to impress his constituents in this district with the necessity of keeping such a shining light in congress. Mr. Moody will lose some of his reputed brilliancy when he has to get down on solid earth and meet the Social Democrats in the campaign next fall.

Public Ownership, Erie, Pa.: Mayor Chase, Socialist, of Haverhill, Mass., has forced the gas company of that city to reduce the price from \$1 to 80 cents per thousand. Socialists never yield in their fight for the people's rights, and are able to accomplish some things, even single-handed. A mayor can do much more when supported by councils. The select councilmen elected at this election will hold over into the term of the next mayor of Erie, who will be a Socialist. Do you see? Is a word to the wise sufficient?

Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kan.: There is a general advance in prices, which is pointed to as one of the evidences of prosperity. And it does mean that the few who get the advance are prospering. There is one great corporation, however, that has not advanced its charges. Postage stamps remain at the same old figure and the employees are the best paid, most respected, and the company is cutting down its deficit every year, in spite of the robbery by the gentlemen railroad managers. This is the difference between private robbery and public business.

The Journal, Brockton, Mass.: What a howl there would be in England by the governing capitalists if it were proposed to spend \$5,000,000 a week in saving the lives of the starving poor of India! yet they not only assent but urge on the dreadful work in South Africa because of their greed of gold. The capitalists of all lands are class conscious. They know no patriotism, race or creed when there is profit to be squeezed out of the sweat of the workers. Their actions are a perpetual invitation to the workmen of all countries to unite, loose their chains and secure economic justice.

The Social Forum, Chicago: The newest thing in the war against trusts is that the Illinois statute against trusts, which is supposed to have taken effect July 1, 1893, has been ukased out of existence by the decree of Judge C. C. Kohlstaad of the United States Circuit court at Chicago, on the familiar ground that the act is "unconstitutional" and is "class legislation," which are two trite euphemisms for the real fact that all acts which are aimed against the regnant trusts, combines and money magnates are "unconstitutional" whenever it becomes necessary to declare them so. The only "class legislation" which is found illegal is that directed against the capitalist class.

Justice, London, England: Although in this country we are congratulating ourselves on the continuance of good trade and industrial activity, there are not wanting signs that this period of prosperity is nearing its end. It is curious how people forget past crises and depressions and how readily they persuade themselves that a period of prosperity has "come to stay," and that now gluts and bad trade are forever things of the past. Economic history teaches us that any such rosy hopes are only vain dreams, so long as the competitive system of production and distribution endures, and it is precisely at the moment when commercial prosperity is at its height, when trade is most brisk and industry is most flourishing, that reaction and depression are most to be feared.

Citizen and Country, Toronto, Canada: "There has never been a war so barren of plausible justification. There has never been a war so dangerous to the prestige of Great Britain. So sure as the war goes on, so sure does the British empire go under."

This is the awful prediction of Kier Hardie, a man chosen by British electors to represent them in the British house of commons.

We do not sanction every article we publish in this paper, but it is well to know the opinions of leaders. What we say in this matter is that it is safer for Britain to retrace her steps and acknowledge her error than to go ahead and conquer the Boers.

We fear for the future, but we dare not harbor so positive a thought as that expressed by Kier Hardie, the most popular labor leader in England.

ANOTHER GOOD WEEK FOR ORGANIZATION

Thirteen is a lucky number—at least, when organization of branches of the Social Democratic party is concerned. Last week that was the number of new branches instituted throughout the country, and again this week we have to report not as large a list, but one that will be very gratifying to our thousands of readers who are watching the unprecedented growth of Socialism in the United States under the banner of this twenty-months-old party. This week New York takes the lead with two good branches; Maryland has one, and the rest are credited to the west. The latter section is rapidly coming to the S. D. P., and the signs of the times are propitious for great activity during the spring and summer months. National Secretary Debs is devoting a large share of his time every day to answering communications and furnishing information to those who in their home communities are about ready for affiliation with the Social Democratic party. A list of the new branches for the week follows:

ASPEN, COLO.

Chairman, M. V. Colyer; vice-chairman, R. K. Sprinkle; secretary and treasurer, A. E. McCausland; organizer, James Sanborn.

BALTIMORE, MD.

Chairman, L. Rosenfeld; secretary, H. Sachs; treasurer, H. Abrahamson; organizer, D. Paulson.

PLATTSBURGH, NEB.

Chairman, B. O. Hadley; vice-chairman, Will Howland; secretary, Jacob Jacobsen; treasurer, Loren Leiner; organizer, Herman Streitwieser.

PATCHEQUE, N. Y.

Chairman, H. W. Pain; vice-chairman, A. R. Pettis, M. D.; secretary, V. S. Worth; treasurer, C. E. Whitehouse; organizer, Romain Weeks.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

Chairman, John Ryan; vice-chairman, William Hayes; secretary, E. Spranger; treasurer, J. H. Howe; organizer, William Sanger.

PENDLETON, ORE.

Chairman, J. L. Vaughan; vice-chairman, G. M. Brown; secretary, H. E. Oakes; treasurer, W. W. Boothby; organizer, W. C. Burgess.

CLEBURNE, TEX.

Chairman, Karl Feige; vice-chairman, Ch. Schlieper; secretary, E. H. Strack; treasurer, John Fox; organizer, Eugene Zeiler.

SHEPOTGAN, WIS.

Chairman, Otto Zeigler; vice-chairman, Ed E. Sommer; secretary, Edward Mohr; treasurer, Charles Grabowski; organizer, Aug. L. Mohr.

NOTES FROM THE FIELD

Branch No. 33, Whitman, Mass., will give an entertainment and lecture Feb. 22 at the town hall.

Organizer George Finger of New York is greatly encouraged with the outlook for organization.

Three new branches have been organized in New York city in three weeks. The city central committee is active.

The West Side branch, New York, will have Comrade William Butscher for speaker on the 18th. His subject is "Trusts."

Comrade Howard A. Gibbs of Worcester addressed a large meeting at Socialist hall, Brockton, Mass., Sunday evening, Feb. 4.

Meetings of the new branch in the Borough of Bronx, New York, will be held at Webster hall, One Hundred and Fortieth street and Third avenue.

The West Side and Twenty-fourth assembly district organizations in New York have decided to send a joint delegate to the Indianapolis convention.

This week Comrade Eugene Debs has been lecturing in Georgia, North Carolina and Kentucky. Tomorrow, Feb. 18, he fills an engagement at Burlington, Iowa.

Branch No. 5, Lynn, Mass., with a new set of officers, is having fine meetings and increasing its membership. W. H. Hitchcock is the new chairman and Harry Göttinger secretary.

Representative McCartney's bill to have the name of the party printed on the official ballot of Massachusetts instead of as "Democratic Social" as heretofore, has been defeated.

Branch No. 42, at Holbrook, Mass., is arranging for a grand rally, with Comrades Coulter and McCartney for speakers and the Brockton band to enliven the occasion with music.

The officers of the new branch at Mendon, Mass., are: Horace S. Coleman, chairman; Florence Driscoll, vice-chairman; William E. Dixon, secretary; Charles A. Johnson, treasurer; Nathan F. Towne, organizer.

The comrades at North Abington, Mass., started their campaign at a recent town meeting by carrying the day for the Australian ballot at the spring election against the combined opposition of Republicans and Democrats.

A mass meeting under the auspices of the new branch in Bronx borough will be held at Webster hall, One Hundred and Fortieth street and Third avenue, Friday evening, Feb. 23. Comrades Phillips and Barondess will speak.

Comrade A. A. Noe of Delaware, Ohio, writes to say that the local branch recently organized there is flourishing. He declares that the fact that a branch can be maintained in so conservative a place as Delaware is proof that it can be done in any old town in the country, and urges the comrades to increased activity.

The comrades of Branch 14 of Missouri, at Poplar Bluff, have nominated candidates for the local election in April as follows: Councilmen—First ward, A. C. Ford; third ward, George Clemons; fourth ward, George Massingham, Jr. For school directors—Charles Hinrichs and R. L. Hassler.

Comrade C. Lipscomb is co-operating effectively with the active forces for Social Democracy in Missouri. Wherever he speaks he clearly emphasizes the fact that the S. D. P. is not a party of palliatives and middle-class reforms, but a revolutionary party, aiming at political supremacy to inaugurate social ownership of all productive capital.

A congressional committee has been organized at Brockton, with officers as follows: Mayor Charles H. Coulter of Brockton, chairman; Frank Thompson of Plymouth, first vice-president; A. H. Dennett of Middleboro, second vice-president; Charles E. Lowell of Whitman, secretary; G. A. Monette of Brockton, financial secretary, and John Alexander of East Bridgewater, treasurer.

The following amounts contributed to the Bohemian paper are acknowledged by our Bohemian comrades: Dance given by Branch No. 2, Chicago, \$27.25; from sale of books presented by Dr. Greer, \$1; Branch No. 12, New Bedford, Mass., \$1.10; Bicycle union No. 32, Chicago, \$3; Comrade Mulac, Vanderbilt, Pa., \$2; Comrade Mudra, Chicago, \$2; "Policajt," 50 cents; circulation, \$9.50.

The Granite Falls (Minn.) branch would like to correspond with branch secretaries elsewhere as to how they carry on their work for the cause. This branch was organized Jan. 10 with eleven members; at its third meeting the number had increased to twenty-six, and in a short time it will be doubled. The comrades are all active and effective use is being made of literature. The secretary is C. J. Weaver.

Dear Comrade: The Eleventh District Socialist club of Cleveland will hold its councilmanic convention Monday evening, Feb. 19, in Putner's hall, 945 Clark avenue. All members of the S. L. P. and the S. D. P. and the voters who at the last election voted the Socialist ticket, and those who intend to vote with us, are invited to be present to nominate a candidate for the city council. Let us show the world that we can unite into one grand party of the laboring class to fight for its rights. Ed Munger, Chairman; Leo Weingar, Secretary.

Boston has given the municipalization of the city printing plant a thorough trial, and it suits Typographical Union No. 13 so well that at its last meeting a unanimous vote was given in favor of a petition to the legislature of Massachusetts for a joint special committee to investigate the desirability of a state printing office. The committee appointed by President Metcalf was a radical one and thoroughly in sympathy with the project. As the contract expires next year with the Wright & Potter Printing company, it comes within the bounds of reasonable expectation that the legislature will at least very seriously consider the matter. Comrade George G. Cutting is chairman of the committee.

To Our Connecticut Readers

All unattached Socialists in the state of Connecticut are requested to write Louis Schlaf, 26 Spring street, Rockville, for information concerning the organization of branches.

North Dakota Socialists

Socialists residing in North Dakota and desiring to organize for effective propaganda work in that state are requested to correspond with Math. Eidsness, Towner, N. D.

To Our Washington Readers

Comrade D. Burgess of New Whatcom, Wash., has been selected as organizer for the state and is prepared to assist the Socialists of Washington in organizing branches of the S. D. P. Correspondence addressed to him will receive prompt attention.

Cincinnati Municipal Campaign

Social Democrats at Cincinnati have squared themselves for the coming municipal election. At a well-attended and enthusiastic meeting John H. Hewitt, Robert J. Waite, Seymour G. Mead and Hugh Crumley were entered as candidates for the mayoralty. Several ballots were taken before Mr. Waite emerged as the winner. He was called on to make a speech, but declined, contenting himself with asking the assistance of his associates in taking care of the unenlightened among the populace should he happen to be elected.

Hugh Crumley and John Hewitt were selected as the candidates for the B. of C. A.

D. T. Hackett was put up for corporation counsel by acclamation.

Albert Corbin was named for police court judge by acclamation, and Walter R. Ingram beat out William Kuhnell

and Joseph Reverman for police clerk. Fred Hammel was chosen for city auditor in a close contest with S. G. Mead.

For city treasurer A. E. Schuttenheim was an easy winner.

John Alexander was nominated for justice of the peace and Joseph Reverman for constable.

It was decided to leave the selection of candidates for the boards of education and legislation to the campaign committee, which will talk matters over with the party men in each of the several wards before filling out the ticket.

The campaign committee was chosen by selecting S. G. Mead, A. Haas, A. Bury, R. Biederman and Andreas Lotz, and general business was begun in earnest by levying an assessment at once on all who were present. Nearly every one in the room gave a dollar, half or quarter, according to his means and interest.

The committee is to organize the work in the several wards at once, and an effort will be made to have good speakers address the people in the party's cause.

Mr. Waite, the candidate for mayor, is president of the local Potters' union. He and the others are all new men, politically.

An Important Book

Charles H. Kerr & Co. have in the press the admirable work by Frederick Engels, "Socialism: Utopia to Science." There is probably nothing better than this to put into the hands of those who have read "Merrie England" and books of that class. It is the Aveling translation and is printed in cloth at 30 cents; paper cover, 10 cents. It is a work that we trust will have a large sale among members of the organization. Orders filled from this office.

Municipalism

The subject of municipal ownership of street railways, lighting plants, water works, etc., is especially and elaborately treated in the issue of the Appeal to Reason for Feb. 17. Great pains have been taken and much expense incurred to make this municipal ownership edition exceptionally interesting and valuable. It is expected that the edition will be the largest the Appeal office has yet printed. Parties wishing to aid in giving this number of the Appeal the widest possible circulation should get in their orders at once to Girard, Kan.

Comrade Henry P. Lennarz

The cause of Socialism lost a devoted advocate and loyal supporter in the recent death of Comrade Henry Paul Lennarz, at New Haven, Conn. As an active worker for the social revolution he never tired, and was known as a man who for years did all he could to the end that his class might be brought to realize, as he did, the hopelessness of their condition under capitalist production. He gave of his time and means generously without thought of reward, and his sincerity of purpose and singleness of aim were never doubted by those who knew him best.

Comrade Lennarz died after an illness of ten months, due to intestinal cancer, leaving a widow and three children and a large circle of friends and comrades to mourn his loss.

Encouraging Signs

The meeting held by the central branch of St. Louis on Feb. 4 was the best business meeting in point of attendance that Social Democrats of this city have ever held. Aschenbroedel hall was well filled, and the members were enthusiastic. Putnam and Hoehn were elected delegates to the national convention. Four new members were added to the roll. The general public is beginning to manifest an unusual interest in the party, and even our business meetings are attended by many strangers. Our proposed concentration on the Ninth ward is drawing many hitherto unattached Socialists into our ranks. Everything is favorable, and we will put up a strong, clear-cut fight for Socialism this year. The next central branch meeting will be held at 604 Market street Sunday afternoon, Feb. 18.

Social Democrats of Poplar Bluff, Mo., have nominated a city ticket, as follows: Aldermen—First ward, A. C. Ford; Third ward, George Clemons; Fourth ward, George Massingham, Jr. School directors—R. L. Hassler and Charles Hinrichs, Sr. Poplar Bluff has about 2,500 inhabitants, and the Social Democratic vote is sure to cause some disturbance.

Charlie Martin to the Antis

M. L. Lockwood, Chairman; Franklin H. Wentworth, Secretary, National Anti-Trust Conference, Chicago, Ill.—Gentlemen: During the past few weeks I have received several packages of printed matter and circular letters from your hands, and this morning I received another batch, accompanied by the following circular letter dated Jan. 8, 1900—

"My Dear Sir: Understanding you to be in thorough sympathy with the call for the anti-trust conference to be held in this city Feb. 12, 13 and 14 next, at a meeting of the executive committee on the 6th inst. you were appointed one of the delegates to the conference. You are earnestly invited and urged to attend. Will you kindly indicate by re-

LOCAL BRANCHES

Notice of Branch Meetings Inserted for 25 Cents per Month

CALIFORNIA

Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evenings, commencing at 8. Admission free. Educational meetings (for members) every Tuesday evening. Sociology, Economics, Public Speaking, etc. Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening. Membership, with advantage of Educational Course and Social Democratic Herald free to each member, 25 cents per month. Apply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk street.

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2 o'clock at Woodmen's Hall, 1234 Spring St. J. France, 700 Dayton Ave., Secretary.

CONNECTICUT

The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at Turn Hall, Rockville. L. Schial, Secretary.

Branch No. 2, New Haven, meets every Tuesday evening, at 100 State St., at 8 p. m. Cornelius Maboney, Secretary, 165 Park St.

Branch No. 4, Rockville, Conn., meets first and third Thursdays at Turn Hall meeting room, Village street. Secretary, Richard Niederwerfer, Box 760.

ILLINOIS

Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 53 Dearborn St.

Branch No. 1, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening, Thomas Kirwin, Secretary, 3504 Wentworth Ave.

Branch No. 2 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays of each month at Frank Lang's, 117 W. 18th St. corner Jefferson St. Paul Chlapacka, Secretary, 677 Ruble St.

Branch No. 6 (German), Chicago, meets every first Saturday of each month at 8 o'clock at Nagel's Hall, 535 Blue Island Ave., near 18th St. Albin Geisler, Secretary, 725 W. 20th St.

Branch 9, Chicago, meets at Lundquist Hall, corner 61st and Morgan Sts., every first and third Thursday. S. L. Westline, Secretary, 624 Center Ave.

Branch No. 6, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichwein's Hall, corner Market and Noble Sts.

Branch No. 2, Covington, meets first and third Wednesday evenings and second and fourth Sunday afternoons of each month. All agitation meetings except last one in month. Good speakers. Secretary, F. C. Stumpf, 301 8th street.

MARYLAND

Branch No. 1, Baltimore, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m. at Carpenter's Hall, 600 E. Baltimore St. Public invited.

Branch No. 2, Baltimore, meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 311 W. German St. Frank Marek, Secretary, 1406 N. Gay St.

MASSACHUSETTS

The Massachusetts State Committee meets the first Saturday of each month at 724 Washington St., Boston. All dues and moneys intended for the State Committee should be sent to the financial secretary, A. McDonald, 104 W. Springfield St., Boston. All other correspondence should be addressed to the Corresponding Secretary, Margaret Hallie, 5 Glenwood St., Roxbury.

Branch No. 2, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Mondays of each month at Springfield Turner Hall. H. Schlichting, Organizer, 30 James St.

Branch No. 5, Lynn, permanent headquarters, 71 Monroe St. Business meeting every Monday night at 7:30. Open house. Public invited. Harry Göttinger, Sec., 423 Essex St.

Branch No. 9, Brockton, meets the second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at 8 p. m. for business at Socialist Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Center Sts. Every comrade is expected to attend one meeting a month. Secretary, A. McDonald, 104 W. Springfield St., Boston.

Branch No. 15, East Boston, meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 30 Chelsea St. Miss Jenny Seegal, Secretary, 30 Chelsea St.

Branch No. 18, Newburyport, meets the second Monday of each month at Lester's Hall, 1 State St. E. F. McLean, Secretary, 30 Winter St.

G. H. Evans, Treasurer, Prince Place.

Branch No. 21, Chelsea, permanent headquarters.

Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2:30 in room 24, Davies Block, Fourteenth and Main streets. Interest in practical government is invited to be present. J. C. Schaw, president; N. Dutle, secretary.

Branch No. 6, Cincinnati, meets every second and fourth Saturdays in Workingmen's Hall, 1218 Walnut St. F. Hamel, Secretary, 124 Fifth St.

Branch No. 11, German, Columbus, Ed Greiner, Secretary, 808 Mohawk St.

PENNSYLVANIA

Branch No. 2, Erie, meets every Sunday, 3 p. m., at K. of L. Hall, 716 State St. Chairman, Joseph Stein, Secretary, J. E. Perry, 119 Second St.

Branch No. 4, Pittsburgh, meets every Thursday evening at 7:30 p. m. at Funk Hall, 8th and Josephine Sts. W. Bohn, President, 241 Addison St. J. H. Lewis, Secretary, 215 Jane St.

Branch No. 5 (Jewish), Philadelphia, meets every Friday at 6:15 p. m. at 730. Discussion from 8 to 9. J. Gearson, Secretary.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee Central Committee meets on the first Monday of each month at 8 p. m. sharp at 3rd St. later St. Eugene H. Rooney, Secretary, J. H. Dierker, Treasurer, 1200 Broadway St.

Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Tuesday evening of the month at the Ethical Society Building, 553 Jefferson St. Visiting comrades always welcome. Howard Tuttle, Chairman, Eugene H. Rooney, Secretary.

Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Friday in Geatke's Hall, corner Green Bay and Concordia Ave.

Branch No. 3, Sheboygan, meets every fourth Thursday of the month at Gustav Burgard's Hall on Pennsylvania Ave. R. Schoen, Secretary-Treasurer, 8 1/2 12th St.

Branch No. 8, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday each month at Meller's Hall, corner 23d and Brown Sts. George Moerschel, Secretary, 391 25th St.

Branch No. 9, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at R. Sigel's Hall, southeast corner Orchard St. and 9th Ave. Fred Brockhausen, Secretary, 781 Windlake Ave.

Branch No. 11, Milwaukee, meets the second Wednesday of each month at the office of the Wisconsin Vorwarts, 64 State St.

Branch No. 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of each month at Kraus' Hall, 21 and Center St., at 8 p. m. John Koepfer, Secretary.

turn mail your acceptance of the appointment and your intention of attending the conference, so that the committee may make such arrangements for your ticket and admission to the meetings of the conference and to the Auditorium as will avoid all confusion at that time.

Permit me to say in reply that my interest in your "National Anti-trust conference" is that of a class-conscious wage-worker watching the comedians in a drama, for such I regard your combination of middle-class reformers and political demagogues—the one mainly honest, but confused, and the other any old thing for votes.

Whom would I be supposed to represent by your appointment as a delegate? This feature looks like farce-comedy. No, I will not be in attendance, nor do I want my name associated with it. When I accept mandates to act on the trust question it will be from fellow wage-workers. I am, sirs, a Social Democrat.

Charles R. Martin.

Notice

We earnestly appeal to all labor unions, particularly the labor unions of the Western Federation of Miners, to do all in their power to keep men away from the Coeur d'Alenes.

The man who goes into that district under existing conditions is labor's worst enemy, and should be branded as a scab by all union men.

Edward Boyce,

President W. F. of M.

James Maher,

Secretary-Treasurer W. F. of M.

BRANCH SUPPLIES

Charts \$2.00
Membership Cards (per 100) 1.00
Membership Applications (100)25
Constitutions (each)03

Send orders with cash to Theodore Debs, 126 Washington Street, Chicago. No supplies sent on credit.

Haverhill Social Democrat

Published Weekly at Haverhill, Mass., by the Social Democratic Publishing Association of Massachusetts. Subscription, 50 cents per year. Make remittance payable to J. J. Fogarty, Business Manager. Address,

SOCIAL DEMOCRAT,
25 Washington St., Haverhill, Mass.

Subscribers will find their expiration number on wrapper. Prompt renewal is requested.

tera, Room 2, Postoffice Building. Open every evening. Business meetings every Thursday at 8 p. m. Public invited.

MINNESOTA

Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Gesswein, on Main St. A. Kinsberg, Secretary.

MISSOURI

St. Louis headquarters, Room 7, 23 N. Fourth St. Address all communications to E. Val Putnam, Secretary. For information concerning ward branches, inquire at the above address.

Branch No. 7, Kansas City, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1200 Union Ave. G. J. Stors, Secretary, 1230 W. 8th St.

NEW JERSEY

Branch No. 1, Newark, Michael W. Schor, 57 Livingston St.

Branch No. 6 (German), Paterson, N. J., meets first and third Mondays at 8 p. m. at Helvetia Hall, 34 Hudson St. Karl Linder, Secretary, 246 Edmond St.

NEW YORK

The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York and vicinity meets first and third Tuesdays of every month in Wilsig's Hall, 35 E. 4th St. Elizabeth H. Thomas, Secretary.

Each Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every first and third Thursday at 112 Clinton St. A. Guyer, Secretary, 155 Suffolk St.

Branch No. 2, 34th Assembly District, meets second and fourth Wednesdays of the month at 142 Second Ave. at 8 p. m. "Central," Henry Lang, Secretary, 324 E. 60th St.

Branch No. 4, West Side Branch, New York, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of every month at headquarters, 129 W. 99th St. Elizabeth H. Thomas, Secretary.

Branch No. 10, 4th Assembly District, meets every first and third Wednesday of the month at the rooms of The Voice of Labor, 423 Grand St. Jacob Panter, Secretary, 129 Division St.

Branch No. 12, Brooklyn, headquarters, 231 Rutledge St. Meets every third Thursday at 8:15 sharp. All persons interested are invited to attend these meetings and co-operate in organizing local branches in every district in the city. Wm. Butscher, Secretary, 251 Rutledge St.

Branch No. 20, New York, 23rd Assembly District, meets first and third Thursdays of each month at Faulhaber's Hall, 1251 Second Ave. R. Hoppe, Secretary, 323 E. 40th St.

OHIO

Branch No. 2, Cleveland, meets in Ohlsen's Hall, 45 York St., second and fourth Sundays at 8 p. m. Lectures, discussions, business meetings, first and third Fridays at 8 p. m.

Branch No. 3, Cleveland, meets first and third Sundays in each month at 8 p. m. in Ohlsen's Hall, 45 York St. Lectures and discussions.

Branch No. 4, Cincinnati, meets at Richelleu Hall, southeast corner 9th and Plum Sts., second and fourth Sundays in each month at 2:30 p. m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. R. Biederman, Sec., 2151 Vine St.

Branch No. 5, Dayton, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2:30 in room 24, Davies Block, Fourth and Main streets. Interest in practical government is invited to be present. J. C. Schaw, president; N. Dutle, secretary.

Branch No. 6, Cincinnati, meets every second and fourth Saturdays in Workingmen's Hall, 1218 Walnut St. F. Hamel, Secretary, 124 Fifth St.

Branch No. 11, German, Columbus, Ed Greiner, Secretary, 808 Mohawk St.

PENNSYLVANIA

Branch No. 2, Erie, meets every Sunday, 3 p. m., at K. of L. Hall, 716 State St. Chairman, Joseph Stein, Secretary, J. E. Perry, 119 Second St.

Branch No. 4, Pittsburgh, meets every Thursday evening at 7:30 p. m. at Funk Hall, 8th and Josephine Sts. W. Bohn, President, 241 Addison St. J. H. Lewis, Secretary, 215 Jane St.

Branch No. 5 (Jewish), Philadelphia, meets every Friday at 6:15 p. m. at 730. Discussion from 8 to 9. J. Gearson

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

VOL. II. No. 36

CHICAGO, ILL., U. S. A., SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1900.

Whole No. 86.

MERLIN'S MIXTURE

The golden wedge. Our public school system has ever been regarded as one of the realized ideals of democracy. We have pointed to it, with justifiable pride, as the institution wherein the children of rich and poor had equal access to the pursuit of knowledge.

Recently I had a conversation with a teacher of one of Boston's suburban schools. In the course of our talk I learned that our school system has not escaped from the contaminating influence of the dollar.

She said that in her school the punishment of misdemeanors and the marking of examinations were controlled almost wholly by the financial and social standing of the parents of the child in question, by order of those in office superior to her own.

A child misbehaved. She reported to the principal. The first question she is asked is "Whose child is it?" If it is the child of some well-to-do and influential citizen, she is almost invariably told to let the child go. "We can't afford to get out with Mr. Goldberg," pleads the principal. If it be the child of a poor laborer, the full punishment is "conscientiously" awarded.

So, too, in the case of examinations, the pupils of the wealthy are allowed to pass oftentimes by reason of money, and not merit.

How long are we going to permit the existence of an industrial system that forces us to contribute to the fortunes that are thus undermining democracy and discriminating against our children?

A double-jointed prayer. "Is there anything I can do for you?" asked Bishop Hurst of President McKinley, hearing of His Majesty's slight indisposition.

"Yes, there is," he replied, "Keep on praying for me; that will help me more than anything else."

This statement will afford much gratification to those who have the double misfortune of being both poor and pious. The throne of deity will be deluged with their petitions in behalf of the prayer-needing president.

No one will deny that William is in need of the blessings of divine grace. If he is not already on his "spiritual uppers," having lost his "sole" in the labyrinth of political intrigue, he sadly needs all the help that deity can supply.

Or perhaps he needs grace to become meek and resigned, so that he might the better serve God and obey Hanna. The chief requisite of presidential figure-headship today seems to be passive pliability.

I am of the opinion that there was a typographical mistake in the report. McKinley said "Prey for me," instead. This is infinitely more in accord with the methods adopted by his managers in placing and retaining him in office.

This is McKinley's double-jointed prayer. To the parsonial Hurst and his class, he says "Pray for me." To the political Hanna he says "Prey for me."

A practical prayer. Talking about prayer reminds me of an incident that occurred a few months ago.

I was present at a certain church banquet held in Music Hall, Boston. The hour for commencing the feast came. Somebody on the platform rapped for order, and when there was silence, called on a clergyman to offer grace.

He began rather a long blessing in which he thanked God for the bountiful spread.

The reverential hush was disturbed by the waiters in the ante-rooms, who were preparing to serve the banquet. The head waiter tiptoed out, and I heard him say, in a loud whisper, "Keep quiet, you fellows, they're saying grace." Then from a fellow who was making vigorous hums over an ice-box, there came the gruff reply, "Well, what if they are, we're cutting ice!"

I tried to be as reverential as I could, consistent with my environment, but I found myself saying, "Yes, you're cutting a good deal more ice than the other fellow." Up at the front God was getting thanked for what the negro waiters were doing in the back rooms.

And so, to point a moral to the tale, while the pious are praying for the coming of the kingdom of heaven, the socialistic workingmen, often irreligious and noisy, are realizing the latter by their own stalwart efforts.

Thus ever thus. Labor is the great creative force of the universe. It is the power by which all things are made. Labor is the divinity in existence, and lies at the basis of all things.

Everybody near Boston has been in and admired the Boston Public Library. The marble staircase, the stately columns, the splendid pictures, all combine to make it a place of beauty.

How came it there? For many months before it was opened workmen were busy on its site. They were rough, rugged fellows, clad in dirty duck, and working in dingy little sheds.

They excited no attention. The passersby never gave them a second look. The city council never came in a body and congratulated them on the progress of their work. No newspaper ever wrote them up. No artist ever found them worthy of a picture.

But they kept on hewing away, until at last the work was done. The opening of the building was announced, the doors were flung open, and admiring crowds thronged the place.

And the humble creators of it all were away on some other barren site, hewing, and cutting, and chiselling at some new creation.

Patriotism gone mad. In a dispatch this week from Manila, it is stated that 450 insane soldiers are being shipped back to the United States. This is a literal instance of patriotism gone mad.

The mere fact of insanity is nothing in itself. In fact, only those who were touched more or less by the virus of madness could have been induced to join in the devilish heathen-hunting expedition against the Filipinos. The trouble with this particular shipload of fools is that they are inconveniently crazy. They have crossed the limit of useful craziness. So long as they were only insane enough to murder Filipinos, they were of use, but when they became so violently insane as to turn upon their fellows they were sent back to America. When they return they will doubtless be given government positions, where they can exercise their particular mania to advantage.

What an indictment is this against the powers that misrule our land! In a moment of delirious enthusiasm or of pressing need, men enlist in the U. S. army. They are sent to the east, marched against naked bolomen, and compelled to fire at and kill and murder them like so many rats.

Is it any wonder that if there were a grain of common humanity left in these soldiers, the feeling of revulsion against the bloody task should unbalance their minds. There was no alternative save to shoot, or be shot as traitors.

Let Edward Atkinson lead this procession of dribbling imbeciles through the country, and it will do more to kill the expansion craze than a bushel of his smuggled pamphlets.

Barbaric Britain. We have heard much in the last few years about Anglo-Saxon civilization. We have read concerning the British Bible society, and the British Missionary society, and a score of other organizations, professedly Christian.

But how can we harmonize the triumphant march of British civilization with the war pictures now on view in South Africa? We see a nation distributing Bibles with one hand and arming Kaffirs with the other.

The English have flung away their robe of righteousness, as an incumbrance in the mad race for gold.

All their religion has been but a thin veneer, giving an outward respectability, but ready to peel off at a minute's notice.

It simply reveals the soulless commercialism that is the life of brute Britain. It shows that real reform and real religion demand the eradication of the money power.

It affords a grim satisfaction to see Britain being soundly spanked by the farmer Boers. It is a pity, though, that you have to kill an Englishman before he's alive to the injustice of his cause.

Merlin.

Antithesis. Conservative, thou radical of the passing generation, thy useful work is done; the hour is striking; the darkness of the night is passing; I see the dawn of a brighter day. Conservative, good-night.

Progress, we bid thee welcome. With thy quickening step, new ideas, new conscience, thou wilt build the world anew.

Progress, thou art relentless, cruel; Nothing withstands thy power, Like the sands upon the seashore, Changing for evermore.

Progress, help us to understand thee; Cease our senseless opposition, Free us from the rule of dead men, Place us in the right position.

Progress, take us with thee; Show us the future, bright; Guide our faltering footsteps Through darkness unto light.

George G. Cutting. Boston, Mass.

SENATOR LODGE ON EXPANSION

In the issue of Collier's Weekly of Feb. 10, a weekly which claims to be "an illustrated journal of art, literature and current events" (of course of the capitalist brand), is contained an article by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge entitled "Shall We Retain the Philippines?" The significance of the article in question lies not in any originality on the part of the author in the arguments which he advances in support of his position, for in the main the arguments are about the same that have been served out to the "American people" on this "burning question" by other expansionists for some time; but its import is found in the fact that he fully substantiates one of the basic principles of socialism in a most logical manner. That principle is the materialistic conception of history first discovered and given to the world by Karl Marx, which is, to state it briefly, as follows: That in every age of the world's history, since the dissolution of the primitive communistic stage, a certain class has risen to supremacy in society through peculiar economic advantages which it holds, and by means of this supremacy has been able to mold and does mold the popular conceptions of "right" and "wrong," "moral" and "immoral," so as to coincide with their own material interests. Furthermore these dominant classes determine all questions of "public" policy and social institutions, and they who rebel against them are traitors and "unpatriotic" or even enemies of "society."

Having given this brief definition, we will proceed with the article under discussion. It is a source of gratification to the Socialist when he sees his views demonstrated by representatives of the ruling class, for it removes his ideas from the domain of theory to the domain of facts. Not that the facts have been wanting to demonstrate the Socialist view of history, but that these facts come to the surface at times in such a glaring light and with a force so convincing, that the Socialist is surprised that others can not see that which is made so plain. Senator Lodge's article is a demonstration of one of these facts. Hence the notice taken of it. After stating that "nine-tenths of the arguments" of his opponents are "inapplicable eulogies upon the Declaration of Independence" and "the other tenth based on newspaper reports," the senator proceeds to tell us what goes to make up the nine-tenths of his argument in favor of retention. He who reads the senator's article will perceive that the same method of division into "one-tenth" and "nine-tenths" of the arguments of his opponents is followed in his own treatment of the subject. Let us examine the first division of the senator's article. Under the first division he points out the victory of Admiral Dewey as a military measure the wisdom of which no one can dispute. He then proceeds with a short history of the negotiations at Paris between the representatives of America and Spain over the disposition of the islands, and concludes that the "islands came to us as rightfully and as righteously as the possession of any territory ever came to any people." All of which (interpreted in terms of capitalist morality) the Socialist will agree with. He then examines and discusses the climate and wealth resources of the "new territory," much the same as the slave owner of the south would examine the physical characteristics of the slave before purchasing him, and shows that these resources have never been developed to any great extent and that great opportunities awaits us if we only have the sense to grasp them. We will let the senator state it in his own words: "We need ample markets in the interests of our farmers and workmen. We not only need them, but we must have them." Here we have the quintessence of capitalism and here we will find, as we proceed further, the "nine-tenths" of the senator's argument. Of course the senator's reference to the workingmen is a huge joke. Think of the working class of America disposing of the only commodity which they possess in the Philippines! Think of them bottling up their labor power and shipping it to our "new" possessions, while they stay at home with their feet upon the mantelpiece smoking cigars made by our "citizens" in Cuba, and enjoying the evening newspaper, or possibly reflecting on the superb knowledge of our senators in discussing "benevolent assimilation" through "criminal aggression." Think — But enough.

Anyone with the thinking apparatus of Balaam's ass ought to be able to see the class character of the senator's article, to say nothing of the two-legged species. If we conclude that the workers have no product to sell in the Philippines (as we must from the very nature of the case), then we must conclude that the sena-

tor's "we" is synonymous with the interests of capitalism, or in other words, he has only the interests of the capitalist class in mind when he uses the term "we." Let us wade through some more of this capitalist slush. The senator points out the "danger looming over China" (prior to "our" assimilation of the Philippines) from the "great northern power of the Slav." And what was this "danger"? Why the great northern power would "grasp that empire (China) and shut its gates upon the trade of the world." But why would the entrance of the great northern power into China be a "danger" to the latter country, while "our" entrance would be a "blessing"? We will let the senator answer. Because "it will be an important and direct material benefit to the agriculture and the industries of the United States" for us to enter, while for "other powers to shut the gates of China upon us would be a real disaster to the industry and the agriculture of the United States." He who can read between the lines can see the relation between "danger to China" and "real disaster" to our ruling capitalist class. But the senator is afraid that we will not understand him and he states his position in so clear a manner that there is no room for doubt. He says: "Will the American people reject this opportunity? Will they throw away all this trade, and all this wealth? They have not yet shown themselves so stupid or so timid, and I do not believe that they will begin now."

The senator need have no fear. The capitalist class has never shown itself "stupid" or "timid" in dealing with the workers at Homestead, Buffalo, Pana or the Bull Pen at Wardner, Idaho. The working class have often been guilty of stupidity, but the capitalist class has never been, and in all probability never will be, guilty of this sin. But to return. "Will they throw away this vast material advantage . . . ? In view of the character and the history of the American people such action seems to me improbable." The "character and history" of our ruling class precludes the possibility of "us" ever giving up this "vast material advantage," hence "manifest destiny" commands that we must expand.

The Socialist knows that foreign markets and expansion are simply the reflex of modern economic development and that the policy of isolation no longer "pays." Besides, as the senator says in concluding his article, "Every consideration of material interests demands that we should retain the Philippines." Of course. The Socialist has always maintained that the material interests of the class in power have always shaped the policy of nations, and that other considerations of "humanity" and "justice" are secondary and play a subordinate role. From the numerous quotations from the senator's article it will be seen that "nine-tenths" of his argument is found in the material interests of the class which he represents, while the few considerations aside from this are not of much importance and form only "one-tenth" of the argument. When will the working class of America awake to the fact that they as a class play a subordinate role in society? When will they awaken to the fact that their backs are used as an economic chess-board and that the capitalists use their votes in order to prolong the game? When will such articles as that from the pen of Lodge awaken them to their material interests? These questions are now up for solution, and they can be solved if the workers are fired with the class-consciousness displayed by the capitalist class. When the workers exhibit as much interest in the welfare of their class as the Lodges do for theirs, then they will wield a class-conscious ballot in favor of socialism and the abolishment of all class rule. When they do this the Lodges will have to find new lodgings, but not before. Jas. Oneal.

Charles R. Green

With the comrades of Chelsea, Mass., we mourn the loss of our esteemed and beloved comrade, Charles R. Green. Comrade Green was the nominee of the S. D. P. for mayor of Chelsea; he was a faithful and earnest worker in the cause and his death is a distinct loss that will be felt. At a union meeting of Socialists the following resolution was adopted: "We, the Social Democratic and Socialist Labor Party of Chelsea, in joint meeting assembled, feeling that in the death of Comrade Green we have met with an extreme loss, hereby express our tenderest sympathy to the family of our deceased comrade, in this the hour of their great bereavement."

What shall be the edition of the big double number of The Herald, March 17, with all its special features designed to interest people in Socialism this year? That depends on how well the comrades and readers co-operate with us. We can make arrangements for printing a million copies, but must have orders in advance. Order a thousand copies for propaganda in your town.

THE NEED OF THE HOUR

A Sermon

I will take for my text the following letter, just received: "Dear Comrade—Brighton branch is still alive, and desirous of furthering the aims of our party as much as possible. We are contemplating a public meeting some time next week or the week after, and I write to ascertain if it would be possible for us to have one or two of our experienced members at our meeting to give us a little talk. The date has not yet been set. We can arrange it to suit the convenience of the speaker."

When I read that letter I could scarcely believe my eyes. I read it over again and again, and then pinched myself to make sure I was not dreaming. No; it was no dream. Here was a branch, in very truth, contemplating a public meeting, and not asking for a mayor or a representative as speaker! A branch that actually seemed to think that the principles of socialism were in themselves worth listening to, even though they were expounded by only a plain, ordinary member, and that an audience could be gathered to hear them, without the added attraction of a mayor, a representative, a celebrated orator, or a brass band and ice cream festival!

It is literally the first request of the kind I have received in eighteen months, but I hope it won't be the last. I sincerely hope it marks the dawn of a new era in our propaganda in this state. I hope that this new departure will be followed by other branches, for the sake of the health of the party, as well as that of the speakers. Just about a year ago I entered a plea that our members in public office should not be asked to do much speaking, as they have pretty near all they can do if they faithfully discharge the duties of their respective offices. There was a let-up for a while, but I see by the Haverhill Social Democrat that the "Guilty Ghost" who walks the corridors beneath the gilded dome has had to enter a protest against the over-working of his Social Democratic proteges in the legislature. Of course, the new branches are perfectly justified in their desire to get a good start, and to have the best speakers. But we must not fall into the serious error of making too much of personalities and not enough of principles. The principles of socialism may be fully as powerful and as convincing when explained in a plain, unvarnished way by an ordinary branch member, as when presented by the most brilliant orator, or by a first Socialist mayor or representative. It is better to have a dozen people go away from a meeting saying "That man spoke the truth" than to have a hundred go away saying "That's a clever man." In the one case the speaker is remembered; in the other, the speech.

Now, don't misunderstand me, please. I know that the brilliant orator and the "great drawing card" can make the audience think, just as well as the plain, ordinary speaker. We all know that. What I want to do is to emphasize the other fellow's side of the question; and that we must not depend upon the "drawing cards" entirely. Each one of our fifty branches cannot possibly have a mayor or a representative at each meeting. We have simply got to grow another crop of speakers. That is the need of the hour. We must have faith enough in the strength of our cause to be content to have, on ordinary occasions, just what our Brighton comrades ask for, "some experienced member to give us a little talk."

This implies of course that the experienced member knows what he is talking about—has made a study of the fundamental principles of socialism. Signing an application blank and calling yourself a Socialist does not make you one. We are not a political party after the fashion of the capitalist political parties, formed simply for the purpose of getting fellows boosted into office in any old way. We are first of all a Socialist organization, and our principal work is education and agitation. Political campaigns are utilized for the purpose of education, and not to boom this or that individual, who wishes to get into office; as a means to an end, and not as the end itself. If as a result of our educational work we can elect our candidate by a straight, intelligent and at least sympathetic vote, well and good. But a candidate elected on any other basis is a source of weakness instead of strength. The fact that we in this state have first of all developed the political side of our movement before we had a chance to organize and develop the educational side presents a danger which we must guard against.

I do not by any means expect that all those who vote our ticket shall understand all the ins and outs of scientific

(Continued on Fourth Page)

Social Democratic Herald

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board
JESSE COX, Chairman
SETHUR STEDMAN, Secretary
EUGENE V. DEBS, VICTOR L. BERGER
FREDERIC HEATH

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, 50 cents. Six months, 25 cents. No papers sent to any one on credit. If, without having authorized, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and no bill will follow. Foreign subscriptions \$1.00.

Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

A. S. EDWARDS, Editor
THEODORE DEBS, National Sec'y-Treas.
196 Washington St., Chicago.

86 is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 87 your subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, FEB. 24, 1900.

THE CONVENTION

Ten days remain in which to make preparations for the national convention of the Social Democratic party, and in that time the duty that lies nearest is the selection of delegates by those branches that have not already done so. We have information sufficient to be able to give Herald readers an assurance that the convention will be well attended; our hope is that not a single branch or individual member will be without representation.

It is expected that several organizations will send representatives with a view of effecting a powerful union of the Socialist forces of the country at the ballot box. There will be matters of the highest importance before the convention and the occasion is one to call for the wisest counsel, to the end that the cause of Democratic Socialism may be advanced and the union of the growing forces of socialism throughout the country effected.

LICENSE THE TRUSTS

When one of the speakers at the anti-trust meeting last week told the harrowing story of the steel trust and how the managing president when giving testimony to a congressional commission said that he would gladly pay a million dollars a year for a license from the Federal government to conduct his business, the temptation was strong to remind the speaker that in all Mr. Bryan's flood of words, the only practical suggestion he had made was a Federal license empowering the trusts to do business. Mr. Hanna, of the Republican camp of capitalists, is raising a fund of \$25,000,000 to re-elect Mr. McKinley. Now if the president of the steel trust will hustle a bit and raise a fund of \$50,000,000 to elect Mr. Bryan, his license will be forthcoming, because that is just Mr. Bryan's idea. There is not a trust in the country that will not endorse the Bryan idea of a license—to plunder the people. Having their licenses properly made out and paid for, the trust managers will hang them on the walls of their New Jersey headquarters and proceed to do business in accordance with the golden rule translated in a retrogressive Democratic statute.

It's a splendid scheme! Elect Bryan—license the trusts—then the millennium!

The double number of The Herald to be printed March 17 will be a good thing. Snap it up and start the national campaign right, by spreading the light among your friends and neighbors. That one issue will make Socialists and votes this year. Order a bundle.

LABOR PAYS THE BILLS

Whom do you work for? Yourself? Are you sure of it? If you are sure that you work for yourself, how is it that so many who never work are in possession of wealth? You know that wealth is not created by the class that never works, don't you? Ever see any wealth that was created except by labor? Think you never did. Well, you do see, then, that labor creates wealth? That all wealth is created by labor? You work? Yet you have no wealth? Who has the wealth you have created? Never thought of it, eh? Tell you something: A London banker says that "English investors figure that their investments in the United States bring them an income of \$500,000,000 a year." See where some of the wealth you create goes? See how British capitalists are able to make big donations to carry on the brutal business of butchering Boers? Thought America had nothing to do with the war in Africa, did you? But YOU HAVE, see? You are helping to pay the bill. Your class has always had the burden of paying such bills. Learn something, man. Don't be a "brother to the ox"! Get some Socialist books and learn how your class is fleeced by the capitalist class at home and abroad. Then join the ranks of Socialism for freedom.

IS JOHN HAY THE TRAITOR?

The use of the epithet "traitor" has been a favorite pastime with the jellyfish administration and its friends, and few men who have had an idea above the plane of a subservient partisan have escaped it. But it now begins to look as

though the real traitors are those who happen to be in highest official position. The revelation of Consul Macrum shows a depth of duplicity unparalleled in the history of the country. The consul was subjected to the humiliation of seeing his official mail opened by a British censor. The secretary of state, John Hay, a notorious snob with a bad case of angomania, is charged by the consul with being a silent or conniving partner with the British, in discrediting reports of his official acts. He says he finds "that Secretary Hay, whether acting upon the reports in the newspapers or upon advice from the British government or some other motive, I do not know, saw fit to wait until I could present my reasons in person and has been a silent or conniving partner to discrediting reports of my official acts. I come home to find an attempt has been made to tear down my personal reputation. I wish to state right here that when I accepted my post as consul I knew nothing of any secret alliance between America and Great Britain; and that I had seen nothing in the regulations which made the consul of the American republic subject to the whims and caprice of an English military censor at Durban."

Now, if John Hay is the traitor, what is to be said of his political master, the president of the United States by grace of corporation money, coercion and corruption? It is another illustration of the power of the capitalist class, which organizes wars against peaceful people, to dominate all forms of government short of one in which that class is shorn of its strength to ravage the world and keep the working class in slavery. The humiliation which Consul Macrum feels is the logical sequence of government by capitalists and the hiring tools of capitalists. Government by the dominant economic class is inevitable and whether it is administered from the White House or from Downing street, London, can make little if any difference to the masses of the people.

Do not forget or fail to order 100 or 500 copies of the big double number of The Herald to be printed March 17. Will contain complete report of the convention, special contributed articles, facts and data for the propaganda, illustrations, etc. A splendid number to start the campaign with. One cent per copy. Every branch should order not less than 500 copies.

THE DYING MIDDLE CLASS

The despairing cry of the middle class is heard in the land. The power of the trusts is crushing out the small proprietors, closing the gates of opportunity and converting a large and hitherto important and independent body of business men into salaried employees or dependents in some form upon the benevolent rich. Every week adds to the volume and intensity of this cry in proportion to the increase in the number of victims.

Some of the Democratic journals of the east are endeavoring to show that this crushing out process means that thousands of business men who supported McKinley in 1896 will this year give their votes and influence to Bryan in "self-defense." That is to say, what is known as the business community is losing its foothold and its opportunity to do business, and its members, having given little or no thought to the procuring causes of trusts and knowing next to nothing of the trend and inevitability of concentration, are prepared to accept Mr. Bryan with his wholly inadequate, out-of-date and impossible reform ideas. And for what purpose? Presumably for the purpose of reinstating them in the exercise of their function as commodity hucksters for profit.

The distinguishing characteristic of the struggling middle class who look for some anti-trust legislation or financial reform to revive their vanishing glory and restore their individual freedom to make profit, is the almost universal failure of their class to understand the class struggle in which society is plunged by the simple but tremendously significant fact of the transformation of the petty modes of individual production into the gigantic trusts with which we are now familiar; in other words, the separation of the producing class in society from the means of gaining a livelihood. Having no clear comprehension of this revolutionizing fact in the industrial world, they fail to see its true relation to the function of distribution in the realm of commercialism. They, therefore, imagine that a change from one political party which supports a system of capitalist production and distribution to another political party which does not propose to abolish that system, will result in the restoration of their class to its former independence and power. A hope more vain was never entertained.

The prosperity of the middle class has always depended upon the ability of the working class to procure profitable employment. Modern discovery and invention has destroyed the opportunity of millions to do this. The tendency of modern production, the transformed tools of production being monopolized by a class, is to destroy handicraft and, indeed, handicraft in many so-called trades is already nearly obsolete. Thought mixed with toil has brought about a condition in which the laborer,

the producer of things, is not only dispossessed of the wealth he creates, but also of the opportunity to further exertion. Capitalism destroys both the opportunity and the incentive to labor.

Now, in the face of a social revolution so overwhelming as that in which we now find ourselves, what would Mr. Bryan and his friends accomplish if by acts of legislation their middle-class reforms were put into practical operation. What has Mr. Bryan himself ever given a hint of that he could do? Not a single thing. Can it for one moment be supposed that Mr. Bryan with a Democratic congress will be able to reverse the historic development of capital? Why, instead of running off to Bryan, do not those in the middle class who feel the crushing power of the trusts ask themselves whether a reversion to individual property in tools and individual production is possible? For, be it remembered, unless progress can be reversed and the earlier forms of production re-established, with individual possession of the tools of production, there is no possibility of a restoration to power of the middle class. But such a program is unthinkable, undesirable, impossible. The middle class is doomed and against the relentless capitalist revolution Bryanism is powerless to save it.

A MONTH IN THE SOUTH

It is about a month ago since Eugene V. Debs began at Louisville, Ky., a lecture tour in the south. To say that his meetings have everywhere been successful in awakening great public interest in Socialism and labor organization would, in the light of press notices which have come to us from nearly every point he has visited, be a very moderate summing up of his work. It has been a month of constant, daily proof of a remarkable change in public sentiment. Wherever he lectured his reception was in the nature of a great popular ovation, participated in by all classes of people, upon whom his utterances made a profound impression. The interest in his work passed the limits of organized labor and permeated the business and professional classes, bringing the latter to a new conception of the historical significance of the labor movement and a friendlier attitude towards trades unionism. The ideas entertained by thousands have been completely revolutionized. The first immediate and practical result is a strengthening of the labor organizations throughout the south. This is admitted by members of the trades unions; they declare that Comrade Debs' work is organizing the south as it has never before been done. More than this, his presentation of the doctrines of Socialism attracts rather than repels men who years ago should have been won for the support of a movement having as its object the conquest of the public powers by political action. These are encouraging signs indeed. Places where he spoke on his previous visit to the south, where no sign of organization existed, are now strongly organized and have central labor unions. Wherever meetings are held organization follows, or the struggling unions grow strong. One of the places he visited on his former trip to the southland was Columbus, Ga. There was then no organization. He spoke to a large audience and urged organization. Shortly after he left the mill hands went out on strike. The papers, of course, roundly abused Debs, but it was the beginning of a strong union movement and today Columbus is solidly organized. Credit is given to whom credit is due by the unionists of the south, and they declare this was the result of Eugene Debs' efforts. The same thing is true of Montgomery, Macon, Savannah and other places.

It has been said that interest in Comrade Debs' work is not confined to any class; neither has it been to one color or one sex. All sorts and conditions of men and women—black and white—are moved to action by his earnest appeals. Public officials in cities not included in his appointments have urged him to visit them and speak on Socialism, giving the strongest assurances of a warm public reception. After he had addressed an audience at the Academy of Music, Macon, Ga., which the Macon Press said was "one of the largest and most representative gatherings of citizens ever seen in that house," that paper had this to say:

"Mr. Debs has left behind him in Macon an impression that will not soon be effaced. He has given trades unionism a boom that it could not have secured from the efforts of a dozen speakers. He has encouraged the unionists of Macon to renewed activity, and he pointed out clearly the way in which they should progress."

"But he has not alone aroused the laboring man. He has created an interest in and a sympathy for unionism among all classes of citizens, for there is no doubt of the fact that his lecture had a wonderful influence on general public opinion."

"His labor views were indorsed by the very people in his audience last night who had before misunderstood him. It is a foregone conclusion that the effect of his visit to Macon will be to greatly strengthen unionism and make it more popular."

The Herald Lectures are good for propaganda at 25 cents per hundred copies.

NOTES AND COMMENT

An unusually interesting article discussing the so-called Typical Criminal from the practical man's standpoint will appear in Appletons' Popular Science Monthly for March. The author, the Rev. Samuel G. Smith, who has been chaplain of the Minnesota state prison for a number of years, and hence has had an unusually good opportunity for a study of the criminal classes, is of the opinion that there is no such thing as the "typical criminal," and especially that there are no physical signs of degeneracy by which he can be tagged and put into his appropriate class of degeneracy, as the modern criminologist is so ready to do offhand, after a brief anatomical survey.

Charles Lehr shot and killed himself in Chicago last week. He was driven to the act by poverty. For about one month he had been unable to find work to support his wife and four children. As the average workman after one month's idleness has no way of living except by begging or stealing, Lehr decided to close the account rather than steal or beg. At the same time the social parasites of Chicago are engaging accommodations with Paris hotels for the exposition season at the advanced rate of \$9 a day. Workingmen, vote for socialism!

A French writer who has just been elected to the Academy of Forty Immortals is so delighted with the honor that he thinks the United States should have a similar institution. This is a practical suggestion to the capitalist class, since the rich are inevitably excluded from immortality in the kingdom of heaven; and the wage-slave class would doubtless be reconciled to such an institution because as a reward for the oppression they endure here, there will be for them immortality and a home (without a mortgage) over there.

It has been proposed to revise the chronology of the world, abolish the Anno Domini reckoning and start a new era with the beginning of the Victorian era. This would make the current year of 1900 V. E. 64. We object. This we do in behalf of that eminent statesman and modern Saint, William of Cant-on. It is more important than anything else that the reign of cant be perpetuated. So let it stand thus, beginning with the current year, E. C. 4.

What are you doing to help make the special edition of The Herald, March 17, a big success and a grand opening of the national campaign? Don't mind telling you—we think it will be a little the best issue of a Socialist paper ever printed in the United States, and we want you to co-operate as a distributing agent. It's price will be one cent a copy. It's size will be eight pages.

That venerable old pirate, Collis Huntington, has left his church in New York because the pastor criticised the trusts. Collis has made a mistake. He should have brought the pastor to terms and stayed with the church; his class can't afford to break the church trust. That institution is, as it ever was, one of the chief defenses of oppressors and oppression.

To the onlooker at the anti-trust conference last week, the most interesting phase of the whole proceeding could not fail to be the unwillingness of the great majority of delegates to be bound not to support any political party that did not include in its platform a declaration for the public acquisition of railroads and telegraphs.

Miss Edith Sellers, an American, who has resided several years in Berlin, declares in the current number of the Economic Review that she has never seen a hungry looking child in that city. The population of Berlin is made up largely of Socialists and most of its parliamentary representatives are Social Democrats.

The newspapers one day last week reported the purchase of a child by a minister of the gospel in Pennsylvania for one dollar. That minister is not the first to believe that the buying and selling of human beings has the divine sanction.

Missionary in the Philippines: "My dear brother, have you been Christianized?"

The Filipino: "Not completely. They have gobbled all my land, but I still have my breech-cloth."

The Republican senators have tacitly agreed to postpone the Matt Quay case indefinitely. This is an act of cowards in the interest of the administration.

McKinley is reported to be much worried over the failure of his political guardian's pet subsidy scheme to get smooth sailing through congress.

The anti-trust conference is a thing of the past, but the trust is as frisky as ever.

LABOR AND PROGRESS

The British secretary of state for India has received the following telegram from the viceroy on the subject of the famine: "Good rain has fallen again throughout northwestern provinces and Oudh and Punjab. Bowling is recommenced in Punjab, but more rain is needed there. Situation not improved anywhere else, and distress is increasing in Bombay, Central Provinces, and Rajputana. Number of persons in receipt of relief—Bombay, 805,000; Punjab, 147,000; Central Provinces, 1,491,000; Herar, 260,000; Ajmer-Merwara, 109,000; Rajputana States, 232,000; Central India States, 120,000; Bombay Native States, 331,000; Baroda, 63,000; Northwestern Provinces, 4,000; Punjab Native States, 1,000. Total, 3,563,000."

A bill has been introduced into the Dutch parliament which effects several very useful reforms in the factory acts. It limits the hours of labor in dangerous trades, and in all trades ensures that there should be at least 36 hours' rest in the week. If the bill passes it will be a great improvement on existing legislation, and no small credit is due to the arduous exertions of the Socialist leaders, who have been advocating this question for many years.

There are in Holland two groups of Socialists—one the Social-Democrats, who have the same program as the German Socialists; and the other the Socialist League, whose members are hostile or indifferent to parliamentary action. But at present negotiations are going on between the two parties for common action, and a committee is sitting and has decided to call a congress to discuss the question.

The Russian administration in Finland has decided to impose a fine of 500 marks for any attempt to elude a prohibition to publish. The governor general is given the right to demand a change of the responsible publishers on pain of suppression of the journal. The Finnish senate is ordered to devise measures for meeting any infraction of these regulations.

Millerand, the French minister of commerce, issued a very stringent circular to the inspectors of factories, telling them that they are not only to visit the factories to see if there are any complaints, but that they are to act in concert with the representatives of the trade unions and also with the secretaries of the labor bureaus.

From Antwerp report comes that the diamond crisis is assuming grave proportions. Thousands of Amsterdam and Antwerp diamond cutters are now without work. They and their families are in the direst straits and the general business of those towns is also seriously suffering through the war.

A meeting of Socialist doctors was recently held at the Maison du Peuple, Brussels. They decided to form a society for the propagation of socialism among medical men, and also, among other things, to study questions relating to school hygiene.

The Society of Friends, at a conference of its teachers, just held at York, England, devoted a session to the consideration of the best methods of sowing in the minds of boys the seeds of strong democratic citizenship.

The Brussels municipal council have voted the sum of £200 to defray the expenses of workmen delegates to the Paris Exposition. The Socialists tried, but unsuccessfully, to get this subsidy increased to £400.

The Socialist vote in Italy has changed from 1 to 62 in 1892 to 1 to 9 at present. It is made a crime punishable with banishment for soldiers to be found with Socialist literature, but still the movement forges ahead.

The English wallpaper trust, which has been forming since September, is now complete. The capital stock is \$30,000,000, and practically every manufacturer in the United Kingdom is in the combination.

A syndicate is to be formed in Lancashire to develop the weaving branch of the cotton trade in Russia, where two large mills will be built, each with accommodation for 600 looms.

The recent senatorial elections in France have resulted in a gain for the Radicals—Socialists and Non-Socialists—of 17 seats.

It is estimated by a London paper that the strength of the Socialist vote in Europe is 7,516,000.

Over 4,000 workmen in six large cigarette factories at Cairo, Egypt, have gone on strike.

Thomas A. Edison, Jr., has been constructed a safety electric miners' lamp.

CALL TO ACTION

ORGANIZE FOR 1900

There are few communities in this country today without one or more Socialists who are not affiliated with a Socialist organization. At the last State election in Missouri voters were cast for the candidates of the Social Democratic Party in nearly every county in the State.

In almost every community a thoroughly wide-awake and earnest Socialist, with little exertion, could in one week effect the organization of a branch of the Social Democratic Party.

WHAT THEY CAN DO
The Declaration of Principles and Political Demands of this party will be found in this paper; read it and you will see that the party is a straight, uncompromising Socialist organization, recognized as such in the International movement for Socialism.

UNCOMPROMISING SOCIALIST PARTY
The triumph of the Socialist cause, which is the cause of the world democracy, requires organization, and without it nothing can be accomplished; this party is controlled by no individual nor by any set of individuals short of its entire membership through the referendum.

DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATION
The year 1900 will be one of great and far-reaching importance to the people and especially to the intelligent, wealth-producing people of the United States; the latter have surely by this time begun to see the futility of any longer giving support to capitalist parties.

THIS YEAR'S CAMPAIGN
Socialists should have as their main object in 1900 the polling of every vote possible for straight and uncompromising Socialism, and to do this the co-operation of every unattached Socialist in the work of organization, where he lives, is necessary.

ORGANIZE WHERE YOU LIVE
The Social Democratic Party is now organized in more than half the States; it consists of Local Branches, State Unions and a National Council. A Local Branch may be organized with five members. It will nominate candidates for President and Vice-President next March.

NOW ORGANIZED
Full instructions and all necessary supplies for organizing Local Branches may be obtained from the National Secretary, Theodore Debs, 126 Washington St., Chicago, Illinois.

SEND FOR INSTRUCTIONS
SEND FOR INSTRUCTIONS

INSTRUCTIONS

INSTRUCTIONS

INSTRUCTIONS

INSTRUCTIONS

INSTRUCTIONS

INSTRUCTIONS

INSTRUCTIONS

INSTRUCTIONS

INSTRUCTIONS

OUR LETTER BOX

A PROPAGANDA WAGON

Editor of The Herald: Last summer I announced in your columns that I would start a fund for an agitation van for Wisconsin. The time was too late in the season, however, to make the plan very attractive, as there was no hope of getting such an establishment ready for work before the warm weather was gone. I got some responses, but thought it best to wait till winter was past before actively pushing the matter. The time is now ripe for it, and here I am again. The Wisconsin comrades have been laying up money during the cold months and are now not only on the eve of launching a weekly paper, but have also practically closed negotiations for an organizer. This organizer will have to make excursions into the state, and a van would be a great help to him in covering some of the manufacturing towns that form a chain along the eastern state line and at other points. Also, some of our enthusiasts intend, if the van materializes, to put in their summer vacation as assistant vanners—for a more novel or useful vacation could hardly be thought of. And so on—but the point I want to emphasize here is that the fund is reopened and ready for business. Send in your contributions, even if small. Every little helps. The fund now stands as follows:

Wayfarer \$1.00
W. E. Aldridge, Milwaukee50
Eugene V. Debs, Indiana50
Frances Wing, La Crosse10
E. G.15

In addition to the above, Comrade F. G. R. Gordon contributed 100 copies of his "Government Ownership of Railroads."

In England the vans do a big work. In this country they have not been tried to any great extent, owing to the distances between towns and the smallness of the number of workers compared to a country so large. Where the work undertaken is practically confined to one state, however, the first objection is removed, and the other is a condition that has about passed away, for we are getting very numerous, indeed. The last state election showed Socialists in almost every town in Wisconsin, and in looking over the subscription lists of the Social Democratic Herald and the Appeal to Reason I find that the state is very evenly planted for the coming crop. This means that the van would find friends and helpers at almost every point visited. There is missionary work to be done in Wisconsin before the presidential campaign opens. So send in your dimes and dollars—and I should also like to hear from persons who will volunteer to do vanning during their vacations.

Frederick Heath.

IT'S A QUESTION OF FINANCE

Editor of The Herald: The following resolutions were passed by Branch No. 4, Roxbury, Mass., and are to be forwarded to our delegate to the national convention. We trust you will find space for them in your next issue:

"Whereas, It is necessary to the advancement of Socialism that its truths be not only disseminated, but understood by all people, regardless of nativity; and whereas, Our country contains a numerous foreign population to whom the English language but imperfectly expresses thought;

"Whereas, The multiplication of Socialist papers in many languages and with many separate plants results in economic waste, which we as Socialists oppose not only on principle, but because in our present financial weakness we can ill afford it; therefore be it

"Resolved, That foreign-speaking persons should be supplied with Socialist papers in their own language.

"Resolved, That it is an injustice to foreign-speaking members of our party to supply them with a paper which they cannot read, or at least can but imperfectly understand.

"Resolved, That if practicable our national paper should be printed in several languages; if not practicable, arrangements should be made with Socialist papers now printed in foreign languages whereby they shall print certain official matter furnished by the editor of our national paper and supply the same to the foreign-speaking members in our party in place of our national paper, where such members so desire."

Roxbury, Mass. C. W. White.

NOTES FROM THE FIELD

Comrades Dillon and Arnold have been chosen as national delegates from Dayton, Ohio.

An important meeting of Branch 9, Milwaukee, will be held Friday, Feb. 23, which all comrades should endeavor to attend.

Trades unionists are cordially invited to attend meetings of the Social Democratic branches wherever it is convenient for them to do so.

Social Democratic party meetings are held every Sunday evening at Foresters' Hall, N.W. corner Second and Yamhill, Portland, Ore. You are welcome.

Comrade Benham, editor of the Class

Struggle, San Francisco, will be in Chicago March 3 to 6, inclusive, to speak on the subject of Socialism.

A full attendance of Rockville, Conn., comrades is desired at a joint meeting at Turn Hall, Feb. 25, at 2 p. m., when business of importance will be considered.

The branch at Lynn, Mass., has a boom on. Ten new members were elected at a recent meeting, a piano has been secured for the hall and the branch had a whist party Feb. 20.

At a joint meeting of the South Side branches, Milwaukee, Comrade Albert F. Forman was elected delegate to the national convention. The branches also elected a campaign committee of eight.

Among the callers at headquarters during the week was Dr. H. B. Fay, of Minneapolis, Minn., a prominent mid-road Populist with pronounced inclination toward Socialism and the Social Democratic party.

All Socialists residing at Somerville, Mass., who wish to organize a branch of the Social Democratic party at that place are requested to communicate by letter or card with S. E. Putney, 4 Belmont street.

O, yes, O, yes! Hear ye! Growth is the order everywhere. The Granite Falls (Minn.) branch is keeping up with the procession. At its meeting last week eight new members were admitted. It is the order of the day—agitation and growth.

The amount of the campaign fund which McKinley's bosom friend, Hanna, is arranging for is said to be \$25,000,000. And every dollar of it will be expended in behalf of "pure politics," for the "enlightenment of the people" and—the perpetuation of the power of the class which contributes the money.

The Cedar Junction (Kan.) branch has started a series of meetings in which music, readings and a question box afford pleasure and instruction to those attending. Questions relating to Socialism are deposited in the box and read to the meeting, thus starting profitable discussion.

Comrade A. S. Edwards spoke at the Hull House on "The Greatest Fact of the Century," Tuesday evening, Feb. 13. Comrade Peter Sissman was the speaker last Tuesday and Comrade Seymour Stedman is announced for Tuesday next. Talk up the Tuesday meetings at the Hull House.

The Herald welcomes to its exchange a new exponent of Socialistic principles in the Milwaukee Social Democrat. The movement in Wisconsin has for some time been in need of an English weekly, and the first number of the new paper shows that it will fill the bill. It is well edited and printed and sells for \$1 a year. Office, 614 State street, Milwaukee, Wis.

Susanville (Cal.) branch, at a meeting held Jan. 29, appointed a committee, composed of Comrades Hibbard, Pyle, Leonard, Brashear and Cunningham, to arrange a Ruskin memorial evening, at which members and invited ladies and gentlemen will give sketches from Ruskin's noble words, and of the good work he accomplished, with music ad libitum.

We expect to charge a small admission fee, the proceeds of which will be denoted towards the free town library fund. Similar meetings we think could be made very profitable in each branch. Try it.

NEW BRANCHES

ADGER, ALA.

Chairman, F. W. Lemon; vice-chairman, James M. Melton; secretary, Daniel Foster; treasurer, T. E. Mason; organizer, Nick Geis.

MARION, IND.

Chairman, John W. Kelley; vice-chairman, John A. McKeen; secretary, Jas. S. Myers; treasurer, John Hundermark; organizer, Geo. B. Pfeifer.

NEPHI, UTAH

Chairman, R. T. Beagly; vice-chairman, J. J. Sullivan; secretary, Chas. E. Strong; treasurer, Ed. Moorhouse; organizer, Geo. B. Hobbs.

MILWAUKEE, WIS.

Chairman, R. Angelstein; vice-chairman, J. Killian; secretary, Louis Baier; treasurer, Christ Steger; organizer, Alb. Papendorf.

INFORMATION FOR DELEGATES TO THE CONVENTION

For the information of delegates and others attending the national convention at Indianapolis, March 6, The Herald is able to say:

1. That our Indianapolis comrades have arranged for the use of Reichwein's Hall, situated at the corner of Market and Noble streets. This hall will easily seat 200 delegates, is well lighted and has rooms for committees. The rental expense for convention uses will be moderate, though it may be necessary to hire additional chairs and tables.

2. The New Occidental Hotel management will make a special rate of \$1.50 per day to delegates. The hotel is centrally located at Washington and Illinois streets, three blocks from the Union depot and nine blocks from the hall.

Comrade Hugo Miller writes us that the Indianapolis friends will be fully prepared to find accommodations for every delegate according to his wishes, and has kindly offered to secure accommodations in advance for any desiring private quarters. Comrade Miller's address is 333 Davidson street.

MORE PRIZES OFFERED

Comrade Forman of Milwaukee is bound to do all in his power to have the comrades understand that one of the most important things to do is to put the circulation of The Herald to the front. We trust that the members everywhere will agree with him. He now adds to his former offer of prizes for the three largest lists of new subscribers sent to this paper between Feb. 1 and April 30 the following:

"History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," by Edward Gibbon, in five volumes; one set.

Victor Hugo's masterpiece, "Les Misérables," two volumes, unabridged; 1,300 pages. Three sets.

The prize list as it now stands is given below:

First Prize—One set Dickens' complete works, 15 volumes; one set Gibbon's "History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," 5 volumes; one set Carlyle's "French Revolution," 2 volumes; one set Victor Hugo's masterpiece, "Les Misérables," 2 volumes.

Second Prize—One set Carlyle's "French Revolution," 2 volumes; one set Victor Hugo's masterpiece, "Les Misérables," 2 volumes.

Third Prize—Same as second prize.

Fourth Prize (offered by Comrade Geo. H. Goebel of Philadelphia)—A first-class fountain pen.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATS DANCE

The first social event undertaken by the Women's Social Democratic club of Haverhill was all that it deserved to be—a splendid success, says the Haverhill Social Democrat. There is no exaggeration in the statement that the concert and dance given on Friday evening of last week was one of the most enjoyable occasions that the Social Democratic workers of the city have known in many years.

The affair was looked forward to with much anxiety by the members and all those interested in the club and the party. The club had only been organized during the past two months, and the preparations for this, their first attempt at a public entertainment, were consequently of a hurried nature. When, too, the day arrived and with it the coldest weather of the winter, there were not a few who felt despondent and tremulous of the effect upon the coming event. When, however, the concert was over that night and 125 couples had formed into the grand march, everybody felt elated and joyous at the success already assured.

It was a great function. It has long been an accepted fact that there is more real fraternity to be found among a crowd of Socialists who understand each other, as all good Socialists do, than among any other kind of people in the world. And as the Social Democrats of Haverhill are in thorough harmony one with the other, this occasion was no exception to the rule. The result has been a better acquaintance, a strengthening of the ties that bind the local workers for Socialism together and a firmer determination to make the opportunities for social enjoyment easier of access to all the race.

The grand march began at 9:30 o'clock and was led by Mayor Chase and Mrs. Kate Corrigan, president of the club, followed by Representative James F. Carey and Mrs. F. G. R. Gordon of Manchester, N. H., a welcome guest of the club. From that time until midnight the dancing went on. Everybody was jolly, everybody was smiling; not one incident occurred to mar the harmony of the evening.

It would be useless to mention all who were present. It was remarked by a gentleman who had every reason to be a reliable authority that there were people in the hall who had seldom if ever been seen at an affair of the kind before. There has been so much work done by the Social Democrats of Haverhill the past two years that there has been little time for play. There have been few social pleasures, and if this occasion did nothing else, it has relieved the monotony of the grind of work both in and out of the workshop.

It was a good thing to see some folks take part in the dancing who had never danced before, as well as others who had not danced in years. The spirit of fun and good-fellowship was infectious and for the moment the cares of everyday life were thrown away. It was indeed a great function, and when the crowds good-naturedly went down the stairs to go home and greeted the cold, clear, frosty air again, it was with the satisfaction of knowing that that evening was only the first of many such for the Social Democrats and their friends in Haverhill.

The committee who arranged and managed the event was Mrs. Kate Corrigan, Mrs. F. C. Beals, Mrs. Sherman, Mrs. J. W. Evans, Mrs. A. Tracy and Mrs. Anna Young. The committee did their work well and had the hall tastefully decorated for the occasion. Sandy Hayman acted as floor manager and was assisted by Alderman Louis M. Scates and Councilman Joseph Bellefeuille.

North Dakota Socialists

Socialists residing in North Dakota and desiring to organize for effective propaganda work in that state are requested to correspond with Math. Eidness, Towner, N. D.

LOCAL BRANCHES

Notions of Branch Meetings Inserted for 25 Cents per Month

CALIFORNIA

Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evenings, commencing at 8. Admission free. Educational meetings (for members) every Tuesday evening. Sociology, Economics, Public Speaking, etc. Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening.

Membership, with advantage of Educational Course and Social Democratic Herald free to each member, 25 cents per month.

Apply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk street.

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock at Woodmen's Hall, 1254 Spring St. J. Franco, 70 Dayton Ave., Secretary.

CONNECTICUT

The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at Turn Hall, Rockville. L. Schell, Secretary.

Branch No. 2, New Haven, meets every Tuesday evening, at 198 State St. at 8 p. m. Cornelius Mahoney, Secretary, 155 Frank St.

Branch No. 4, Rockville, Conn., meets first and third Thursdays at Turn Hall meeting room. Village street. Secretary, Richard Niederwerfer, Box 760.

ILLINOIS

Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Groer's office, 53 Dearborn St.

Branch No. 1, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening. Thomas Kilwin, Secretary, 204 Westworth Ave.

Branch No. 2 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Mondays at 8 p. m. in Dunder's place, 1080 W. 18th place. Joseph Dunder, Secretary.

Branch No. 5, Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays of each month at Frank Lang's, 117 W. 18th St. corner Jefferson St. Paul Chlapicki, Secretary, 204 Frank St.

Branch No. 6 (German), Chicago, meets every first Saturday each month at 8 o'clock at Nagl's Hall, 555 Blue Island Ave. near 18th St. Albin C. Schell, Secretary, 725 W. 20th St.

Branch No. 9, Chicago, meets at 1045 W. 63rd St. first and third Sundays at 3 p. m. S. L. Westline, Secretary, 6243 Center Ave.

INDIANA

Branch No. 6, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichwein's Hall, corner Market and Noble Sts.

KENTUCKY

Branch No. 2, Covington, meets first and third Wednesday evenings and second and fourth Sunday afternoons of each month. All agitation meetings except third meeting in month. Good speakers. Secretary, F. C. Stampf, 201 8th street.

MARYLAND

Branch No. 1, Baltimore, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m. at Carpenter's Hall, 560 E. Baltimore St. Public invited.

Branch No. 2, Baltimore, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at Wenzel's Hall, 225 W. Camden St. Good speakers. Public invited. Levin T. Jones, Secretary, 202 W. Barre St.

MASSACHUSETTS

The Massachusetts State Committee meets the first Saturday of each month at 724 Washington St., Boston. All dues and moneys intended for the State Committee should be sent to the financial secretary, A. McDonald, 104 W. Springfield St., Boston. All other correspondence should be addressed to the Corresponding Secretary, Margaret Halle, 5 Glenwood St., Roxbury.

Branch No. 2, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Mondays of each month at Springdale Turner Hall. H. Schlichting, Organizer, 30 1/2 Elm St.

Branch No. 5, Lynn, permanent headquarters, 71 Mulroe St. Business meeting every Monday night at 7:30. Open house. Public invited. Harry Göttinger, Secy, 425 Essex St.

Branch No. 9, Brockton, meets the second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at 8 p. m. for business at Socialist Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Center Sts. Every second Tuesday a public meeting is held at 8 p. m. at the same place.

Branch No. 15, East Boston, meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 60 Chelsea St. Miss Jenny Segal, Secretary, 30 Chelsea St.

Branch No. 18, Newburyport, meets the second Monday of each month at Lester's Hall, 1 State St. E. F. McLean, Secretary, 39 Winter St. G. H. Evans, Treasurer, Prince Street.

Branch No. H. Chelsea, permanent headquarters.

Branch No. 1, Portland, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m. at Carpenter's Hall, 560 E. Baltimore St. Public invited.

Branch No. 2, Baltimore, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at Wenzel's Hall, 225 W. Camden St. Good speakers. Public invited. Levin T. Jones, Secretary, 202 W. Barre St.

Branch No. 2, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Mondays of each month at Springdale Turner Hall. H. Schlichting, Organizer, 30 1/2 Elm St.

Branch No. 5, Lynn, permanent headquarters, 71 Mulroe St. Business meeting every Monday night at 7:30. Open house. Public invited. Harry Göttinger, Secy, 425 Essex St.

Branch No. 9, Brockton, meets the second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at 8 p. m. for business at Socialist Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Center Sts. Every second Tuesday a public meeting is held at 8 p. m. at the same place.

Branch No. 15, East Boston, meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 60 Chelsea St. Miss Jenny Segal, Secretary, 30 Chelsea St.

Branch No. 18, Newburyport, meets the second Monday of each month at Lester's Hall, 1 State St. E. F. McLean, Secretary, 39 Winter St. G. H. Evans, Treasurer, Prince Street.

Branch No. H. Chelsea, permanent headquarters.

Branch No. 1, Portland, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m. at Carpenter's Hall, 560 E. Baltimore St. Public invited.

Branch No. 2, Baltimore, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at Wenzel's Hall, 225 W. Camden St. Good speakers. Public invited. Levin T. Jones, Secretary, 202 W. Barre St.

Branch No. 2, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Mondays of each month at Springdale Turner Hall. H. Schlichting, Organizer, 30 1/2 Elm St.

Branch No. 5, Lynn, permanent headquarters, 71 Mulroe St. Business meeting every Monday night at 7:30. Open house. Public invited. Harry Göttinger, Secy, 425 Essex St.

Branch No. 9, Brockton, meets the second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at 8 p. m. for business at Socialist Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Center Sts. Every second Tuesday a public meeting is held at 8 p. m. at the same place.

Branch No. 15, East Boston, meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 60 Chelsea St. Miss Jenny Segal, Secretary, 30 Chelsea St.

Branch No. 18, Newburyport, meets the second Monday of each month at Lester's Hall, 1 State St. E. F. McLean, Secretary, 39 Winter St. G. H. Evans, Treasurer, Prince Street.

Branch No. H. Chelsea, permanent headquarters.

Branch No. 1, Portland, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m. at Carpenter's Hall, 560 E. Baltimore St. Public invited.

Branch No. 2, Baltimore, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at Wenzel's Hall, 225 W. Camden St. Good speakers. Public invited. Levin T. Jones, Secretary, 202 W. Barre St.

Branch No. 2, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Mondays of each month at Springdale Turner Hall. H. Schlichting, Organizer, 30 1/2 Elm St.

Branch No. 5, Lynn, permanent headquarters, 71 Mulroe St. Business meeting every Monday night at 7:30. Open house. Public invited. Harry Göttinger, Secy, 425 Essex St.

Branch No. 9, Brockton, meets the second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at 8 p. m. for business at Socialist Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Center Sts. Every second Tuesday a public meeting is held at 8 p. m. at the same place.

Branch No. 15, East Boston, meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 60 Chelsea St. Miss Jenny Segal, Secretary, 30 Chelsea St.

Branch No. 18, Newburyport, meets the second Monday of each month at Lester's Hall, 1 State St. E. F. McLean, Secretary, 39 Winter St. G. H. Evans, Treasurer, Prince Street.

Branch No. H. Chelsea, permanent headquarters.

Branch No. 1, Portland, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m. at Carpenter's Hall, 560 E. Baltimore St. Public invited.

Branch No. 2, Baltimore, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at Wenzel's Hall, 225 W. Camden St. Good speakers. Public invited. Levin T. Jones, Secretary, 202 W. Barre St.

Branch No. 2, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Mondays of each month at Springdale Turner Hall. H. Schlichting, Organizer, 30 1/2 Elm St.

Branch No. 5, Lynn, permanent headquarters, 71 Mulroe St. Business meeting every Monday night at 7:30. Open house. Public invited. Harry Göttinger, Secy, 425 Essex St.

Branch No. 9, Brockton, meets the second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at 8 p. m. for business at Socialist Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Center Sts. Every second Tuesday a public meeting is held at 8 p. m. at the same place.

Branch No. 15, East Boston, meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 60 Chelsea St. Miss Jenny Segal, Secretary, 30 Chelsea St.

Branch No. 18, Newburyport, meets the second Monday of each month at Lester's Hall, 1 State St. E. F. McLean, Secretary, 39 Winter St. G. H. Evans, Treasurer, Prince Street.

Branch No. H. Chelsea, permanent headquarters.

Branch No. 1, Portland, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m. at Carpenter's Hall, 560 E. Baltimore St. Public invited.

Branch No. 2, Baltimore, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at Wenzel's Hall, 225 W. Camden St. Good speakers. Public invited. Levin T. Jones, Secretary, 202 W. Barre St.

Branch No. 2, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Mondays of each month at Springdale Turner Hall. H. Schlichting, Organizer, 30 1/2 Elm St.

Branch No. 5, Lynn, permanent headquarters, 71 Mulroe St. Business meeting every Monday night at 7:30. Open house. Public invited. Harry Göttinger, Secy, 425 Essex St.

Branch No. 9, Brockton, meets the second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at 8 p. m. for business at Socialist Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Center Sts. Every second Tuesday a public meeting is held at 8 p. m. at the same place.

Branch No. 15, East Boston, meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 60 Chelsea St. Miss Jenny Segal, Secretary, 30 Chelsea St.

Branch No. 18, Newburyport, meets the second Monday of each month at Lester's Hall, 1 State St. E. F. McLean, Secretary, 39 Winter St. G. H. Evans, Treasurer, Prince Street.

Branch No. H. Chelsea, permanent headquarters.

Branch No. 1, Portland, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m. at Carpenter's Hall, 560 E. Baltimore St. Public invited.

Branch No. 2, Baltimore, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at Wenzel's Hall, 225 W. Camden St. Good speakers. Public invited. Levin T. Jones, Secretary, 202 W. Barre St.

Branch No. 2, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Mondays of each month at Springdale Turner Hall. H. Schlichting, Organizer, 30 1/2 Elm St.

Branch No. 5, Lynn, permanent headquarters, 71 Mulroe St. Business meeting every Monday night at 7:30. Open house. Public invited. Harry Göttinger, Secy, 425 Essex St.

Branch No. 9, Brockton, meets the second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at 8 p. m. for business at Socialist Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Center Sts. Every second Tuesday a public meeting is held at 8 p. m. at the same place.

Branch No. 15, East Boston, meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 60 Chelsea St. Miss Jenny Segal, Secretary, 30 Chelsea St.

Branch No. 18, Newburyport, meets the second Monday of each month at Lester's Hall, 1 State St. E. F. McLean, Secretary, 39 Winter St. G. H. Evans, Treasurer, Prince Street.

Branch No. H. Chelsea, permanent headquarters.

Branch No. 1, Portland, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m. at Carpenter's Hall, 560 E. Baltimore St. Public invited.

Branch No. 2, Baltimore, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at Wenzel's Hall, 225 W. Camden St. Good speakers. Public invited. Levin T. Jones, Secretary, 202 W. Barre St.

Branch No. 2, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Mondays of each month at Springdale Turner Hall. H. Schlichting, Organizer, 30 1/2 Elm St.

Branch No. 5, Lynn, permanent headquarters, 71 Mulroe St. Business meeting every Monday night at 7:30. Open house. Public invited. Harry Göttinger, Secy, 425 Essex St.

Branch No. 9, Brockton, meets the second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at 8 p. m. for business at Socialist Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Center Sts. Every second Tuesday a public meeting is held at 8 p. m. at the same place.

Branch No. 15, East Boston, meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 60 Chelsea St. Miss Jenny Segal, Secretary, 30 Chelsea St.

Branch No. 18, Newburyport, meets the second Monday of each month at Lester's Hall, 1 State St. E. F. McLean, Secretary, 39 Winter St. G. H. Evans, Treasurer, Prince Street.

Branch No. H. Chelsea, permanent headquarters.

Branch No. 1, Portland, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m. at Carpenter's Hall, 560 E. Baltimore St. Public invited.

Branch No. 2, Baltimore, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at Wenzel's Hall, 225 W. Camden St. Good speakers. Public invited. Levin T. Jones, Secretary, 202 W. Barre St.

A PLEA FOR SOCIALISM

By Charles Trench

My working readers: have you ever attended one of our fashionable theaters? It is most probable that you have. Did the thought ever cross your mind that there was a glaring unfitness of things exhibited in what you saw around you? While you, and your wives, were crowded in a back row of uncomfortable seats, seeing little, and hearing less of the performance, did it not occur to you that you, the real creators of all the wealth and splendor around you, ought to be better accommodated? If you could not distinctly observe the actors, you could not, at any rate, fail to see the gorgeous beings who occupied the choicest seats and boxes, before and above you. "Even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these." Shame on it, that these gaudy puppets of fashion, who never lift a straw from the burden of humanity, are distinguished as the upper class of society!

Behold those groups of dames and dukes, jaded with dissipation, or bloated with sensuality. Think of it! Labor ill fed, ill housed, and ill clad, carries these worthless burdens upon its bending back. Labor lodges them in stately mansions; rolls them about in splendid equipages; clothes them in sumptuous raiment; feasts them, perfumes them, and bedizens them with diamonds and precious stones. What a rampant satire upon human nature! Bless me! Even one of those faded belles carries more jewels on her shriveled neck and arms than could maintain twenty workmen and their families for the remainder of their lives. Her husband wrecked three banks, and two railroads; with her, money is no object. Her only family consists of three little dogs, each with a collar worth ten thousand dollars on its neck; three lackeys, in livery, groom, comb, and wash them in Florida water every day.

How transcendently absurd it seems that poor toilers for bread, in pestiferous tenements and workshops, are obliged to pay for all this vulgar vanity and ostentation! Why, in the name of all that is rational, is this horrible anarchy of crime and injustice tolerated? I will tell you.

It is because labor, debarrd from all that gladdens, elevates, and embellishes life, has no time to reflect. The mind of labor has become more or less torpid and stultified through its prolonged and exhausting battle for existence. While wage-slaves are desperately struggling for a miserable pittance, money kings, trusts and other robbers are plundering them. Trades unions, rouse yourselves! The majority of you are enervated by excessive toil. Many of you are made drunkards and paupers by physical prostration, incurred by over-work. Your nerves being overtaxed, Nature cries aloud for stimulants, and you find them in the dram shops. Hypocrites and hirelings of capitalism endeavor to persuade you that poverty is caused by intemperance. But this nonsense does not hold water. Science and statistics inform us that poverty and overwork are responsible for nearly nine-tenths of the vices which degrade the working classes.

Capitalism and machinery are now the two thieves between whom labor is crucified. Demolish the first, and own the second, and then, and not till then, will the fetters of the wage-slave be broken. We have been drifting from bad to worse so long that only radical measures can rescue labor from the depths to which it has sunk. Machinery has become so effective that it has far outdone human skill and dexterity in all departments of industry. In fact, being monopolized by capitalism, it has inflicted a fearful amount of human suffering on the world. Indeed, the saying now is current that the more ignorant and more uncivilized the machine tender is, the better fitted he is for the service of capitalism.

Trades unions of America, what are you going to do about it? Dangers of greatest magnitude are looming on the horizon. You are one of the most powerful forces in American politics. The peril ahead are too glaring for such a large and energetic majority to remain passive. The tools of capitalism have so narcotized the nation by humbug and buncombe that large masses of the people cannot see the dark and threatening clouds that are gathering from almost every point of the compass. Go over the history of our legislation for the last thirty-odd years; and what has it been? An amount of aggravated treachery, duplicity and rascality never surpassed in history. The lavish sums of public money, thrown away in sham appropriations; the immense subsidies voted to trusts and corporations; the enormous and rapid increase of taxation—all add to the flames of insurrection which are kindling in every state of the Union.

Come then ye workers and join the Social Democratic party. Its platform is social ownership of all land and all instruments of productive industry. He is but a poor observer who cannot perceive that socialism is the only means of averting wide-spread violence and revolution.

Have your card inserted in the **BRANCH DIRECTORY**, 25 Cents per Month. It will help you in the work in your locality.

THE NEED OF THE HOUR

(Continued from First Page)

socialism, nor even that all of our members should; but I do know that before we can have the co-operative, commonwealth we have got to permeate this great mass of apathetic indifferent, hopeless workingmen and women with Socialist ideas, and the better we understand them ourselves the easier will be our task,—the more readily can we adapt our explanations to the degree of intelligence of our listeners. Because some foolish people have abused and made a laughing stock of the term "scientific socialism" is no reason why intelligent people should have any aversion to the term nor to the thing it implies. It is the plain duty of every member of a Socialist party to make himself so thoroughly acquainted with true scientific socialism that he will be able to explain it in simple, ordinary language whenever opportunity offers. It is a very easy matter to parrot a certain set of phrases, taken bodily from Marx or Engels; but it is quite a different and much more difficult thing to grasp the meaning of Marx and Engels, and translate their technical phrases to plain, every-day English. We must endeavor to get beyond the stage where we cannot recognize socialism unless it is dressed in a particular suit of clothes "made in Germany."

A good book to begin on is Vail's "Principles of Scientific Socialism." Hyndman's "Social Economics" is also good; and every Socialist should read the Kautsky pamphlets, and Engel's "Socialism, From Utopia to Science."

This advice is of course for the very new members. All the older ones have already read these books, of course. It should be our pride and our ambition to understand our subject thoroughly, and be able, either with tongue or pen, to give a reason for the faith that is in us, to defend our principles against all attacks, and to answer all kinds of questions. To my mind, this is an ambition even more laudable than to run for office on the S. D. P. ticket, and get a lot of personal advertising. There are other ways of working for the cause besides running for common council or representative to the great and general court. It is not the politician we need in our party just now. We will get enough of his kind without advertising in the "Want" column. What we need is Socialists, good, firm, thoroughly grounded Socialists, "and plenty of 'em," as the Bounder says—enough of them to serve as the necessary ballast to enable our craft to safely carry her giddy spread of political sail.

Finally, my brethren, get to work and study socialism. Let your minds be filled with its principles and your hearts with its lofty purposes. Let it be your ambition to teach socialism, rather than to run for office. Prepare yourselves to respond to calls such as the one which is the text of this sermon; and let all the branches, both old and new, make many more such calls upon the members of their own and other branches; for who knows but that the stammering maiden speech of the "plain, blunt man, who only speaks right on and tells them that which they themselves do know" may be the means of carrying the truths home to many hearts, and winning them to our cause.

LAW AND ORDER

The shooting of Gov.-elect W. Goebel of Kentucky, at Frankfort, is replete with significant meaning not merely to Socialists but also to that class from whose honest but misguided ranks many Socialists come—viz., the progressive wing of the Democratic party. Goebel was to the state of Kentucky what William Jennings Bryan is to the nation at large.

It is a well known fact that Milton H. Smith, president of the Louisville & Nashville railroad, whom Goebel had frequently condemned and proposed to attack when in the gubernatorial chair, had publicly declared that Goebel would be prevented from being sworn in, even if violence should be necessary.

Strange to say, the day before the shooting, Bryan made a speech here in Jersey City in which he stated that progressive democracy has nothing in common with either anarchism or socialism. Recklessly confusing either in malice or ignorance two opposite ideas and repudiating all connection with either in order to make himself and his policy acceptable to certain eastern Democrats who objected to his denunciatory tone towards the plutocracy, Bryan had barely finished his oration when from that state, truly termed since the time of Daniel Boone "The Dark and Bloody Ground," came the report of a Winchester and the dying groan of the chief executive of the state.

With the death of Goebel the capitalist opposition to the Democratic party ceases, because T. C. W. Beckham, the lieutenant governor-elect, is a man of upper class family, is more conservative in tone in politics, and not openly opposed to the plutocracy and railroad magnates. The incident is significant. Many imagine that the plain and undisguised socialism of the Social Democratic party could not be brought about without vigorous and even forcible measures, and that a gradual achievement of our ends along the line of moderate reform could be peacefully ob-

tained. Recent developments in Frankfort prove the contrary. Advocate a moderate reform by an advanced Democrat and you will be shot. Why not bluntly and openly demand the full platform of the Social Democrats; that is, ownership by a popular government of all the means of producing and transporting wealth? They cannot do more than shoot you.

One more peculiar feature worth commenting upon in this case is that the assassin is not a Lucheni misanthropic degenerate, ignorant and vulgar. The real murderers are railroad magnates and a Republican governor. There are honest but misguided Democrats, and to such I say: Come out from among them. Should you elect your man he will be sworn in with a Winchester. Do you fear anarchists and abhor violence? Then leave your associates, for they are the anarchists.

James Allman.

THE PLATFORM

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness for every man, woman and child are conditioned upon equal political and economic rights. That private ownership of the means of production and distribution of wealth has caused society to split into two distinct classes, with conflicting interests, the small possessing class of capitalists or exploiters of the labor force of others, and the vast and ever-increasing dispossessed class of wage-workers, who are deprived of the socially-due share of their product.

That capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people.

That the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system, will compel the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare, or result in the destruction of civilization.

That the trade union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors in the present struggle, and representing its economic, the other its political wing, and that both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system of production and distribution.

Therefore, the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be the establishment of a system of co-operative production and distribution through the restoration to the people of all the means of production and distribution, to be administered by organized society in the interest of the whole people, and the complete emancipation of society from the domination of capitalism.

The wage-workers and all those in sympathy with their historical mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America.

The control of political power by the Social Democratic Party will be tantamount to the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of Socialism.

The solidarity of labor connecting us with millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international Socialism, the brotherhood of man.

As steps in this direction, we make the following demands:

1. Revision of our antiquated Federal Constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to full and complete control of government by all the people, irrespective of sex.
2. The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.
3. The public ownership of all railroads, telegraph, telephone, all means of transportation, communication, water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.
4. The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal and all other mines; also of all oil and gas wells.
5. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.
6. The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.
7. All useful inventions to be free to all, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.
8. Labor legislation to be made national, instead of local, and international where possible.
9. National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.
10. Equal civil and political rights for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.
11. The adoption of the Initiative and Referendum, and of recall of representatives by the voters.
12. Abolition of war as far as the United States is concerned and the introduction of international arbitration instead.

RECEPTION AND BALL

will be given to the two

SOCIALIST MAYORS OF MASSACHUSETTS

MAYOR CHASE OF HAVERHILL AND MAYOR COULTER OF BROCKTON WHO WILL ADDRESS THE AUDIENCE, AT MANHATTAN LYCEUM, 66-68 E. FOURTH STREET, NEW YORK CITY, ON THE EVENING OF

MONDAY, FEB. 26, 1900

AT 8 O'CLOCK

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

ADMISSION TWENTY-FIVE CENTS

The Sixth Annual Issue of

The Labour Annual

is now ready, edited and published by Joseph Edwards, Wallasey, Cheshire, England

The "American Section" (edited by Leonard D. Abbott) contains the following: "A Year's Work as Socialist Mayor," by John C. Carey; "A Year as Socialist Legislator," by James P. Carey; "Socialism in America During 1899," etc. There are full lists of American reformers, organizations and books. In all, there are 612 original articles, and 46 portraits, including Carey, Gronlund, Heron, May, and John Swin too. Cloth 60 cts.; Paper 35 cts.

Send orders to LEONARD D. ABBOTT, 236 W. 71st Street, New York

BRANCH SUPPLIES

Charts \$2.00
Membership Cards (per 100) 1.00
Membership Applications (100) .25
Constitutions (each) .03

Send orders with cash to Theodore Debs, 126 Washington Street, Chicago. No supplies sent on credit.

Subscribers will find their expiration number on wrapper. Prompt renewal is requested.

NATIONAL FUND

The following is a list of comrades who have agreed, in response to the appeal of the National Executive Board, to contribute monthly for one year to the national fund. Other names will be added as they are received.

CONNECTICUT		NEW YORK	
Finch, N. H.	Hartford	Fales, L. C.	Bensonhurst
Holman, E. H.	Hartford	Abbott, L. D.	New York
Sheehan, J. J.	Chicago	Butcher, W. M.	Brooklyn
James Cox	Chicago	Thomas, E. H.	New York
P. F. Ayer	Chicago	Kahn, Arthur	New York
A. Frisbie	Chicago	Klein, W.	New York
Dr. J. H. Green	Chicago	Loupoloy, Jas.	New York
Mrs. C. Brown	Chicago	Pankon, J.	New York
"Friend"	Chicago	Weyell, Chas.	New York
James Wright	Chicago	Mark Hapshel	New York
		Aaron S. Sodoff	New York
		Philip Graber	New York
		Meade, T. F.	Brooklyn
INDIANA		NEW JERSEY	
E. V. Debe	Terre Haute	Pankopf, Carl	Jersey City
MASSACHUSETTS		Karl Lindner	Paterson
Flanders, F. B.	Haverhill	"Comrade"	Newark
Cohen, A. J.	Boston		
Parker, Levi	W. Newton		
Monette, G. C.	Brookline		
North, W. F.	Brookline		
Tate, Peter	Everett		
Hitchcock, D. G.	Warren		
Goldman, S.	Haverhill		
Wough, E. W.	Worcester		
Chase, J. C.	Haverhill		
Brown, J. W.	Templeton		
Graves, C. B.	Amesbury		
Allen, Helen M.	Lynn		
Koors, Dr. J.	Haverhill		
Carry, Jas. F.	Haverhill		
MICHIGAN		OHIO	
Kalther, B.	Grand Rapids	Bosvar, Jos.	Cleveland
MINNESOTA		Zorn, Julius	Cleveland
Geswein, F. R.	De Lake Falls	Brann, F.	Cleveland
MISSOURI		Allenberndt, C.	Cleveland
Flacher, Wm.	St. Louis	PENNSYLVANIA	
Fellner, Henry	St. Louis	Lewis, J. H.	Pittsburgh
Eneche, Wm.	St. Louis	F. W. Hirt	Erie
MARYLAND		TENNESSEE	
Jacobson, E.	Baltimore	Enloe, Dr. B. H.	Nashville
NEW HAMPSHIRE		Hamilton, W. A.	Nashville
Gordon, F. G.	Barnstable	Manney, Wm.	Nashville
Chattel, George	Manchester	TEXAS	
Mar, Geo.	Manchester	Price, R. S.	Houston
Thwait, J. H.	Boston	WISCONSIN	
"Bomeworth Branch"		Berger, V. L.	Milwaukee
		Rooney, E. H.	Milwaukee
		Ziegler, E.	Milwaukee
		Dorner, John	Milwaukee
		Baumann, G.	Milwaukee
		Arnold, L.	Milwaukee
		Meister, E.	Milwaukee
		Hessman, G.	Milwaukee
		Tittle, H.	Milwaukee
		Heath, F.	Milwaukee
		Branch 4	Milwaukee

The Book You Need

PRINCIPLES OF Scientific Socialism

By Rev. Charles H. Vail

Author "Modern Socialism" and "National Ownership of Railways."

CONTENTS:

- The Industrial Revolution. The Analysis of Value. The Origin of Capitalism.
- The Advantages of Socialism: Production, Distribution, Elimination of Unpleasant Occupations, Prevention of Waste, Elevation of Woman, Proper Care and Training of Children, Efficient Directors, Solution of the Social Question, Prevention of Crime, Simplification of Government, Benefits to Capitalists, Benefits to Laborers.
- The Evidence of the Moral Strength of Socialism: Its Spirit and Aim; Abolition of Business Dishonesty; Restriction of Divorce; Prevention of Prostitution; Elimination of Crime; Prevention of Intemperance, Insanity, etc.
- Poverty—Its Cause and Cure. Wage Slavery vs. Chattel Slavery. Root and Interest. The Law of Wages. The Law of Progress. Industrial Depressions and Commercial Crises. The Problem of Labor-Saving Machinery.
- Popular Economic Errors: That Value is Determined by Capitalist Cost of Production; that the Interests of Laborers and Capitalists are identical; that Labor is Better Off Today Than Ever Before; that Cheap Prices are Beneficial to Labor; that Foreign Markets are Beneficial to Labor; that Luxury is Beneficial to Labor; that Land Nationalization Would Solve the Social Question; that Extravagance is the Chief Cause of Economic Want; that Socialism Would Thwart Inventions and Improvements; that Socialism Would Destroy Individuality. Conclusion and Index.

12mo, 228 Pages; Paper, 25c; Cloth, \$1.00.

HEADQUARTERS FOR LITERATURE.

- 1. Liberty, Debs. 5c.
- 2. Merrie England, Blatchford. 10c.
- 3. Municipal Socialism, Gordon. 5c.
- 4. Prison Labor, Debs. 5c.
- 5. Socialism and Slavery, Hyndman. 5c.
- 6. Goeman's Leap of Railways, Gordon. 5c.
- 7. Oration on Voltaire, Victor Hugo. 5c.
- 8. Evolution of Industry, Watkins. 5c.
- 9. Hard Times: Cause and Cure, Gordon. 5c.
- 10. Women in the Past, Present and Future, Behal. 25c.
- 11. The Red Light, Casan. 25c.
- 12. The Pullman Strike, Curwardine. 25c.
- 13. Co-operative Commonwealth, Gronlund. 50c.
- 14. The New Economy, Gronlund. 15c.

- 15. Progressive Examination of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen. Hill. 50c.
- 16. Locomotive Running and Management. Hill. 50c.
- 17. Simple Lessons in Drawing for the Shop. Reynolds. 50c.
- 18. Air Brake Practice. Phelan. \$1.00.
- 19. Ready Reference. Alexander. \$1.50.
- 20. Locomotive Running and Management. Hill. 50c.
- 21. Compound Locomotives. Woods. \$2.00.
- 22. Twenty Years with the Indicator. Pray. \$2.50.
- 23. Hand-Book of the Locomotive. Roper. \$2.50.
- 24. The Mechanism of the Locomotive. Forney. \$1.50.

Note.—Nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 in lots of 10 copies, 25 cents; in lots of 100 copies, \$1.50. No. 2 in lots of 10 copies, 50 cents; in lots of 100 copies, \$2.50. Send orders to

DEBS PUBLISHING CO., TERRE HAUTE, IND.

When visiting Greater New York you desire to meet comrades, go to the

INTERNATIONAL CAFE AND RESTAURANT

428 Grand St., Near Attorney NEW YORK CITY

Prompt attention and satisfaction guaranteed. All are welcome.

CAREY'S SPEECHES

"CHILD LABOR" Delivered in the Massachusetts Legislature. The popular verdict pronounced it simply "great."

"SOCIETY'S RIGHT TO LAND AND CAPITAL" An argument that is irresistible, couched in language clear, graceful and poetic. Don't fail to order this.

Price 5 cents a copy, or \$3.00 a hundred. Send orders to MRS. A. KONIKOW, 1043 Washington St., Boston

Pacific Coast Socialists

Books on economic subjects can be ordered to your advantage from the Bureau of Socialist Literature, 25 Turk Street, San Francisco, Cal.

Following is a list of the works of G. B. BENHAM, which we recommend:

History of the Paris Commune of 1871, paper cover. 50 cents; full cloth. \$0.75

Gospel of Discontent (compilation). .15

Snaps Shots at Capitalism (compilation). .15

Story of the Red Flag. .15

Crimes of Capitalism. .15

G. B. BENHAM, 25 Turk Street, San Francisco, Cal.

JOS. BARONDESS FIRE AND LIFE INSURANCE

Life Insurance offered by mail in any part of the country. Fire Insurance extended to in Greater New York and New Jersey. 6 Rutgers St., NEW YORK.

CLUBBING OFFERS

The Herald and Appeal to Reason .70

"Public Ownership" .70

Order from THEODORE DEBS, 126 Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

RED BOOK

EDITED BY FREDERIC WEATH

Printed on Photo Paper. Handsomely Illustrated.

This is an annual publication for Social Democrats who will find it indispensable for reference purposes. This first issue is of especial value because of the historical character of its contents. Among the features are:

A HISTORY OF SOCIALISM IN AMERICA Covering 76 pages, with portraits of Robert Owen, Etienne Cabet, Wilhelm Weitling, etc., etc.

ALBERT BRIDHANE The first American agitator, with portrait.

A TRIP TO GILDED By Wayfarer, with view of Appeal to Reason office.

KARL MARX ON THE SINGLE TAX MACHINE vs. HAND LABOR Compiled from government reports by Leader Lofel.

NUMEROUS PICTURES Labor Conflicts in 1899. Gronlund. Grant Allen. Chronology for 1899. Directory of Social Democrats. Socialist Controversies of 1899. The "Golden Rule" Mayor. From Heron's Oration. Social Democratic Platforms, etc.

BIOGRAPHIES OF WELL KNOWN SOCIAL DEMOCRATS. Twenty in all.

ELECTION STATISTICS Covering the Socialist movement down to the present year. A valuable reference.

A SOCIALIST PORTRAIT GALLERY Comprising seventeen likenesses of leading workers in the movement, distributed through the book.

Send postpaid on receipt of price, 15 CENTS. DEBS PUBLISHING CO., TERRE HAUTE, IND.

Pocket Library of Socialism

1. Woman and the Social Problem. By MAY WOOD SIMONS. Shows that the emancipation of woman will only come with the emancipation of man through socialism.
2. The Evolution of the Class Struggle. By WILLIAM H. HERRON. A historical study showing how socialism is coming.
3. Imprudent Marriages. By ROBERT BLATCHFORD. A masterly answer to the argument that "prudence" would help the laborer.
4. Peeling Potatoes. By A. M. SIMONS. A study of the Union Stock Yards, Chicago; how nature and man are alike scientifically exploited.
5. Realism in Literature and Art. By CHARLES R. DAWSON. Shows how the works of modern art and literature are helping on the new social order.
6. Single Tax vs. Socialism. By A. M. SIMONS. Shows the inadequacy of the Single Tax as a remedy for the evils pointed out by Henry George.
7. Wage-Labor and Capital. By KARL MARX. The essence of the great philosopher's theory, in his own words.
8. The Mass Under the Machine. By A. M. SIMONS. Tells how wage slavery began, what it is today and how the workers are going to free themselves. A condensed handbook of socialism.
9. The History of the Working Class. By REV. CHARLES H. VAIL, author of "Modern Socialism," etc.
10. Morals and Socialism. By CHARLES H. KERR. Shows how popular ideas of morals are manipulated in the interest of the capitalist class.

Daintily printed, five cents each, post-paid.

SPECIAL OFFER—For one dollar we will mail forty copies of the Pocket Library, all of one kind or assorted as preferred.

SEND ORDERS TO THEODORE DEBS, 126 Washington St., CHICAGO

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LIBRARY

- Karl Marx, Capital, Cloth. \$2.00
- F. W. Sprague—Socialism, from Genesis to Revelation. Cloth. 1.00
- Gronlund—The Co-operative Commonwealth. Paper.50
- August Bebel—Woman: Past, Present and Future.50
- Blatchford—Merrie England.50
- Edward Bellamy—Looking Backward.50
- Henry George—Social Problems.50
- Lissagay—History of the Communist of 1871.50
- Charles Vail—Modern Socialism.50
- Asplund—Heterodox Economics and Orthodox Profits.50
- Henry D. Lloyd—Wealth Against Commonwealth. 1.00
- Volney—The Ruins of Empires.50
- Thomas Paine—The Rights of Man.50
- Henry George—Social Problems.50
- Osborne Ward—The Ancient Law.50
- Adams—President John Smith.50
- Richard T. Ely—Socialism and Social Reform. 1.00
- Buchner—Man in the Past, Present and Future. 1.00
- Benham—A History of the Paris Commune 1871. (cloth 75c.), paper cover.50
- Charles H. Vail—Principles of Scientific Socialism. . . .

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

VOL. II. No. 37

CHICAGO, ILL., U. S. A., SATURDAY, MARCH 3, 1900.

Whole No. 87.

MILWAUKEE SOCIALISTS IN CONVENTION ASSEMBLED

Grand and Harmonious Gathering
Under the Banner of Social Demo-
cracy—Union of Working Class

TRADES UNIONISTS IN THE FOREFRONT

The S. L. P. with Three Delegates Joins
Forces with the Social Demo-
cratic Party of America

Frederic Heath Nominated for Mayor

Social Democrats began the spring campaign last Monday evening (Feb. 12) by a nominating convention that was remarkable in many ways. The big hall of the Deutscher Maennerverein, at State and Eighth streets, was crowded to the doors. It was an assemblage highly creditable to the political labor movement, and some of the old stagers in labor circles declared that its like had never been seen, and that the People's party even in its palmy days in Milwaukee had never had such an imposing convention.

When the hour for opening the meeting arrived, Victor L. Berger, as state organizer for the party, appeared upon the stage and declared the convention in session. He made an address of welcome and then announced a song by the Socialistic Maennerchor. The boys sang with enthusiasm and were loudly applauded. Robert Mister was chosen temporary chairman and Eugene Rooney temporary secretary. Mr. Meister then named the following committees:

On credentials—Comrades George Moerschel, Jacob Hunger, Emil Seidel, Edward Ziegler and Dr. H. C. Berger. On order of business—Comrades Louis Wieman, C. A. Blodgett and J. C. Underhill.

While the committees were at work Comrade Frederic G. Strickland, of Chicago, was introduced to the convention, and made a stirring address.

The committees then reported. The report on credentials showed a total of 147 delegates, of which 37 were from the branches of the party, 43 from the wards, and 67 from the various trade unions. The delegates were then seated according to the localities and organizations, and there was applause when the union delegates took their seats, the representatives of the Socialist Labor party also receiving like courtesy.

While the committees were out Dr. Titus Voelkel made an address in German.

The committee on resolutions reported the following:

"Whereas: The trade union movement of the working class is an inevitable manifestation of the struggle between capital and labor and is absolutely necessary to resist the superior economic power of capital and to maintain their standard of life; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we hereby reaffirm the expression of our national convention in this respect and recommend to all members of our party to join the organization to which they respectively belong, and we also pledge ourselves to patronize every union label in the market; furthermore, be it

"Resolved, That we fully recognize that the exploitation of the working people will cease only when society gets a hold of the production and distribution, and that we therefore brand as traitors and Judases such trade union leaders who for their personal gain try to hide the class struggle and hold the union men to the capitalist party."

Then a communication was presented by Section Milwaukee, Socialist Labor party, which was as follows:

"Whereas: Our national convention has declared in favor of union of all Socialist forces;

"Resolved, That Section Milwaukee make no nominations in the spring campaign, for the reason that the Social Democracy party represents the class conscious labor party in Milwaukee and as our national convention, held in Rochester, N. Y., January 27, 1900, has declared that the Social Democratic party is a class conscious labor party, therefore Section Milwaukee deems it advisable to join forces with the Social Democratic party."

Nominations were now declared in order. For mayor, Howard Tuttle, C. A. Blodgett and Frederic Heath were nominated. Comrade Blodgett withdrew his name. The balloting resulted as follows:

Heath—95.

Tuttle—50.

On motion of Comrade Berger the nomination of Comrade Heath was made unanimous, and Mr. Heath thanked the convention for the honor it did him.

For comptroller the nomination came thick and fast, Comrades Max Hinz, Edw. Ziegler, Nicholas Schwinn, Gustave Richter and Louis Arnold being named. All save Comrade Hinz declined and he was nominated by acclamation. Mr. Hinz thanked the conven-

tion and promised to stand by the fight to the bitter end.

Comrades Jacob Hunger, Eugene Rooney, John Doerfler, Thomas C. P. Myers, Howard Tuttle and Albert Forman were nominated for treasurer, but all declined out Myers and Tuttle, and the following vote was taken:

Tuttle—100.

Myers—43.

Mr. Tuttle was declared the nominee, and as he was absent from the city, a delegate announced that he had agreed to serve in any capacity the party saw fit to demand his services.

The convention then gave to the central committee the right to fill vacancies and to conduct the campaign.

Before the convention adjourned speeches were made by John Moser and Eugene Rooney.

The platform adopted declares against public franchises to corporations, in favor of attorneys for the poor, free medicines and baths, coal, wood and ice at cost, abolition of the slums and one daily meal to all school children, and says:

"The Social Democratic party of America is the American expression of the international movement of modern wage workers for better food, better houses, more sleep, more leisure, more education, and more culture. Those who toil with hands and brain are the producers of all wealth, but as laws are now made in the interest of property rather than men, the rights of the workers, although they are in the great majority, are ignored."

What shall be the edition of the big double number of The Herald, March 17, with all its special features designed to interest people in Socialism this year? That depends on how well the comrades and readers co-operate with us. We can make arrangements for printing a million copies, but must have orders in advance. Order a thousand copies for propaganda in your town.

A Stunning Lie

The latest of the philosophers to discuss Truth is Mark Twain, who gives it as his idea that the greatest lie on record is Carlyle's "stunning lie" that "a lie shall not live."

The truest thing known to Mark Twain is "the universal conspiracy of the silent-assertion lie," "the silent colossal national lie that is the support and confederate of all the tyrannies and shams and inequalities and unfairnesses that afflict the peoples," "a most majestic lie that the civilizations made it their sacred and anxious care to guard and watch and propagate."

Mark gives examples: "For instance," he says, "it would not be possible for a humane and intelligent person to invent a rational excuse for slavery; yet you will remember that in the early days of the emancipation agitation in the north the agitators got but small help or countenance from any one. Argue and plead and pray as they might, they could not break the universal stillness that reigned, from pulpit and press all the way down to the bottom of society—the clammy stillness created and maintained by the lie of silent assertion—the silent assertion that there wasn't anything going on in which humane and intelligent people were interested."

"From the beginning of the Dreyfus case to the end of it all France, except a couple of dozen moral paladins, lay under the smother of the silent-assertion lie that no wrong was being done to a persecuted and unoffending man. The like smother was over England lately, a good half of the population silently letting on that they were not aware that Mr. Chamberlain was trying to manufacture a war in South Africa, and was willing to pay fancy prices for the materials."

"Now here we have instances of three prominent ostensible civilizations working the silent-assertion lie. Could one find other instances in the three countries? I think so. Not so very many, perhaps, but say a billion—just so as to keep within bounds. Are those countries working that kind of lie, day in and day out, in thousands and thousands of varieties, without ever resting? Yes, we know that to be true. The universal conspiracy of the silent-assertion lie is hard at work always and everywhere, and always in the interest of a stupidity or a sham, never in the interest of a thing fine or respectable. It is the most timid and shabby of all lies? It seems to have the look of it. For ages and ages it has mutely labored in the interest of despotisms and aristocracies and chattel slaveries and military slaveries and religious slaveries, and has kept them alive; keeps them alive yet, here and there and yonder, all about the globe; and will go on keeping them alive until the silent-assertion lie retires from business—the silent assertion that nothing is going on which fair and intelligent men are aware of and are engaged by their duty to try to stop."

MERLIN'S MIXTURE

A Crisis.

There come times, in the lives of persons and of parties, when a word or an act decides the character of destiny. Fortune and Failure, in self-same apparel, and with features alike, present themselves before us. Future fate is dependent on the choice.

To such a time do we, as a party, now approach. The question of union with an organization similar in plan and purpose to our own comes up for settlement. It is the issue, just now, of paramount importance.

Upon its wise settlement much depends. A misstep just at this critical time in the progress of American socialism and of our branch of it, might cause incalculable harm. On the other hand, the wise welding of the kindred socialist forces into a united and harmonious whole would be of vast help to the movement.

Hence it is a question that calls for our most careful consideration and our most conscientious judgment.

An Unbiased View.

It is imperative that we approach the matter with unbiased minds. From the circumstances of the case it is almost impossible for us not to be prejudiced, and to have conceptions of persons and things that hinder an unbiased opinion.

How often an old prejudice blinds one to a new truth! How often a little venom, like a speck of dust in the eye, obscures our vision of the right and best! How often a petty dislike of a person leads to the pettish rejection of the principle or party for which that person professedly stands!

And so in this matter of union we are in danger of being biased by sentiment on one side or by prejudice on the other. Who of us, on hearing that magic word "unite," is not moved to fling caution to the winds and exercise only an open-handed hospitality? And on the other hand, how many there are of us whose memories still involuntarily weave the thorns of unhappy association around the letters S. L. P.?

It is needful, therefore, to lay aside the rosy glasses of sentiment and the smoked glasses of prejudice, and to look, with keen, unobscured eyes at the problem presented.

Socialism or Socialism?

One thing that must be done is to distinguish between socialism and socialism. The failure to do this has resulted in many misconceptions and mistakes.

What I mean is this: Socialism is the mental product of an individual mind, arbitrarily applied to the social life of a nation. It is a system of industrial life that has been marked out by scientific rule and compass, without regard to human fault or change.

Socialism is the result of the gradual evolution of industry, fitting itself to the changes and the needs of man. It is the great principle of social justice slowly asserting itself in spite of capital's opposition and labor's apathy.

The one plans to banish winter by means of stoves, while the other simply waits the warm breath of summer.

The one marks out a path, and curses all who do not walk therein, while the other sees that myriad paths may lead toward the same goal.

The one is a magic formula for social health, locked in a party chest, while the other is a gradual outworking of a natural law.

Our Cussed Conceit.

There was once an old Scotch lady whose mind was somewhat perturbed concerning the orthodoxy of her fellow members in the kirk. One day, while speaking of them, she exclaimed, emphatically, "There's nane o' them soand save the meenister and mesel", and I ha'e ma doots aboot him, ye ken!"

And there are Socialists, and Socialist parties, who constitute themselves the keepers of orthodoxy. In the words of Scripture, they say "I am the door. By me, if any man enter in, he shall be saved. Whoever climbeth in some other way, the same is a thief and a robber."

If they are to be believed, they are the divinely-appointed guardians of the only gate leading into the co-operative commonwealth, and every candidate for entrance must first pass under their rod.

Now it may be that we are not altogether free from that spirit. As a matter of fact, we are not. There are not a few of us who, considering the power and promise of our particular party, consider that we, and we alone, are the particular seed from which shall sprout the tree of national socialism.

In our eighteen months' life, we have not had time to develop many faults, and as we draw back our skirts from the de-

filement of those whose ragged dress proclaim a rougher road and a longer journey, some call it caution. Others call it conceit.

Movements and Men.

Again we must remember that movements are infinitely larger than men. We are so apt to pin our faith to a leader, and regard him as the soul, head, and heart of the movement, and we degrade the movement and ourselves into subservient helplessness.

I stand upon the beach. The foremost wave rolls proudly in, and as it breaks, it groans, "There, the tide is defeated, for I am broken." Is it? Does not the tide roll irresistibly in, in spite of the broken waves in front?

And so the movement of socialism is not thwarted or retarded by the fall of a leader, or the change of a party. The form may alter but the fact and the force remain the same.

I have seen small bodies of Socialists mapping out, in their half-wisdom, a certain plan of action and prophesying universal doom if their dictum be not adopted. But the movement sweeps on, overturning their petty plans, and the predicted disaster does not appear.

And more, no single individual can stay a live movement. Some of us here in the east are afraid, in these unionist days, of a certain Eve getting into our political Eden and raising Cain.

But, by the gods, if we can be bested by a woman, then the sooner we dig our graves the better.

A Plea for Peace.

Hence, in this matter of union, let us avoid being biased, let us not be overly self-righteous, let us recognize the unity of socialistic force, and face the problem with a dominant desire to adopt the course which seems to us best adapted to the present needs of the Socialist movement.

If it be possible to effect a satisfactory union with the non-conformist branch of the S. L. P., let every Social Democrat rejoice, and be ready to give the hand of welcome to our new allies. A union has advantages of marvelous merit, and it will be a matter for sincere thankfulness if it can wisely be effected.

Get rid of that damnable distrust of those who wear a badge different from your own. Sometimes I think that Socialists, in their revulsion of sentiment against the trusts, have adopted the principle of constant distrust.

And if, on the other hand, union be not deemed advisable at this present juncture, let us see that our chance for work is not impaired. Union or no union, we must forge ahead, agitate, educate, organize, elect, gathering the ever increasing converts of socialism into orderly ranks, preparatory to the future fight.

I do not here advise as to the matter of settlement of prejudice, and a willingness to fit oneself into new conditions for the continuance of the old fight.

A NEW CONVERT

Dr. Blumhardt, a famous Protestant clergyman of Wurtemberg, Germany, has astounded the church and state by an open declaration in favor of Social Democracy. From his address, which has been published throughout Germany, we take the following:

"When I look at the present condition of the workingman, I much despair that civilization and Christianity have not yet produced better results. Through legislative enactments practically no substantial improvement of the condition of the poor has been or can be accomplished. I can see no way for permanent betterment except by an absolute reorganization of the social status of modern society. For many years it has been my conviction that no religion is worth anything that can not transform society and raise it to a higher and better level and make men happy here on earth. In this sense I understand the Scriptures, and in that sense I understand my Christ. And therefore I feel myself inwardly related to those people who are charged with aiming at a Utopia; I am their associate and one with them in spirit. May the time come when money shall not be the measure of all things and of all values, but the life and happiness of man shall become the chief thing."

"Let it not be regarded as astonishing that a man who confesses the Lord Jesus Christ acknowledges his agreement with the ideas of Social Democracy, with the poor working people of the land. For Christ Himself was of the lowly. He was crucified because He was a Socialist; twelve members of the proletariat were His apostles. People are mistaken when they think a man ceases to be a Christian when he joins the proletariat. Paul did the same thing. It is impossible that the present condition of affairs should continue among the working people, and this change must be effected along the lines pointed out by Social Democracy."

Have your card inserted in the BRANCH DIRECTORY, 25 Cents per Month. It will help you in the work in your locality.

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY A LIVING MOVEMENT

Great Gains Made by the Party at
Erie, Pa., Results in Overthrow
of the Republican Machine

PROMISING OUTLOOK FOR NOVEMBER

As Usual the Capitalistic Press Undertakes
to Suppress the News and
Deceive the People

Five Hundred Votes for Socialism

[Special Report to The Herald.]

Erie, Pa., Feb. 24, 1900.

From the returns filed in the prothonotary's office we furnish The Herald with the facts about the contest Tuesday that our city papers failed, through a tacit understanding, to give to their readers. This is one of the dirty tricks of capitalism—to keep anything from its readers that will tend to destroy their game of buncoing and deceiving the people. In the November election for the office of register and recorder there were polled 6,075 votes in the city. Of these Comrade Allen polled 197, or 3.2 per cent.

In the recent election there was polled 6,093 votes, of which the Social Democratic Party polled 485, or about 8 per cent, and the Socialist Labor Party, the De Leon faction, 60 votes, or 1 per cent. Thus, comrades and brothers, having polled 3 per cent last fall, in three months' time we have made the handsome, flattering and hopeful increase of 300 per cent at this election, when we polled over 9 per cent.

These men have voted and are with us to stay in the ranks of brotherhood—Socialism—to be no longer partisans but brothers indeed. Had a full vote been polled the Social Democratic Party would have polled 1,000 votes. Many a stay-at-home, democrat and republican, did not come to the polls for the reason, they are reading and thinking as they have never read or thought before, and who will come in and help themselves and their brothers' interest by voting for the ticket this presidential year for a Socialist president.

Every man who voted the ticket should drop a letter to Walter H. Miller, 552 East Eighth street, the able and efficient city chairman, congratulating him upon the victory gained and pledging him their further support. Write him anyway; he wants to meet personally every man who voted the ticket. With the nucleus of 500 votes we can make it 5,000 votes this fall in the city. Now, comrades and brothers, do your duty and write him at once.

The daily papers have given you their side, so we will give you the side untold:

First Ward—
Alley, Select Council—First district, 10; Second, 11; Third, 9; Fourth, 30; Fifth, 5. Total, 65.

Eisert, School Director—First district, 18; Second, 14; Third, 10; Fourth, 34; Fifth, 7. Total, 83.

Socialist Labor ticket, 10.

Second Ward—
O'Sullivan, Common Council—First district, 8; Second, 8; Third, 10; Fourth, 11; Fifth, 11; Sixth, 17; Seventh, 7; Eighth, 6. Total, 78.

Dummond, School Director—First district, 8; Second, 12; Third, 11; Fourth, 21; Fifth, 10; Sixth, 13; Seventh, 9; Eighth, 5. Total, 80.

Socialist Labor ticket, highest vote, 28.

Third Ward—
Rappold, Select Council—First district, 13; Second, 1; Third, 9; Fourth, 8; Fifth, 7; Sixth, 12; Seventh, 20. Total, 70.

Reed, School Director—First district, 13; Second, 1; Third, 13; Fourth, 8; Fifth, 5; Sixth, 12; Seventh, 21. Total, 73.

Social Labor ticket, 4.

Fourth Ward—
Anderson, Common Council—First district, 21; Second, 1; Third, 12; Fourth, 48; Fifth, 4; Sixth, 5. Total, 91.

Donlin, Common Council—First district, 13; Second, 1; Third, 9; Fourth, 24; Fifth, 3; Sixth, 6. Total, 56.

Willrich, School Director—First district, 22; Second, 1; Third, 12; Fourth, 11; Fifth, 4; Sixth, 11. Total, 91.

No Social Labor ticket.

Fifth Ward—
Blair, Select Council—First district, 8; Second, 14; Third, 4; Fourth, 14. Total, 40.

Benson, School Director—First district, 18; Second, 29; Third, 11; Fourth, 48. Total, 106.

Socialist Labor ticket, 15.

Sixth Ward—
Smith Common Council—First district, 9; Second, 4; Third, 17; Fourth, 7. Total, 37.

McLeod, Common Council—First district, 12; Second, 6; Third, 19; Fourth, 7. Total, 44.

Sauers, School Director—First district, 16; Second, 4; Third, 17; Fourth, 6. Total, 43.

Social Democratic Herald

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board
JESSE COX, Chairman
SEYMOUR STEEDMAN, Secretary
EUGENE V. DEBS, Treasurer
FREDERICK HEATH

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, \$5.00. Six months, \$3.00. No papers sent to any one on credit. If, without having subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and no bill will follow. Foreign subscriptions \$1.00.

Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

A. S. EDWARDS, Editor
THEODORE DEBS, National Sec'y-Treas.
126 Washington St., Chicago.

87 is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 88 your subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, MAR. 3, 1900.

The double number of The Herald to be printed March 17 will be a good thing. Snap it up and start the national campaign right, by spreading the light among your friends and neighbors. That one issue will make Socialists and votes this year. Order a bundle.

THE UNIVERSAL PROVIDER

The office of the great department store as a universal provider has seldom been more strikingly shown than in the recent application of an Iowa farmer to a store in Dubuque for a wife. The store management advertised that they could furnish absolutely anything a person could want, and informed the reader that if the article desired was not on hand they would "hustle around and get it." The advertisement chanced to fall under the notice of a lonesome farmer in want of a wife. He wrote the business manager of the universal provider and in less than a week letters were received from four women who were willing to share his joys and sorrows. The latest account said he was undecided which one he would marry, but was sure to take one of them, and he was satisfied that these modern department stores were really a good thing.

Do not forget or fail to order 100 or 500 copies of the big double number of The Herald to be printed March 17. Will contain complete report of the convention, special contributed articles, facts and data for the propaganda, illustrations, etc. A splendid number to start the campaign with. One cent per copy. Every branch should order not less than 500 copies.

THE LOUD BILL PASSES

The readiness of the average American politician to assail the rights of the people with laws designed to curtail freedom of speech and dissemination of intelligence is well illustrated in the successful passage of what is known as the Loud bill, the operation of which will impose unjust burdens upon thousands of publishers and prove ruinous to many. It is characteristic of a large majority of lawmakers that instead of directing their efforts to the removal of real grievances, they turn their official opportunities to account in behalf of the system they uphold; that is to say, capitalists politicians legislate for their masters and not for the people.

For years there has been an opportunity for some patriotic statesman with a consuming desire to prove that the people are represented at Washington and have some influence there as well as corporation lobbyists, by pushing a measure to correct the gross inequity of rates paid by our capitalistic government to private railroad companies for carrying the mails. But Republican and Democratic statesmen are never found in that kind of a "push." Any attempt on that line has met with the interested opposition of those who are in Washington to represent the railroads.

It has never been a matter of surprise to those acquainted with the truth as to the exorbitant charges of the railroads for carrying mail, that the postoffice department has year after year shown a growing deficit in proportion to the amount of mail carried. For years attention had been called to this, long even before Mr. Loud began his systematic attack on free publication in the name of economy. For years it has been known that the chief cause of postal deficits was corporation pillage. But the corporations being strongly entrenched at the nation's capital and having greater influence there than the people, the so-called statesmen have been allowed to make reputations for themselves by adding to the burdens of the people and winking at the depredations of the capitalist class.

THE QUESTION OF UNION

The question of greatest immediate importance to all militant Socialists in the United States, and one in which a multitude of people as yet unaffiliated with any Socialist organization also have a lively and expectant interest, is that of the proposed union of the Socialist Labor party and the Social Democratic party. Our readers are aware that this subject was discussed pro and con in these columns for three months, beginning last November, and with very few exceptions the expressions of opinion

published have been favorable to union. We make this statement at this time for the purpose of correcting a misunderstanding based upon a partial acquaintance with the facts, and because of what has appeared to The Herald as a studied effort on the part of prominent advocates of union to discredit, in advance of the Indianapolis convention, the motive of some of the comrades officially connected with the S. D. P. The matter of union is one concerning which there is and can be, at bottom, only one opinion. That it is most desirable none are bold enough to question. The Social Democratic party stands for unification of the Socialist forces of this country. It has so stood from the day of its organization. If individual members differ as to the first thing to be done in order that union may eventually be reached, who shall question their right, in the light of the experience of the past, so to do? It is just possible that as much virtue may be contained in a word of caution as in a whirlwind of clamor. At any rate neither party to the prospective negotiations has a monopoly of virtue and disinterested devotion to the cause of socialism in this country. Let that much, at least, be understood and conceded, then perhaps the path to ultimate union will have one turn less.

There is not, there has never been at any time since the Rochester convention, the slightest doubt that the representatives of the S. L. P. to Indianapolis would be received in a fraternal spirit, with cordial greeting and good fellowship, and any intimation to the contrary, from whatever source it has come, is a jarring note, well calculated, whether designedly or not, to promote a propaganda of discord.

Delegates to the Indianapolis convention will go there imbued with one spirit and actuated by one motive—to do the best thing for the advance of socialism in this monopoly-ruled and capitalist-owned country. What that action will be The Herald does not assume to say. That will be a matter for the convention to decide and we have no doubt that, acting in the full light of all the information they will have, the delegates will do the thing that is best and wisest for the cause of socialism.

NOTES AND COMMENT

The organization of the sash and door manufacturers of Chicago into a trust will effect the following savings in the operation of thirty-two establishments:

Saving in operation.....	\$346,382
Saving in interest.....	25,000
Saving in discounts.....	25,000
Saving in purchases.....	175,000
Saving in equalization of prices.....	125,000
Total.....	\$666,382

And yet the anti-trust Bryanators want to destroy trusts and go back to a system of enormous waste to preserve individual liberty and competition!

That middle-class reform organization, the American Anti-Trust League, through its president, M. L. Lockwood, proposes as "the most important remedy" for the deliverance of the people from the power of modern capitalism, national ownership of the railroads. That will leave intact the three methods of the capitalist class for exploiting labor—rent, interest and profit—furnishing that class somewhat better facilities, perhaps, for distributing their goods. It will scarcely touch the labor problem; it will not help the toolless, workless, landless, homeless proletariat! It is not a remedy!

A week ago last Sunday the Chicago Tribune printed a special cable dispatch from Germany giving an account of Wagner's revolutionary ideas and banishment from his native country because he was considered a "dangerous character." Last Sunday the Chicago Tribune printed an editorial to disprove the claim of Bernard Shaw that Wagner was a Socialist and revolutionist. The only conclusion left is that since Wagner is well known to have been a disturbing element and a cordial hater of the capitalist system, the cause of his banishment was that he wrote good music.

A most gratifying sign of the times is a distinct growth of interest in Socialism among trades unionists. This is strongly marked in the affiliation of members of trades unions with the Social Democratic Party. Everywhere our principles and tactics are being warmly endorsed. The S. D. P. is making great strides as the party of the working class. It has a place and a welcome for every man who accepts its principles and sees the need for a party of the wealth producers of this country.

The campaign at Erie, Pa., was short but decisive as to the fact that the Social Democratic party has made a notable advance in that city. The comrades are greatly elated, as well as they may be, and the outcome points with unerring certainty to the great national result next November. Socialism is in the air. Work, persistent and untiring work, will bring the handwriting on the wall into clear relief. Remember the ides of November. Agitate and organize!

That Socialists do not always favor an advance in wages is shown by the fact that in Germany recently they opposed

an increase in the "allowance" of Emperor Bill. By the way, that word "allowance" is suggestive. The useful classes of society live on a bare pittance of a wage and "allow" crowned pigheads to revel in luxury; the wealthy everywhere who live without doing anything useful are living on "allowances" from the fool people.

What are you doing to help make the special edition of The Herald, March 17, a big success and a grand opening of the national campaign? Don't mind telling you—we think it will be a little the best issue of a Socialist paper ever printed in the United States, and we want you to co-operate as a distributing agent. It's price will be one cent a copy. It's size will be eight pages.

Grandmother Hoar of Massachusetts, who has been making something of a reputation as an anti-imperialist, is anti nothing else—not even anti-Quay. Hoar believes firmly in Sunday school religion and Matt Quay, the notorious boodler. And this is quite consistent. The Pennsylvania political debauchee is a supporter of the system that the pious Hoar advocates in his private and political capacity.

The call of the national democratic committee is for a convention of all "democratic-conservative - progressive-reform citizens." That is just what one might expect to emanate from an aggregation dominated by Tillman of South Carolina and Gorman of Maryland and their respective radical-conservative-retroactive-progressive following. Hurrah for humbug—which is Bryanolatry!

That class of reformers who today would crush out the trusts—were such a feat possible—would fifty years ago have crushed out the corporation, or a hundred years ago the partnership. Yet the modern trust is an inevitable outgrowth of corporations, just as corporations came out of partnerships.

If whatever is useless is dangerous, the really dangerous people in this country today are the Bryanators, who want to break down the machinery of modern production. The Bryan agitation is a positive hindrance to progress. Let us go on to the goal—democratic Socialism. Opposition to the inevitable is useless.

Every trade has its tricks which those inside know and those outside do not. The trade of capitalist politics, as it is played at Washington, no doubt has more tricks than any other. If all the tricks were known to those on the outside there would soon be a revolt of the people and mighty few tricksters left on the inside.

What a miserable, stunted and contemptible life is that of the man who would rather be "respectable" than in revolt against a system which corrupts politics, morals and religion and destroys human beings for profit!

The cost of making a millionaire is thousands of paupers, drunkards, lunatics and tramps. But the price will have to be paid until the people learn better—that is, until they learn Socialism.

Mark Hanna, who uses the government for his own purposes, is a patriot. But the fellows who want government used in behalf of everybody are traitors. It's a funny world!

When there is a slump in stocks and somebody makes a million the fact is heralded through the land. But what happens to the other fellow is seldom reported.

The starchmakers of the country have planned a trust with a capital of \$25,000,000. One of the results will undoubtedly be a stiffening of prices.

Position of the Laborer

Nearly every problem of state policy and economy, as at present understood and practiced, consists in some device for persuading you laborers to go and dig up dinner for us reflective and aesthetic persons, who like to sit still and think and admire. So that when we get to the bottom of the matter we find the inhabitants of this earth broadly divided into two great masses—the peasant paymasters, spade in hand, original and imperial producers of turnips; and, waiting on them all round, a crowd of polite persons, modestly expectant of turnips, for some, too often theoretical, service.

There is, first, the clerical person, whom the peasant pays in turnips for giving him moral advice; then the legal person, whom the peasant pays in turnips for telling him, in black letter, that his house is his own; there is, thirdly, the courtly person, whom the peasant pays in turnips for presenting a celestial appearance to him; there is, fourthly, the literary person, whom the peasant pays in turnips for talking daintily to him; and there is, lastly, the military person, whom the peasant pays in turnips for standing, with cocked hat on, in the middle of the field, and exercising a moral influence upon the neighbors.—John Ruskin.

The Herald Leaflets are good for propaganda at 25 cents per hundred copies.

NO HOPE IS LEFT FOR THE MIDDLE CLASS

From the Address of Governor Lee of South Dakota at the Anti-Trust Meeting

We may legislate against private monopoly till doomsday, but so long as we do not deprive these institutions of their ownership of the means of production and distribution, we need entertain no hope that they will cease to torment us, for experience has shown that they thrive under hostile legislation. The remedy will be found in an attack upon the system of which these monopolies are the fruit. Revolutionize the control of production and distribution. Make it democratic. It is now an imperial system. Substitute public for private ownership. Throw off private for public monopoly. Crush the rule of money and establish the rule of men. Do not destroy the machines, nor blot out the details for swift and perfect handling of commodities, but make things for people to use, not to fight over, and maybe die later for the want of. Produce and distribute wealth for the enrichment of the race; for the gratification of needs and the satisfaction of worthy aspirations, not for private profit and plunder. Such a policy can be squared with the Declaration of Independence and the Golden Rule. Such a policy will destroy public and private rascality and give birth to a new social life of which the people are capable when they are delivered from the dread of starvation and death.

How are the details to be arranged? I do not propose to go into that. No system ever had a fixed line of unchangeable details. Fit details will be supplied as the requirements of the system dictate. Details will come fast enough when the principle has been agreed to. The details of the present system are good enough, if the engines of capital were reversed, and put to work for the whole people. Details are a matter of experience. No man could have predicted fifty years ago the details of the present business system; no man can foretell now the details of any system fifty years hence. Details change every day, but one thing is settled: a set of details which enriches 5 per cent of the population at the expense of 95 per cent ought to be put to work in behalf of the great masses as speedily as possible. There is only one question involved: "Shall the blessings of God and the ingenuity of man be monopolized for the benefit of a constantly narrowing column of plutocrats, or shall those blessings be appropriated to the use of the whole people? When that question is answered in the interest of the majority—the details of our new life will adjust themselves to harmonize with the principle of equity upon which the system is built.

These propositions are met with the rejoinder that "this is socialism." Granted. That does not disprove, but rather confirms its truth. The trust is socialistic. It is private socialism. It is unregulated socialism—run for the few at the expense of the many. Our purpose is to change the scope of socialism, broaden it out; destroy socialized piracy and erect a system of fraternal co-operation in its place. But dissenters do not go further than to declare that "this is socialism," as though that were sufficient to forever put it aside. "You are a Christian" was once considered a sufficient answer to the claims of Jesus' followers. It did not disprove the teachings of Christ. "You are an abolitionist" was once a powerful argument against the abolition of chattel slavery. The sailboat twitted the steamboat; the ox cart ridiculed the stage coach; the stage coach made fun of the locomotive, but the facts were not changed. The best will survive, as it has survived. Socialism must succeed capitalism in the natural order of progress, and if you will not recognize it now I shall not quarrel with you. Time will furnish the argument.

These changes are not within the limit of an ordinary day's work. The conversion of production for private profit to production for the general welfare cannot be brought about till the Trust of Trusts—the all-absorbing, all-dominating, all-owning monopolist has taken possession of the country and forced the people, in self-defense, to expel, as this monopolist has in turn expelled from commercial existence all with whom he has been at war. The people are slow to move and patient in bearing burdens, but there is evidence that they are commencing to see the hopelessness of any attempt to regenerate the middle classes of society. Public ownership, already a well-defined political issue, must soon give birth to a political party organized to put it into force.

THE TRUSTS INEVITABLE

It seems to me that the proof that trusts are inevitable as a protection against the rising flood of capital is simply overwhelming both in theory and in fact.

It seems most palpable that every industry in this country must in time fall into the power of the trust. The trust with its enormous capital not only gives our domestic capitalists better opportunities for competition with foreigners in foreign neutral markets but it is itself by damming up the old and natural domestic channels for investment actually

forcing itself to cut out new channels for its overflow.

It is impossible to dam up all the mouths of the Mississippi, no matter how high the dams. A flowing river must find the ocean somehow, and if not by one channel then by another. The trusts are affording but a temporary breastworks for our captain of industry.

It will, however, be a flank movement rather than a frontal attack that will finally dislodge the captains from their fortress. The trust is not only a protection against undue competition, but it is a labor saving device of the highest possible efficiency. Every argument in favor of combined production on a small scale is redoubled for production on the largest possible scale. The trust pursues its ends in a perfectly sane and scientific manner. No longer do the old planless methods of competition prevail. The trust being the only producer in the field, produces exactly what the market needs. There is no more danger of either an over-production or a shortage of Standard oil in any city than there is of water, gas or postage stamps. The trust no more needs canvassers and advertisements to sell its goods than does the government to advertise the postoffice. This increased industrial efficiency of the trust together with its prevention of waste of capital in unnecessary duplication of machinery hasten by so much the completion of the world's industrial outfit.

Capital will in vain seek profitable investment. Interest which is determined by the amount of gain received by the last amount borrowed will fall to zero and still money will remain unlent in the banker's hands. The last incentive for the poor man to be "thrifty" will perish. When the work is completed the workers engaged in producing new machinery of production will join the unemployed army in regiments. The trust will be as defenseless against this new phase in the industrial strife as was the armored knight of old against hunger and thirst. Political autocracy is possible, but industrial autocracy, even if benevolent, is impossible.—H. Gaylor Wilshire.

WHAT THE EDITORS SAY

(The Clarion, London, Eng.)
For all the danger and anxiety of the present time, no one can complain that this life is not interesting. Indeed, but for the grief, suffering and anxiety of those whom the war hits hardest—the friends and relations of those who have given their lives, or are even now risking them, in the service of their country—the present grave situation would not only be interesting but actually amusing. At the present moment the British empire is not only on its trial, but is even conscious of deserving a moderately heavy sentence, and well aware that at the best it can only escape by payment of a heavy fine and by no possible means without "a stain upon its character."

(Justice, London, Eng.)
"Out of evil cometh good," and one good thing this infamous war has at least done. It has demonstrated the soundness, from every point of view, of the Socialist demand for the armed nation as against a standing army. If the Boers should not score another success they have demonstrated their right to independence and their value as a fighting force.

(Midland Mechanic.)
If the bosses increase wages 10 per cent in "good times" and decrease them 20 per cent in hard times, how long will it take us to find out where we are at?

CALL TO ACTION

ORGANIZE FOR 1900

There are few communities in this country today without one to a dozen Socialists who are not affiliated with a Socialist organization. At the last State election in Michigan the Social Democratic Party in nearly every county in the State.

In almost every community a thoroughly wide-awake and earnest Socialist, with little exertion, could in one week effect the organization of a Branch of the Social Democratic Party.

The Declaration of Principles and Political Demands of this party will be found in this paper; read it and you will see that the party is a straight, uncompromising Socialist organization, recognized as such in the International movement for Socialism.

The triumph of the Socialist cause, which is the cause of the world democracy, requires organization, and without it nothing can be accomplished; this party is controlled by no individual nor by any set of individuals short of its entire membership through the referendum.

The year 1900 will be one of great and far-reaching importance to the people and especially to the intelligent, wealth-producing people of the United States; the latter have surely by this time begun to see the futility of any longer giving support to capitalistic parties.

Socialists should have as their main object in 1900 the polling of every vote possible for straight and uncompromising Socialism, and to do this the co-operation of every unaffiliated Socialist in the work of organization, where he lives, is necessary.

The Social Democratic Party is now organized in more than half the States; it consists of Local Branches, State Unions and a National Council. A Local Branch may be organized with five members.

It will nominate candidates for President and Vice-President next March.

Full instructions and all necessary supplies for organizing Local Branches may be obtained from the National Secretary, Theodore Debs, Washington, D. C., Chicago, Illinois.

SEND FOR INSTRUCTIONS

PROPAGANDA FUND

"Appeal to Reason" Kansas..... \$1.00
"The People's Choice" Indiana..... \$1.00
"The People's Choice" Wisconsin..... \$1.00

OUR LETTER BOX

THE "CZAR'S" ADMISSION

Editor of The Herald: Ex-Speaker Thos. B. Reed would hardly call himself a Socialist, but like many others of his kind who live largely by the sweat of other men's brows, he, unconsciously to himself, admits the truthfulness of the reasoning of those who to him represent all that is to be feared in government. It seems to me that the attention of Socialists should be called to an extract from an article on the subject of monopolies (of which he should know considerable), having for quite awhile helped to maintain one of the most destructive monopolies of all, viz.: the law-making monopoly in the Saturday Evening Post of this city. In the course of that article he says:

"Where the selfishness of a few is entrusted with unlimited power and buttressed up by all the power of the state formally enlisted in its behalf, it has never been able to resist successfully the selfishness of all. In other words, the selfishness of the few is always met and mastered by that greater power, the selfishness of all. The struggle may be long and may seem doubtful, but is never so in the result. All history is full of examples. For hundreds of years the unprivileged seemed in France to be struggling hopelessly against the privileged, and the story was the most melancholy in the history of the world; but the final result was liberty and equality. Nowadays there can be no such prolongation of the fight."

To those of our comrades who seem hopeless of seeing Socialism established in our day I especially commend those last lines: "Nowadays there can be no such prolongation of the fight."

Even the enemy begin to realize the truth.

Geo. H. Goebel.

Philadelphia, Pa.

OLD COMRADES REUNITED

Editor of the Herald: I note with delight the announcement in this week's Herald of the organization of a new branch of the party in Adger, Ala., and the more so because the names of at least two of the officers are very familiar to me.

Two years are creeping by since my address was at Adger, at one time one of the most sociable mining camps in the south. What it is now it is not for me to say, but the memory of what it was in the days I knew it is full of recollections, both sweet and bitter. Of the friendships made during the years when I swung the pick and shovel, few have clung closer to my heart than those formed with Fred Lennon and Dan. Foster.

Nearly two years have passed since Lennon and I could compare notes together and estimate when our dreams of equality and fraternity among all men would become realities, and four years have elapsed since Dan. Foster passed through Nashville, Tenn., en route to Pennsylvania, active, eager and alert, brimful of enthusiasm for the newly-found doctrine of socialism.

But years, many or few, are not sufficient to dim the recollection of either of them. Both are intellectually and in every way cast in the mold from which comes the sort of men needed in the fight for freedom. Both have felt the scourge of the struggle for existence and in the history of their young lives are pages full of the stress and strife which are the heritage of their class. They can be expected to do their duty in the cause of socialism, now that they have enlisted in active political work inside our party. It is of men like these the future expects the most. The social revolution awaits their service and their sacrifice.

William Maily.

Haverhill, Mass., Feb. 23, 1900.

NOTES FROM THE FIELD

Comrade Stedman spoke on "Imperialism" at the Hull House, Chicago, last Tuesday.

Comrade F. G. R. Gordon is in editorial charge of the Milwaukee Social Democrat.

Comrade Gordon has been elected delegate to the convention by Branch 7, Manchester, N. H.

Frederic O. McCartney is announced to speak March 2 at Amesbury, Mass., and Carey is billed for every night this week.

Last Sunday Comrades John C. Chase and Charles H. Coulter, the Socialist mayors, addressed a big audience at the Manhattan Lyceum, New York, and also at the Central Federalist Union.

Representative McCartney took a little excursion up into Maine the other day, on the occasion of a Socialist convention held in that state, and spoke in the Opera House on the evening of the 26th at Rockland.

Two new branches, one at Mendon and one at Milford, are the result of the organizing ability of one good comrade up there, Comrade W. E. Dixon. With energy and tact, one man who believes thoroughly in the principles of socialism can work wonders.

The Socialists of Fitchburg, of both parties and of no party, have united in

holding a series of Sunday afternoon meetings, extending through at least two months. Most of the lectures have been by local Socialists, but Representative McCartney spoke there on the 11th on "Love Applied to Economic Life," and Margaret Haile comes in on the 25th with a lecture on "The Necessity for Socialism."

There will be a joint meeting of all the comrades of Greater New York S. D. P. at Wilsig's hall, 85 East Fourth street, on Saturday evening, March 3d, to discuss the situation in the Twelfth Assembly District.

The delegates from Boston and vicinity to the national convention are Comrades Margaret Haile and S. E. Putney. A meeting to discuss instructions to delegates will be held on Sunday, March 4, at 1 o'clock, at 724 Washington street. The meeting should begin promptly at 1 o'clock, as the delegates have to start at 6 for Indianapolis. Members who have not already sent in their credentials should be sure and bring them to this meeting.

Dr. Howard A. Gibbs of Worcester, who has unselfishly devoted so much of his time to our work throughout Massachusetts, has taken a position as superintendent of a sanitarium, which will prevent his giving so much of his time to the work as heretofore. He can, however, give us one evening a week, and perhaps two at a pinch. He has spoken recently at Lynn, Abington and Boston, and has several other engagements ahead.

Resolutions adopted by a joint meeting of the S. D. P. branches of St. Louis: "Whereas—The action of the recent convention of the Socialist Labor Party at Rochester, N. Y., has shown that organization to be a body of earnest, intelligent and unselfish Socialists and has reflected great credit upon the Socialist movement of America; therefore, be it

"Resolved, that, in the opinion of the Social Democrats of St. Louis, every honorable means should be used to bring about a union of the Socialist Labor Party and the Social Democratic Party, and that our national convention should appoint a committee of nine to meet with the committee appointed at Rochester for the purpose of effecting a union; and, be it further

"Resolved, That the adoption of any particular name should not be made a condition precedent to union, but the name of the united party should be decided by a referendum vote of the membership after the union is completed."

NEW BRANCHES

KEARNEY, NEB.

Chairman, S. W. Axford; vice chairman, C. R. Stimpson; secretary, T. C. Easterling; treasurer, Rice H. Eaton; organizer, A. E. Tracy.

TOPEKA, KAN.

Chairman, F. H. White; vice chairman, J. Kallaumer; secretary, E. D. Wilcox; treasurer, Clarence Meilly; organizer, O. F. Olmstead.

TAYLOR, PA.

Chairman, R. U. Thomas; vice chairman, J. T. Jones; secretary, D. W. Francis; treasurer, J. J. Morgan; organizer, Thos. Griffith.

MILWAUKEE, WIS.

A new branch was organized in the Tenth ward during the week. Officers' names not reported.

To Correspondents

Owing to National Secretary Debs' absence from headquarters during the greater part of next week, when he will be at Indianapolis, there will necessarily be some delay in answering correspondence. All letters requiring his personal attention will be taken up immediately after his return.

Oregon Socialists, Attention

You are requested to communicate with J. D. Stevens, Box 204, Portland, organizer for the S. D. P., with a view to instituting branches of the party in your community. The future belongs to Socialism. Lend a hand and get your state thoroughly organized.

INFORMATION FOR DELEGATES TO THE CONVENTION

For the information of delegates and others attending the national convention at Indianapolis, March 6, The Herald is able to say:

1. That our Indianapolis comrades have arranged for the use of Reichwein's Hall, situated at the corner of Market and Noble streets. This hall will easily seat 200 delegates, is well lighted and has rooms for committees. The rental expense for convention uses will be moderate, though it may be necessary to hire additional chairs and tables.

2. The New Occidental Hotel management will make a special rate of \$1.50 per day to delegates. The hotel is centrally located at Washington and Illinois streets, three blocks from the Union depot and nine blocks from the hall.

Comrade Hugo Miller writes us that the Indianapolis friends will be fully prepared to find accommodations for every delegate according to his wishes, and has kindly offered to secure accommodations in advance for any desiring private quarters. Comrade Miller's address is 333 Davidson street.

THE PRIZE CONTEST

The following prizes, offered by Comrades Forman of Milwaukee, and Goebel of Philadelphia, are for the four largest lists of new subscribers to The Herald sent in between Feb. 1 and April 30:

"History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," by Edward Gibbon, in five volumes; one set.

Victor Hugo's masterpiece, "Les Misérables"; two volumes, unabridged; 1,300 pages. Three sets.

The prize list as it now stands is given below:

First Prize—One set Dickens' complete works, 15 volumes; one set Gibbon's "History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," 5 volumes; one set Carlyle's "French Revolution," 2 volumes; one set Victor Hugo's masterpiece, "Les Misérables," 2 volumes.

Second Prize—One set Carlyle's "French Revolution," 2 volumes; one set Victor Hugo's masterpiece, "Les Misérables," 2 volumes.

Third Prize—Same as second prize.

Fourth Prize (offered by Comrade Geo. H. Goebel of Philadelphia)—A first-class fountain pen.

A MODEL BRANCH

If I were asked what constituted a model branch of the Social Democratic Party, with no conscious partiality I should answer, the general management of Branch 7 of Massachusetts. Its members are, principally, composed of young Hebrews, who carry into Socialism that eager zeal and penetrating intelligence which characterize the business and financial life of that enterprising race. Branch 7 is a novel spectacle. It is like a beacon, lit upon a hill, which, after it has diffused its warmth immediately around, tinges the distant horizon with its open glow. Its meetings take place every week, at which prominent speakers deliver lectures on Socialism. These assemblages stand in the same relation to the teachings of Carl Marx as the primary schools stand to education. They bring the doctrines of Socialism within the people's reach and turn the lantern of inquiry upon the anarchy and ruin which imperialism is bringing upon the nation.

I am inclined to believe that for these reasons Branch 7 deserves special attention. Comrade John Weaver Sherman is chairman, an office for which he has a special aptitude. Zeal appears to be a prominent feature among the members, one and all of whom are courageous and disinterested patriots. With them the S. D. P. becomes a master, whose principles must be carried out to the utmost limits of possibility.

Here, I may be permitted to enter into some details. Lectures have been delivered at the several meetings that have already taken place by the Rev. S. L. Beal, Representative James F. Carey, Representative T. O. McCartney and the distinguished orator and lecturer, Dr. H. A. Gibbs. Mr. W. P. Porter and Mayor Chase of Haverhill have been engaged to deliver lectures at subsequent meetings.

Another feature worthy of notice at these meetings is the distribution of copies of The Social Democratic Herald and Appeal to Reason among those of the audience who are unacquainted with the principles of Socialism.

It may be as well to mention that on several occasions the writer has been accosted by strangers who have been made converts to Socialism by attending one or more of these meetings. "I see plainly enough," said one, "that Socialism has contracted no alliance with the turbulent passion of anarchy, as I thought it had; on the contrary, I learned, by this evening's lecture, that its course is marked by a love of order and law. It is no doubt a grand and highest practical system of human government. I am convinced, from my own experience, that a vast majority of the working classes would become converts to Socialism if its principles could be explained to them."

"I always thought," said another, "that Socialism was an idle and childish farce—a fanatic's crazy confidence in that which is but a wild and unprofitable dream; but, since the lecture I have just heard I have become as pronounced a Socialist as any of you. I am further convinced that Socialism, so far as it has gone, is an organized expression of the wants and wishes of the people."

I hope that I have stated enough to demonstrate the immense importance of lectures in propagating the fundamental principles of Socialism. It may, I think, be safely affirmed that, if the example above cited could be more generally followed, the growth of the S. D. P. would be phenomenal.

Charles Trench.

THE MATTER OF UNION

The resolutions adopted at the Rochester convention to be submitted to the convention at Indianapolis read as follows:

"The Socialist Labor Party of the United States, in National Convention assembled, sends fraternal greetings to the Social Democratic Party of the United States.

"Whereas: The course of development of the Socialist movement in the United States during the last few years has obliterated all difference of principle and views between the S. L. P. and the S. D. P., and both parties are now practi-

LOCAL BRANCHES

Notices of Branch Meetings inserted for 25 Cents per Month

CALIFORNIA

Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evenings, commencing at 8. Admission free. Educational meetings (for members) every Tuesday evening. Sociology, Economics, Public Speaking, etc. Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening. Membership, with advantage of Educational Course and Social Democratic Herald free to each member, 25 cents per month. Apply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk street.

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2 o'clock at Woodmen's Hall, 1254 Spring St. J. Franc, 700 Dayton Ave., Secretary.

CONNECTICUT

The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at Turn Hall, Lockville. L. Schaf, Secretary.

Branch No. 3, New Haven, meets every Tuesday evening, at 186 State St. at 8 p.m. Cornelius Mahoney, Secretary, 165 Frank St.

Branch No. 4, Rockyville, Conn., meets first and third Thursdays at Turn Hall meeting room, Village street. Secretary, Richard Niederwieser, Box 760.

ILLINOIS

Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 52 Dearborn St.

Branch No. 1, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening, Thomas Kirwin, Secretary, 2504 Wentworth Ave.

Branch No. 2 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays at 3 p.m. at Nag's Hall, 555 Blue Island Ave. Vaclav Jelinek, Sec'y, 606 Blue Island Ave.

Branch No. 3 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Mondays at 8 p.m. in Dander's place, 1080 W. 18th place. Joseph Dander, Secretary.

Branch No. 4, Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays of each month at 8 o'clock at Nag's Hall, 555 Blue Island Ave. near 18th St. Albin Geisler, Secretary, 726 W. 20th St.

Branch No. 5, Chicago, meets at 1045 W. 63rd st., first and third Sundays at 3 p.m. S. L. Westline, Secretary, 6243 Center Ave.

INDIANA

Branch No. 5, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichwein's Hall, corner Market and Noble Sts.

Branch No. 2, Covington, meets first and third Wednesday evenings and second and fourth Sunday afternoons of each month. All agitation meetings except third meeting in month. Good speakers. Secretary, F. C. Stumpf, 201 8th street.

MARYLAND

Branch No. 1, Baltimore, meets every Sunday at 8 p.m. at Carpenter's Hall, 500 E. Baltimore St. Public invited.

Branch No. 2, Baltimore, meets every Tuesday at 8 p.m. at Wenzel's Hotel, 524 W. Camden st. Good speakers. Public invited. Levin T. Jones, Secretary, 202 W. Harre st.

MASSACHUSETTS

The Massachusetts State Committee meets the first Saturday of each month at 724 Washington St., Boston. All dues and moneys intended for the State Committee should be sent to the financial secretary, A. McDonald, 104 W. Springfield St., Boston. All other correspondence should be addressed to the Corresponding Secretary, Margaret Haile, 6 Glenwood St., Roxbury.

Branch No. 2, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Sundays of each month at Springdale Turner Hall. H. Schlechtling, Organizer, 30 James St.

Branch No. 5, Lynn, permanent headquarters, 71 Monroe St. Business meeting every Monday night at 7:30. Open house. Public invited. Harry Göttemer, Sec., 428 Essex St.

Branch No. 3, Brockton, meets the second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at 8 p.m. at the corner of State and Center Sts. Every comrade is expected to attend one meeting a month. Frank S. Walsh, Secretary, 62 Crescent St.

Branch No. 15, East Boston, meets every Monday at 8 p.m. at 29 Chelsea St. Miss Jenny Segal, Secretary, 39 Chelsea St.

Branch No. 18, Newburyport, meets the second Monday of each month at Lanter's Hall, 1 State St. E. F. McGee, Secretary, 29 Winter St. G. H. Evans, Treasurer, Prince Place.

Branch No. 31, Chelsea, permanent headquar-

cally identical in their platform, tactics and methods.

"Whereas, harmonious and concerted action of all Socialist elements of the United States is expedient, for a successful campaign against the combined forces of capitalism:

"Resolved, That it is the sense of this convention that the interests of Socialism will be best subserved by a speedy union of the S. L. P. and the S. D. P. into one strong, harmonious and united, Socialist party;

"Resolved, That we call upon the earnest and intelligent Socialists of this country in the ranks of both parties to discard all petty ambitions and personal prejudices in the face of this great purpose, and to conduct the negotiations for unity of both parties, not in the sense of two hostile camps, each negotiating for peace with a view of securing the greatest advantages to itself, but in the sense of equal parties, hitherto working separately for a common cause, and now sincerely seeking to provide a proper basis for honorable and lasting union for the benefit of that cause;

"Resolved, That for the purpose of effecting union between the two parties on the basis outlined, this convention to appoint a committee of nine to act as a permanent Committee on Socialist Union, until the question is definitely disposed of;

"Resolved, That the said committee be authorized to delegate a representative or representatives to the next national convention of the S. D. P., in order to convey this resolution to said party, and to invite the said party to appoint a similar committee; and,

"Resolved, That any treaty of union evolved by the joint committee on union, including the question of party name, platform and constitution be submitted to a general vote of both parties."

To Our Washington Readers

Comrade D. Burgess of New Whatcom, Wash., has been selected as organizer for the state and is prepared to assist the Socialists of Washington in organizing branches of the S. D. P. Correspondence addressed to him will receive prompt attention.

To Our Connecticut Readers

All unattached Socialists in the state of Connecticut are requested to write Louis Schlaf, 26 Spring street, Rockville, for information concerning the organization of branches.

ters, Room 2, Postoffice Building. Open every evening. Business meetings every Thursday at 8 p.m. Public invited.

MINNESOTA

Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Gesswein, on Main St. A. Kingsbury, Secretary.

MISSOURI

St. Louis headquarters, Room 7, 22 N. Fourth St. Address all communications to E. Val Putnam, Secretary. For information concerning ward branches, inquire at the above address.

Branch No. 7, Kansas City, meets every Tuesday at 8 p.m. at 1300 Union Ave. G. J. Stors, Secretary, 1330 W. 9th St.

NEW JERSEY

Branch No. 1, Secretary, Michael W. Schor, 87 Livingston St.

Branch No. 6 (German), Paterson, N. J., meets first and third Mondays at 8 p.m. at Henrich Hall, 54-56 Van Houten St. Karl Linder, Secretary, 246 Edmond St.

NEW YORK

The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York and vicinity meets first and third Tuesdays of every month in Wilsig's Hall, 85 E. 4th St. Elizabeth H. Thomas, Secretary.

East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every first and third Thursdays at 112 Clinton St. A. Guyer, Secretary, 138 York St.

Branch No. 2, 24th Assembly District, meets second and fourth Wednesdays of the month at 1089 Grand Ave., at the "Central." Henry Laug, Secretary, 324 E. 60th St.

Branch No. 4, West Side Branch, New York, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of every month at headquarters, 189 W. 90th St. Elizabeth H. Thomas, Secretary.

Branch No. 10, 4th Assembly District, meets every first and third Wednesday of the month at the rooms of The Voice of Labor, 433 Grand St. Jacob Panken, Organizer, 129 Division St.

Branch No. 12, Brooklyn, meets every first and third Thursdays at 815 sharp. All persons interested are invited to attend these meetings and co-operate in organizing local branches in every district in the city. Wm. Butcher, Secretary, 27 Rutledge St.

Branch No. 30, New York, 28th Assembly District, meets first and third Thursdays of each month at Paulhaber's Hall, 1561 Second Ave. R. Hoppe, Secretary, 328 E. 60th St.

OHIO

Branch No. 2, Cleveland, meets in Ohlsen's Hall, 65 York St., second and fourth Sundays at 3 p.m. Lectures, discussions, business meetings, first and third Fridays at 8 p.m.

Branch No. 12, Cleveland, meets first and third Sundays in each month at 4 p.m. in Ohlsen's Hall, 65 York St. Lectures and discussions.

Branch No. 4, Cincinnati, meets at Richelieu Hall, corner corner Main and Plum Sts., every Sunday at 2 p.m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. R. Biederman, Sec., 2151 Vine St.

Branch No. 5, Dayton, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2:30 in room 34, Davies block, Fourth and Main streets. Every one interested in practical government is invited to be present. J. C. Schawe, president; N. Dutle, secretary.

Branch No. 3, Cincinnati, meets every second and fourth Saturday in Workingmen's Hall, 1318 Walnut St. P. Hamel, Secretary, 184 Fritz St.

Branch No. 11, German, Columbus, Ed Greiner, Secretary, 806 Mohawk St.

PENNSYLVANIA

Branch No. 2, Erie, meets every Sunday, 3 p.m., at K. of L. Hall, 716 State St. Chairman, Joseph Stain, Secretary, J. E. Perry, 119 Sansauet St.

Branch No. 4, Pittsburgh, meets every Thursday evening at 7:30 p.m. at Funk Hall, 34th and Josephine Sts. W. Bohn, President, 24 Addison St. J. H. Lewis, Secretary, 2218 Land St.

Branch No. 5 (Jewish), Philadelphia, meets every Friday at 6:14 S. 3d St. at 7:30. Discussion from 8 to 9. J. Gearson, Secretary.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee Central Committee meets on the first Saturday of each month at 8 p.m. sharp at 618 E. Water St. Eugene H. Rooney, Secretary. John Doerfler, Treasurer.

Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Tuesday evening of the month at the Ethical Society Building, 523 Jefferson St. Visitors always welcome. Howard Tuttle, Chairman, Eugene H. Rooney, Secretary.

Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Friday in Gieske's Hall, corner Green Bay and Concordia Ave.

Branch No. 3, Sheboygan, meets every fourth Thursday of the month at Gustav Burgard's Hall on Pennsylvania Ave. R. Schoen, Secretary-Treasurer, 8 1/2th St.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday each month at Meiler's Hall, corner 23d and Brown Sts. George Moerschel, Sec., 23rd St., 831 1/2th St.

Branch No. 9, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at R. Sigel's Hall, southeast corner Orchard St. and 9th Ave. Fred Hansen, Secretary, 78 Windlake Ave.

Branch No. 11, Milwaukee, meets the second Wednesday of each month at the office of the Wisconsin Vorwaerts, 614 State St.

Branch No. 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of each month at Kraus' Hall, 11 and Center St., at 8 p.m. John Koepfer, Secretary.

OFFICIAL CALL

Annual Convention of the Social Democratic Party, March 6, 1900

In accordance with the action of the members in determining the time and place for the national convention of the Social Democratic party in 1900, the National Executive board of said party directs that said national convention be held at the city of Indianapolis, in the state of Indiana, for the purpose of nominating candidates for president and vice-president of the United States, to be voted for at the presidential election on Tuesday, Nov. 6, 1900, and for the transaction of such other business as may properly come before it, and that said convention shall assemble at 10 o'clock in the forenoon on Tuesday, the 6th day of March, 1900.

The representation at said convention will be by delegates, chosen in accordance with the referendum vote of the members and reported in this number of The Herald, as follows:

First—Each branch shall be entitled to as many representatives as the individual members thereof in good standing may select for that purpose; provided, that each representative shall be entitled to one (1) vote for each member whose signature is attached to his credential; and provided further, that no member shall have his signature attached to more than one credential.

Second—Branches not sending their own representatives may select those of other branches of the same state to represent them; provided, that in each such case the representative shall hold the proper credential with the signatures of members attached as herein provided.

Third—No member shall be qualified to serve as representative or entitled to representation who has not been a member of the party at least thirty (30) days prior to the opening day of the convention.

Fourth—All signatures of members attached to credentials shall be certified to by the chairman or secretary of their respective branches.

Fifth—The national secretary shall furnish each branch with a sufficient number of blank credentials for the purpose herein specified.

Jesse Cox, Chairman.

Seymour Stedman, Secretary.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

VOL. II. No. 38

CHICAGO, ILL., U. S. A., SATURDAY, MARCH 10, 1900.

Whole No. 88.

ARE THERE NO CLASSES IN THE UNITED STATES?

ADMINISTRATION OF THE LAWS

Indubitable Proof and Plenty of It that the
Economically Powerful Class is Dealt
With Leniently in this Country

THE POOR WILL NOT ALWAYS TAMELY SUBMIT

It is constantly assumed by those forming what are denominated the most successful portions of our social life, that there are no classes in this country; that, however great may be the chasm between the strata in old world countries, here there is none. So strenuously is this position insisted on, that it might appear that some strong reason exists for such insistence, and a fairly comprehensive investigation, in fact, will show that the vigor manifested in maintaining this hypothesis is in just about inverse proportion to the truth involved in it.

It is now proposed to develop a fact by no means among the most prominent of those tending to demonstrate the existence of classes, but which is alone sufficient to give a quietus to the orthodox claim in the other direction. That fact is, the treatment accorded violators of the law; those possessing position and wealth being subject to much greater leniency than their brethren lower down. The poet has said:

"The law condemns the lesser felon
Who steals the goose from off the common,
But lets the greater felon loose
Who steals the common from the goose."

And, or another poet has remarked:

"Plate sin with gold
And the strong lance of justice hurtless
breaks,
Clothe it in rags, a pigmy's straw can
pierce it."

Or, as Goldsmith has it: "Laws
grind the poor, and rich men rule the
law."

It would seem to be almost imminent in human nature to deal more and more kindly with persons as they ascend the scale of power. One man revolting against an oppressive master and slaying him is termed a murderer, and is executed. A handful of men resisting an unjust law by force are overpowered, their leader hanged, and they are cast into prison for life; it is referred to as riot. A few thousand men, in resisting oppression, become classified as fomenters of an insurrection; while after it is subdued, the leaders are hanged, and the remainder eventually go free. When a large part of a country sets itself up in opposition to the rest, that is known as rebellion, if unsuccessful; and, upon its conclusion the leaders are magnanimously pardoned, and the rank and file are unmolested. But, if successful, and the same revolution becomes applicable, and the hitherto existing state is thereafter put down in histories as having instituted an oppressive tyranny.

So a gambler in a small way is harried by the police, fails of a respectable place among his townsmen, and is regarded with frowns and contumely; but a wealthy speculator is continually receiving the plaudits of everyone. A city legislator feathering his own nest is only a common boodle alderman; a United States senator dabbling in sugar certificates is an able business man and a pillar of society. He who fails in opposing his de jure country is a traitor, or, as Jefferson Davis; he who heals a victorious legion is a patriot whose memory is to be forever cherished, as Washington. A lawyer guilty of defending a person of poor reputation is called a shyster, whereas one who receives a magnificent stipend to look after the interests of a criminal trust is called "one of the leaders of the American bar." A sweat-shop proprietor is designated as an abhorrent crusher of the laboring masses; but the owner of a large mine who keeps his help on starvation wages can influence a legislature, and is looked up to as a substantial citizen, the exemplar of all that is high and noble.

Two years ago four men were arrested in Santa Clara county, California, for sleeping in a haystack; but, upon proof that they had enough money to pay for their board if driven to it, they were discharged. Those who sleep in this way because of necessity are punished. Others doing the identical thing are patted on the back if, upon investigation, a little money is found about their persons.

One year ago the sons of a couple of prominent eastern college professors took a tramp across the country for the fun of the thing. Arriving in Kansas City weary and dust-begrimed, they were arrested for vagrancy, but they soon demonstrated that they had money,

that they were well connected, and were released with apologies. A crime ought to be a crime whether one has money and connections or not.

Two criminals who had served time in California and Colorado fell heir to fortunes while in jail; that of one amounting to about \$40,000. Steps were at once taken to secure their release, and this was effected with little difficulty. Not the crime, but the lack of money, seemed to be the chief offense.

The inter-state commerce act was supposedly designed to restrict railroad corporations; but, of the seventy-five cases instituted under it up to 1895, seventy were against employees, largely for the purpose of disrupting their union, and only five were against the railroads.

The Meadowcroft brothers mulcted a bank in Chicago of \$400,000. They were tried and were finally sentenced to spend one year in prison, but were shortly after pardoned by the governor of Illinois. In March, 1897, William Jeffrey was imprisoned for a term of twenty years because of an assault on a man in Peekskill, N. Y., resulting in the theft of only forty cents.

When the next to the last bond issue negotiated by the administration of President Cleveland was made the subject of an investigation, to discover what frauds there might be connected with it, certain of the witnesses summoned absolutely refused to testify. The same condition obtained during the attempt to elicit information on the sugar schedule of the Wilson-Gorman tariff law of 1894. These eminent recalcitrants have never been dealt with for that plain violation of law. Are ordinary witnesses allowed to testify or not, as suits them? Are they not jailed if they refuse to testify, and oftentimes even if they consent?

A hack-driver charges more than the common rates, and his license is revoked. A powerful street railway corporation is found violating its charter, and either nothing is done or steps are taken to alter the charter favorably to the railway. Occasionally, in the case of the latter, the people protest feebly for a week or two.

Some large grocers were arrested in Milwaukee for selling adulterated vinegar, but the case was dismissed on payment of costs. In Berlin, a short distance north, five small grocers were compelled to pay fines of from \$10 to \$20 each for the same offense.

Those of the poorer classes, upon allowing themselves to be found drunk on the street, are put in jail and arraigned. The upper classes are rarely or never molested in similar situations. A drunken club-man was arrested one night in St. Paul by a policeman new to the force, but the former was released with excuses, and the policeman was reprimanded for his action.

President McKinley has established a record for pardoning embezzlers and criminals of the patrician coteries. To such an extent has he gone in this line, that attention has been forcibly directed to it. Why are law-breakers of the lower orders so markedly exempt from the presidential favor? Why was Governor Altgeld of Illinois denounced with such violence for pardoning impecunious anarchists whom every close student of their trial knows were innocent of the crime charged?

During President Cleveland's administration the so-called Pattison report regarding the Pacific railroads said: "On the face of the books the barren fact appeared that Leland Stanford and C. P. Huntington have taken from the assets of their company, over which they have absolute control, the sum aforesaid, \$4,818,355." The gentlemen named have stood at the head of this country's social, political and business life, while "it is a sin to steal a pin" statesmanship has been busy incarcerating unfortunate men whose ill luck it was to be forced to steal for their daily bread.

In the spring of 1894 inoffensive Carl Browne was mobbed by eleven hundred students of Princeton University, and, as a result, not a single student of the university was touched, but Mr. Browne was arrested and sentenced to spend thirty days in prison at Trenton. Carl Browne took his Commonwealth Army for a march down Wall street, and they were jailed promptly; while in 1896 many a noisy parade passed unmolested through this thoroughfare upholding the banners of "honest money."

Taylor, the defaulting treasurer of South Dakota, stole one-quarter of a million dollars and was sent to the penitentiary for two years. One Mark Batten, of Fulda, Minn., took a pair of shoes valued at \$1.75; his sentence was for a like term.

The judge of the city of Washington who imposed an imprisonment of three hours on the daughter of General Flagler for slaying a negro boy gave a man in that city five years for taking a goose that did not belong to him.

Mason, the man who wrecked a bank at Lincoln, Neb., and robbed it of one

MERLIN'S MIXTURE

The American Slave Trade

Prince Pointawoski has just purchased the land and franchises of the island of Basilan, in the Philippines, from the United States government for \$500,000. The island in question is very valuable, owing to the hemp growing and pearl-fishing industries there.

So this is the outcome of our war for humanity—the war that God inspired, and we, his faithful followers, prosecuted with holy aim, as the jingoes averred. Undertaken under the pretense of religion and charity, it now assumes its true character as a brigand's battle for booty.

We sent our troops to the East to free the slave, but as a result, the free are enslaved. Instead of giving the Philippines their liberty we have sold them to a Russian taskmaster, the grandson of a Polish king. And now this royal despot has been given full power over the poor devils who are living on the land he bought for a paltry sum.

But, after all, they are in no worse plight than are we who patriotically shiver and starve under the stars and stripes. It is the same sort of liberty—the liberty to slave and suffer.

A Russian despot and an American trust magnate belong to the same genus. A Filipino hemp-worker and an American shoe-worker belong to the same class. Morally, the Filipino is the better man, for he has the courage to rebel. The American has not.

Who is the Murderer?

A few days ago, at an anti-imperialistic meeting in Philadelphia an excited speaker referred to McKinley as "that murderer." The report said the utterance was wildly and enthusiastically applauded.

The statement was fully as wild as the applause. Anyone who has studied the character of McKinley knows that that pious puppet has not the moral courage to commit the act of murder. A murderer must be a man of forceful character, while McKinley has shown himself as possessing only an autographic will. You can't stab a man with a boiled carrot.

This attempt to create a presidential scapegoat is a cowardly and deceptive one. That murder is being done no one can deny. That the president is an accomplice is also a fact. But that he is the one most guilty is not a fact. He may be a criminal chief, but he is not the chief criminal.

McKinley is but the button, the trigger, the handle, the tool of corporate capital. He is but the chief figure in the puppet show, jiggled on a political string before a gaping people, while the managers gather in the profits.

Every supporter of the two political parties whose kindred aim it is to perpetuate an industrial system based on the murder of the mass is the real murderer. Every vote cast for the old parties is a stab at the heart of labor.

And until these anti-imperialists and pro-selfish clean their hands from the stain of American blood let them not curse the figurehead whose forced and frightened consent is the signal for rapine and bloodshed in the far East.

The Church and Labor

Rev. Dr. Hillis, in an address before the Congregational Club of Boston, this week, deplored the fact that the Sunday meetings of the trade unions were alienating untold thousands from the church.

This is the outcome of the church's alienation from the working class, and its silence or opposition in regard to the vital issues concerning the interests of labor.

It is not a sign of the irreligiosity of trade unionism, so much as the irreligiosity of the church itself.

It takes an uncompromising stand against sin in the abstract, but is ready to grant any concession to sin in the concrete, personified in the person of a wealthy, poor-grinding pew-holder.

It denounces Pharaoh for his treatment of the Israelites, but condones the act of Rockefeller in exploiting the poor, and sharing his profits with the Lord.

It stamps with righteous heel on the carcass of poor old Goliath, but trembles in the presence of the modern monopolistic giants.

It believes in the law and the prophets of the past. It believes, too, in the law and profits of the present.

It points with a holy horror to the hill of Calvary, but points with patriotic pride to Capital Hill, whereon labor is daily crucified.

Let the church take its eyes from Heaven, and fix them on the earth; let it proclaim the fulfillment of an ancient creed in a modern socialism; let it emphasize the difference between the gold-

en rule and the rule of gold. Then it may commend itself to labor as worthy of support. At present it cannot.

Dewey the Pay-triot

"D! E! W! E! Y! Dewey! Ra! Ra!" Rats!

A few months ago our country went crazy over an American admiral who actually did his duty and gave some return for his salary. The deified Dewey was exalted to the pinnacle of godhead, and the idolatrous jingoes bowed down and worshiped him.

But now Dewey the Doughty is playing the role of Dewey the Doughy. The goldplate of patriotism has worn off our idol, and the mercenary brass is beginning to show.

Not content with the large salary paid him as an officer, or the praise and perquisites lavished on him by press and people, he is seeking now to defraud the government out of \$10,000 additional prize money, on the pretense that he fought and conquered a force stronger than his own.

This palpable deception stamps him as a mercenary. The fact that his fleet was able to annihilate the Spanish without the loss of a man gives him the lie, apart from the statistical facts in the case.

This reveals to us the hollowness of all patriotic pretenses. Many workingmen were blinded by the glare of militarism a few months ago. Dewey became the idol, not only of the rich, but of the poor as well.

Let us not be deceived by militarism. It is but the glare from the flames of labor's hell. The Deweys care nothing for the interest of the labor class. Only by our own strong energy can we be saved.

Outcasts: Social and Political

In Madeira, Cal., on February 27th, a young waiter employed at the Yosemite hotel committed suicide. By a note she had written before the act, it was found that she had been betrayed by Louis Kutner, a millionaire's son, and preferred death to shame.

A mass meeting was held, attended by several hundred citizens, at which strong resolutions were passed, denouncing Kutner, and proclaiming him a social outcast.

All this is well enough, and a gratifying change to the apathetic indifference with which the public usually views such acts and men. But it has no power to give back life and virtue to the young girl who is being buried the very day I write this.

Neither does it in any wise prevent any other rich rascal taking advantage of other poor girls' poverty, and gratifying their damned and damning lust at the cost of life and virtue.

The social conditions that gave Kutner his power still exist. Still hundreds of girls are lured and hypnotized by the glare of gold. So long as there are millionaires and paupers, the one is at the mercy of the other. And many of these Madeira folk will without doubt vote to perpetuate the system that produces these classes.

Why not make this Kutner and his class political outcasts, instead? Why not legislate against this system of profits that robs one class to pay the other? Why not protest against such things, and prevent them, in a sane, satisfactory, and effective way, by casting your vote for a socialist party, whose aim it is to give equality to all and special privilege and power to none? MERLIN.

A Great Nation

How can that be a great nation, asks the London Clarion, whose popular ruler is Joseph Chamberlain and whose hero is Cecil Rhodes? How can that be a great nation that allows seventy poor people to sleep in one East End house?

A sanitary inspector reports that in one house that he visited this number of persons were living. There were twenty beds in a large workroom at the top of the house, and they were so close together that they made practically one bed. In a back room there were three beds, five in the front room and six in a room over the kitchen. How can that be a great nation that, for the sake of a horde of greedy bloodsuckers, allows the citizens of its chief city to live lives that debase their body and soul, which flatters and fleeces its workmen, degrades its women and overworks and underfeeds its children? And all for what? That a chosen few may continue to live lives of ease and refinement, and that a host of greedy tyrants may glut their appetites for vulgar ostentation and baleful power.

Do not forget or fail to order 100 or 500 copies of the big double number of The Herald to be printed March 17. Will contain complete report of the convention, special contributed articles, facts and data for the propaganda, illustrations, etc. A splendid number to start the campaign with. One cent per copy. Every branch should order not less than 500 copies.

SPRING CAMPAIGN OPENED AT NEWARK

CHASE AND COULTER SPEAKERS

The Graduate of a Shoe Factory and the
Plumber Expound the Principles of Social
Democracy With Good Effect

GROWING SOLIDARITY OF THE WORKING CLASS

The following account of a mass meeting at Newark, N. J., is from a local daily newspaper of that city:

Politicians of the two great parties have a fashion of waiting until the early birds appear on the trees before they buckle down to the hard work of the spring campaign, but the Socialists believe in taking time by the forelock. They opened their campaign last night with a mass meeting in Lyric hall, where the principal speakers were the only Socialist mayors in the United States—John C. Chase of Haverhill, Mass., and Charles H. Coulter of Brockton, Mass.

About 300 persons fought their way against the bitter blasts to the hall. They were evidently pleased with what they heard, for they applauded frequently and heartily, and when the hat was passed around they chipped in liberally to pay the rent of the meeting place.

Mayor Chase is a graduate from a Haverhill shoe factory—a tall, thin young man with considerable nervous activity, and a fluent tongue. When he was elected two years ago, there were five tickets in the field in Haverhill, and his victory was classed as a political accident. But at the last election he was chosen again, though all the other parties united on a ticket against him. Mayor Coulter, who is a journeyman plumber by trade, is the first Socialist to be Brockton's chief executive. He was chosen at the last election. Both are young men; and they made enthusiastic addresses along Socialistic lines, expounding the well-known theories of the party to their sympathetic hearers.

They were introduced by E. C. Wind, the chairman of the rally, who said that it marked the opening of the spring campaign of the party in this city.

Before either of the Massachusetts orators had spoken, James Allman, a local Socialist orator, made a brief address. He said that the Social Democratic party and the Socialist Labor party in this country had buried the hatchet, and this year would unite on one ticket, which would bear the name of the former organization. He also said that while the great principles of Socialism would be preached as usual, the particular feature of the party's campaign this spring would be agitation for a municipal gas plant.

"I am a practical politician," announced Mr. Coulter, when he took the platform. "We won success in Brockton by using practical political methods among working men, by teaching them to unite and to present solid fronts to their political enemies. A constant agitation has been kept up in and out of season. Even as I speak to you tonight a Socialist meeting is being held in Brockton. If you want to attain the results we have in our city, you can do so by pursuing the same methods."

The City of Brockton, Mr. Coulter declared, was equivalent to a corporation doing a yearly business of \$28,000,000. That a working man could successfully manage such a corporation had been a surprise not only to the capitalists, but to the working men themselves.

The trust, Mr. Coulter continued, had demonstrated that co-operative effort was the only way to do business. The Socialist insisted that the management of productive enterprises should be for the whole people.

"The Socialist," he said, "just become imbued with the ideal. It is the greatest ideal of all time, the brotherhood of man, the co-operative commonwealth."

Mr. Coulter said that the movement which had its first fruits in Haverhill and Brockton was sweeping over Massachusetts. Should any one of the men elected by Socialists go back on their pledges, they would, he declared, not be allowed in office ten minutes.

"If I should consummate a deal against the citizens of Brockton," said the speaker, "I would not like to be around when the boys should find it out."

After Leonard Abbott of New York had spoken briefly on the general principles of Socialism, Mayor Chase was introduced. He spoke of the change which had come over the shoe manufacturing business in this country in recent years, which he said was paralleled in other lines of industry. Twenty years ago, he said, New England was dotted with little shoe shops over which a man could truthfully put a sign describing

(Continued on Third Page)

(Continued on Fourth Page)

Social Democratic Herald

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board
JESSE COX, Chairman
SEYMOUR STEEDMAN, Secretary
EUGENE V. DESS, VICTOR L. BERGER
FREDERIC HEATH

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, 50 cents. Six months, 25 cents. No papers sent to any one on credit. If, without having subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and no bill will follow. Foreign subscriptions \$1.00.

Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

A. S. EDWARDS, Editor
THEODORE DESS, National Sec'y-Treas.
126 Washington St., Chicago.

88 is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 89 your subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, MAR. 10, 1900.

When branches do not have good speakers, members should read instructive features of Socialism and debate on same, with the view of creating a good impression for Socialism.

It looks as if the people who profess to be Socialists and yet have no interest in Socialism as an investment have lost faith in their principles, for were it otherwise they would be known by the earnestness with which they worked for these principles.

A report comes from Paris that political circles are discussing changing Millerand from minister of commerce to another portfolio. The premier, it is said, feels that during the exposition the Socialist will enjoy too prominent a role. It is said that Waldeck-Rousseau wants the place of minister of commerce himself.

On the eve of the recent local election at Erie, Pa., the result of which was reported in this paper last week, one of the old-party newspapers of that city urged the party workers to get out their vote without regard to political affiliation, as the Social Democrats are depending on a light turn-out of republicans and democrats. All Socialists agree fully with Mayor Jones when he says, "the difference in the Bryan and McKinley programs is a difference in degree; it is the same kind."

Two hundred and fifty typesetters in the parliament printing office at Rome, Italy, are on a strike because they object to the introduction of typesetting machines. Working men have struck work before for the same reason, but their striking nowhere put a stop to the introduction of machinery. The place for our class to strike is at the ballot, John Smith. Strike to abolish private ownership of the machines in Rome and Chicago. That way lies deliverance. You will look in vain for it elsewhere.

The Boston Herald says: "Mayor Chase's refusal to sign a petition for another militia company up in Haverhill, on the ground that it is a relic of barbarism, is the latest promulgation of the principles of Socialism. It is queer, but that is one of the inherent characteristics of the Socialistic cult."

It is also one of the peculiar characteristics of the Christian-capitalist cult that it favors keeping the people in subjection by force of arms and taxing their labor to support an aristocratic military incubus.

Mayor Samuel M. Jones of Toledo has repudiated that portion of a recently published interview in which he was made to say he would support Bryan for the presidency. In doing so he said: "The difference between the Bryan and McKinley programs is a difference in degree; it is the same kind. I have no faith in either; both are evil. I am a Socialist. I believe in brotherhood and can only find peace in advocating those principles that will lead me to live brotherly. Bryan is advocating an entirely different set of principles. I do not know whom I shall vote for for president."

That was a splendid reply of the electors of Magdeburg, Germany, to the tyranny of the German government. Herr Schmidt, the Social Democratic editor of Magdeburg, was some time ago condemned to three years' imprisonment and deprived of his seat in the reichstag for criticising the emperor. The working-class electors of the town stood by Comrade Schmidt and at an election held February 26 he received 18,000 votes, his defeat being accomplished only by a union of all other parties against the Socialists. Working men, remember Haverhill and Magdeburg! Every political party in existence is opposed to your interests except the Socialist party.

In bidding good-bye to the populists and joining a branch of the Social Democratic party at Topeka, G. C. Clemens, formerly clerk of the Supreme court of Kansas, punctuated the occasion as follows:

"In the language of Scripture, I go to prepare a place for you. The very men who have urged me to stay in the popu-

list party have given as a reason that this year will end the people's party organization and fusion, too, and then there will be another party made up of deserters from all three parties. The only new party worth considering is already born, and is a healthy youth—the Socialist party. As according to its nurses, the people's party is deceased, but the announcement is delayed to avoid complications, let the dead bury the dead; I go in search of a living cause."

The Verdict of Girard, Kan., has the following complimentary reference to Comrade F. G. R. Gordon in its issue of February 16:

"F. G. R. Gordon, who for several weeks has been the associate editor on the Appeal to Reason here, left Sunday for Chicago. He will probably be sent out as an organizer for the Social Democracy. While few people here take any stock in the doctrine advocated by Mr. Gordon, yet in the few weeks he was here he made numerous friends, and commanded the respect of those he met. In advocating his cause he is always genteel, and is respectful in his language when addressing his political opponent, and is never abusive. If any one can effectually organize Social Democratic clubs Mr. Gordon is probably the man. We hope he will confine his work to republican strongholds."

Comrade Gordon, as we have before stated, is now editor of the Milwaukee Social Democrat.

THE NEW SOCIALIST PARTY

The explanation of G. C. Clemens as to why he has left the populist party emphasizes the wisdom of the Capital's remark of Sunday that it will be time enough to accept the populist challenge to a joint debate this campaign after the populist state convention meets, and finds out what principles the party believes in this year.

Clemens' principal reason for dropping out of the party with which he has affiliated for the last ten years is its apparent lack of any platform of definite beliefs. The populist party ever since 1890 has ever declared its "unalterable" principles, and every year they have been different. Natural curiosity is felt by the rank and file of the party in this presidential year to know where they stand, what their political beliefs are this season, what great platforms they are fighting for, and what grievances they have to complain of in their state platform. It stands to reason that the republican party cannot afford to accept a challenge to a joint debate when both sides are completely in the dark as to what the debaters may be called upon to defend. The republican debaters would be placed in a ridiculous position if it should turn out that the populist party should indorse a protective tariff, for instance, or the gold standard and the expansion policy, as there is some reason to think they may do.

Mr. Clemens' formal departure into the Socialistic party camp is not surprising, in view of the fact that he became a populist at the time that the populist party stood for Socialism. It is of interest, however, as calling attention to the fact that we have in Kansas a strict Socialistic party, a party that has taken that name, that will have a state convention under that title this year and that will get its ticket to the official ballot and make a state campaign.

Mr. Clemens states that there is no longer a populist or people's party, but that statesmen in that party now refer to the organization as the fusion party. The new Socialist party will naturally draw from the fusion party many of the old-fashioned populists who became populists in the first place largely because they believed in Socialistic doctrine. Thus there will be at least three parties in the field: The republican, the fusion and the Socialist. It is barely possible, also, that there may be a democratic party. It is not at all impossible that the Socialist party will beat the fusion party when the votes are counted in November. Political revolutions are very sudden in Kansas, and men who were through the cyclone of 1890 will not be over-hasty in predicting that the Socialist party will come to nothing.—Topeka Capital.

TALKS WITH MAYORS CHASE AND COULTER

Splendid Reception Accorded the Massachusetts Representatives of Social Democracy.

The New York Commercial Advertiser of February 26 published the following very interesting sketch and interview by Abraham Cahan with Comrades Chase and Coulter:

Trade union people and Socialists in this city are busy entertaining their two distinguished guests, the pride and glory of the American labor movement, the two Socialist mayors of Massachusetts. John C. Chase, the municipal head of Haverhill, has been here before. During his last visit he expressed the hope that the next time he came to New York he would not be the only Socialist mayor in the country. Charles H. Coulter has since been elected mayor of Brockton on a ticket of the same party, and as the two mayors made their appearance before a crowd of jubilant So-

cialists and trade unionists at the meeting of the Central Federated unions yesterday afternoon the realization of Chase's prophecy was cheered again and again, and the mayors, in great glee, promised to come next year accompanied by scores of other Socialist mayors.

Mayor Chase is a tall, spare New Englander of twenty-nine, with a pale, oval, thoughtful face, and a simple, earnest manner of speech. He looks like a scholarly young man with the polish worn off by years of physical exertion, but his diction, humor and oratorical habits suggest the self-educated, intelligent American working man, who spends his leisure moments thinking, reading and discussing things rather than drinking, betting or quarreling. Mr. Coulter, the mayor of Brockton, is as tall as Mr. Chase, but he measures a good deal more across the shoulders and around the waist. He is a robust-looking man with dark hair and a bushy mustache of the same hue—a black-eyed, kindly-faced giant, somewhat more phlegmatic and more formal than his "Comrade Chase," as he refers to the mayor of Haverhill.

They were seen on a train on their way to Newark, where they were to address another crowd of admirers yesterday evening. They were accompanied by a number of Socialists, which included several professional men and a pretty young woman, Miss Weir, who was described as "one of the privileged classes—an American college girl as deep in Socialism as she is in literature and the other fine arts."

"We are all Americans," said one of the party. "And the two mayors trace their descendants to the old colonists. Their forefathers fought in the American revolution. Not that there are no foreigners in our movement, for there are many, and we are proud of them. But Socialism has been characterized as a foreign growth, as an exotic plant, and I wish to say that the Social Democracy which Coulter and Chase represent is a purely American movement. We are Socialists, but we are American Socialists. In Massachusetts the Yankee element prevails, and if in a city like New York our party includes many Germans and Russians, these are, or intend to be, American citizens like ourselves."

Mayor Coulter said he had no objection to being interviewed, particularly when it gave him an opportunity to talk Socialism to millionaires.

"The readers of your paper are fond of dwelling upon the unity of capital and labor," he said, with a smile. "Well, that's precisely what we Socialists want. We expect to bring about an arrangement of things under which every man and woman will be at once a laborer and a capitalist. The trouble with the rich men is that they will not understand the meaning, the real meaning, of our movement. I think they had better try to understand it before it is too late. By making light of it, calling us a lot of dynamiters and unkempt anarchists, and cracking threadbare jokes on us, one only shuts his eyes to a tremendous power that is gathering head in this country as well as in every other part of the civilized world. We are not fools enough to talk of dynamite. We are Americans, and we have something far more powerful. Our ammunition is the ballot, and our cannon is the glass box which stands in the polling place on election day. This is the kind of gun that has made the American people what it is; and this is the kind of gun that will unite capital and labor into a co-operative commonwealth."

"We believe in the organization of working people in the form of trade unions. If it is legitimate for capitalists to band themselves together in the shape of trusts, why should it not be proper for us to do the same? But what can poor unions do against those gigantic trusts? We are so powerless, so helpless against them. It was this thought—the result of bitter experience—which made us introduce the mighty weapon of the ballot box as a mode of warfare. The capitalist congress and the capitalist legislature undo all we are trying to do for ourselves. Capital fights us politically, and now we are going to hit back."

Major Chase complained of the stock questions, which non-Socialists will persist in asking of Socialists, in spite of the conclusive answers that have been given by the leaders of the movement all over the world.

"People tell me that Socialism is an unfeasible, impracticable scheme, a dream, because they cannot imagine a nation without rich and poor," he said impatiently. "Well, when our ancestors were told that Americans ought to be able to get along without George III., some of them pooh-poohed it all as a vision without substance. They could not imagine the colonists as members of an independent republic. When Fulton first offered to build a boat which would sail without sails, he was called a rainbow chaser and a lunatic; when wise economists predicted that competition in trade would give way to consolidation, to trusts, business men smiled. Now we have a republic, steamboats and trusts, trusts, trusts, and almost nothing but trusts. Well, what is a trust, anyhow? It is Socialism, with a handful of capitalists reaping the benefit of it. We'll purge it of this excrement. Perfect and extend the trust and you get the co-operative commonwealth. Dr. Heber Newton and Dr. Lyman Abbott

are representatives of what is usually described as the better element. Yet both these reverend gentlemen view the trusts and the economical situation generally exactly in the same light as we do. And there are dozens of other well-known thinkers who take the same position.

"I remember the time when people would laugh at us, saying that we should never elect a single man. Well, I was elected once, and when I ran again the democrats, the republicans and even the prohibitionists joined on a candidate to fight us. They raised an alarm. 'The community must be saved,' they said. Yet I was elected against the whole lot of them by the votes of typical American working men. It used to be predicted that our movement would be a thing of the past before we sent a single Socialist to the legislature. Well, we have two members of our party in the state house of Massachusetts—Carey and McCartney—and we have, besides, six men on the municipal board of Haverhill—a town with 40,000 population—and three in the municipal body of Brockton, which is a center of the shoemaking industry, like my own town, and has a population of about the same size.

"I'm a cool-headed Yankee, but I tell you it's growing like wildfire. Haverhill and Brockton and the surrounding towns are full of Socialism, and other places are catching on rapidly. It's Massachusetts, you know—the cradle of every great movement in America. It was the birthplace of the revolution; it was the home of the first abolitionists, and now it is destined to become the fountain head of the greatest emancipation movement the world ever saw."

"You may not agree with me," he continued, appealingly. "But I tell you the thing is getting hold of the people. There was a time when to be a Socialist in my old Yankee town was sure to place a fellow beyond the pale of social intercourse. He would be ostracised like a plague. Now the house of nearly every working man in Haverhill and Brockton has some Socialist pamphlets alongside the family Bible."

"As mayor, and supported by the Socialist councilmen and aldermen, I have been able to raise the wages of car drivers and conductors in our city from \$1.75 to \$2 a day and reduce their working day to eight hours. This, of course, is only a trifle, but it has shown the working people what they can do through the ballot box. So far as their class is concerned, it requires no self-sacrifice to be in our movement. On the contrary, they have everything to win and nothing to lose from Socialism. It's their movement, for ours is the party of class-conscious wage-earners. Still, every great historical struggle calls for sacrifices, and our opponents wonder where we are going to get the people to hazard the bird in the hand for two in the bush. As I say, working people have nothing to hazard. They have nothing but misery on hand. But I have alluded to men who belong to the privileged set whose hearts are with us. Look at our late war; think of the thousands of fellows, well-to-do and poor, who went to Cuba ready to be eaten up with the yellow fever and to die for their country. So, you see, egoism—gross, self-seeking egoism—has no monopoly of human nature. There is a soul in man. It is this soul which made heroes of our patriots, and this soul it will be which will make it possible for men to live like brothers, to love each other and to work for the good of all. Talk of the dream of having people get along well, without taking the bread out of each other's mouth, without being split up into rich and poor! If you don't deny our last war with Spain, how can you deny that altruistic spirit which is the pledge of human happiness—of Socialism?"

The Wicked Ash-Man

Some of our plutocratic contemporaries are considerably wrought up over a report that a number of the ash-cart men working for the New York street cleaning department are receiving occasional "tips" of dimes, quarters and even half-dollars from appreciative householders. It is particularly noticeable that the same papers which are so greatly exercised over this petty tipping evil are at the same time maintaining in sober earnest that Secretary Gage's bestowal of the government money on pet banks is the correct thing to do!

The private citizen, grateful to a hard-working and none too well paid city employe, gives the latter a piece of silver to show his appreciation of duty well done. This is all wrong, according to the view of these high moralists; but for a member of the republican administration at Washington to enrich his friends at the public expense is all right! The poor and humble driver of an ash-cart does a wicked thing when he takes the small gratuity for the benefit of himself and his wife and children, but the millionaire bank official is doing only his duty by "raking in" all the dollars that are pushed his way!

To Our Connecticut Readers

All unattached Socialists in the state of Connecticut are requested to write Louis Schlaf, 26 Spring street, Rockville, for information concerning the organization of branches.

THY BROTHER CAIN.

I have sung of the soldier's glory
As I never shall sing again;
I have gazed on the shambles gory,
I have smelled of the slaughter pen.

There is blood in the ink-well clotted,
There are stains on the laurel-leaf,
And the pages of Fame are blotted
With the tears of a needless grief.

The bird is slaughtered for fashion,
And the beast is killed for sport;
And never the word compassion
Is whispered at Moloch's court.

For the parent seal in the water
Is slain, and her child must die,
That some sister or wife or daughter
Her beauty may beautify.

And the merciful thought we smother
(For such is the way of man)
As we murder the useless mother
For the "unborn astrakhan."

But a season of rest comes never
For the rarest sport of all;
Will His patience endure forever,
Who noteth a sparrow's fall?

When the valleys of hell are sweeping
The sea and the battle plain,
Do you think that our God is sleeping,
And never to wake again?

When hunger and ravenous fever
Are slaying the wasted frame,
Shall we worship the red deceiver,
The devil that men call Fame?

We may swing the censor to cover
The odor of blood—in vain;
God asks us, over and over,
"Where is thy brother, Cain?"

—James Jeffrey Roche.

Abbott at Catskill

As mentioned in this paper last week, Leonard D. Abbott of New York City was present and spoke in Gaylord's Opera House on Monday evening. Owing to the inclemency of the weather there was but a small audience, probably 250 persons. The subject, as most people were previously aware, was straight Socialism, which the speaker handled in a very able manner. He showed that economic forces were at work in society that were irresistible, and in spite of all efforts against it were working a change which would be equivalent to a revolution. He severely scored the ruling class in their wars of greed and conquest in South Africa and the Philippines and pointed out the injustice, inhumanity and wickedness of the whole scheme. The trusts, he said, were doing a good work in that they were consciously or unconsciously preparing the way to the Co-operative Commonwealth. To destroy the trusts, he stated, would be to destroy modern improvements, machinery, etc., and go back to the stage-coach and hand tools. He ridiculed the idea of all attempts at effective legislation against trusts and intimated that most promoters of such ideas were simply the vassals of capitalism and knowingly deceiving the people. At the conclusion of the lecture several persons in the audience fired questions at the speaker, who promptly and effectively answered them. The "Brotherhood" which secured the presence of Mr. Abbott, we are informed, will soon try to secure the services of Rev. Chas. H. Vail of Jersey City, who is the author of several standard works on Socialism and a very able speaker.—Catskill (N. Y.) Enterprise.

The double number of The Herald to be printed March 17 will be a good thing. Snap it up and start the national campaign right, by spreading the light among your friends and neighbors. That one issue will make Socialists and votes this year. Order a bundle.

CALL TO ACTION

ORGANIZE FOR 1900

There are few communities in this country today without from one to a dozen Socialists who are not affiliated with a Socialist organization. At the last State election, the people of the four States where we were active in the campaign for the Social Democratic Party in nearly every community in the State. In almost every community a thoroughly wide-awake and earnest Socialist, with little exertion, could in one week effect the organization of a Branch of the Social Democratic Party.

The Declaration of Principles and Political Demands of this party will be found in this paper; read it and you will see that the party is a straight, uncompromising Socialist organization, recognized as such in the International movement for Socialism. The triumph of the Socialist cause, which is the cause of the world democracy, requires organization, and without it nothing can be accomplished; this party is controlled by no individual, nor by any set of individuals short of its entire membership through the referendum.

The year 1900 will be one of great and far-reaching importance to the people and especially to the intelligent, health-conscious people of the United States; the latter have surely by this time begun to see the futility of any longer giving support to capitalist parties.

Socialists should have as their main object in 1900 the polling of every vote possible for straight and uncompromising Socialism, and to do this the co-operation of every unattached Socialist in the work of organization, where he lives, is necessary.

The Social Democratic Party is now organized in more than half the States; it consists of Local Branches, State Unions and National Council. A Local Branch may be organized with five members. It will nominate candidates for President and Vice-President next March.

Full instructions and all necessary supplies for organizing Local Branches may be obtained from the National Secretary, Theodore Deba, 126 Washington St., Chicago, Illinois.

SEND FOR INSTRUCTIONS

The Herald Leaflets are good for propaganda at 25 cents per hundred copies.

NOTES FROM THE FIELD

Comrades at Rockville, Conn., have arranged for an entertainment and dance at Turn hall, Friday evening, March 16. They will have the co-operation of good talent from Hartford, and a most enjoyable time is expected.

The following resolutions were adopted at a meeting of the Milwaukee central committee, February 26:

"Be it resolved, by the Milwaukee Social Democrats, in central committee assembled, that the delegates from our city to the Indianapolis convention be instructed to stand unswervingly for the present name of the party in case of union with the Socialist Labor party, and for the following important reasons:

"1. That our present name is the very best that can be used, as it explains exactly what we stand for—Democratic Socialism—as well as being the name of the international movement of the proletariat.

"2. That by a change of name the work of the past months will be nullified and we will lose the prestige of the victories already won under the present party name.

"3. That the movement suffers, and has suffered, in the eyes of the country, by constantly appearing under changing and confusion of names."

Father Thomas McGrady, an earnest student and able writer on sociological topics, delivered a stirring lecture at Covington, Ky., under Social Democratic auspices, on "Labor and Capital." The Odd Fellows' hall was well filled with working men and others interested in the subject.

Branch No. 5 of Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia, gave a ball March 2, the proceeds of which are to be used for agitation.

During the local campaign at Milwaukee Branch No. 9 will meet every second and fourth Friday. Next regular meeting March 16.

NEW YORK

The commune will be celebrated this year by the S. D. P. in New York on March 22, at New Irving Hall, 216 Broome street. Comrades Jonas, Calm, Miller and Winchewsky will speak.

MI FORD, MASS.

Chairman, J. H. Murphy; vice-chairman, Jas. Burring; secretary, F. H. Gilmer; treasurer, John Wulf; organizer, W. H. Farrington.

CENTROPOLIS, MO.

Chairman, Alfred Cooper; vice-chairman, J. G. Brink; secretary, Matt Knapp; treasurer, Perry Jewell; organizer, J. N. Saunders.

DAIRSVILLE, CAL.

Chairman, J. W. McDonald; vice-chairman, Thos. Brown; secretary, Harry Lytle; treasurer, B. F. Mel; organizer, W. J. Montgomery.

DEBS AS LECTURER AND MAN

Few treats are more thoroughly enjoyed by the working men of the Birmingham district than a lecture by Eugene V. Debs. It enthralls organized labor and stimulates and renews effort. He is a good tonic. His past achievements are inspiration, his efforts in behalf of organized labor evoke heartfelt gratitude, and his theories and truisms for the upbuilding of the condition of man command enthusiastic respect.

Mr. Debs is not a dreamer or theorist. None of the 3,500 persons who heard him Sunday night formed that opinion. He is a reformer with ideas advanced beyond the times. They are founded on facts, gleaned from delving into economic conditions. He understands the conditions of the working man because he has shoveled coal into the bowels of a locomotive for a living and he has spent much of his life in close investigation into the toiler's environments and needs.

His efforts in behalf of working men in 1894 are history. But in that struggle he incurred debts that he has been discharging as fast as his means would allow. These obligations were not made in his own behalf by any means, but in giving assistance to those who were in the struggle with him. This illustrates the uprightness and honesty of the man about whom there has never been a suspicion to the contrary. Debs met a railway superintendent a short time ago who thought to chide him about taking the lecture platform. "Mr. Debs," said he, "I haven't met you since 1894. You are not doing the same thing now that you were then," and an ironical smile flitted across his face.

"No, I am not," replied Mr. Debs. "Then I was only trying to get a small increase in the wages of the men from the railroads; now I am after the roads in their entirety, excepting the officers, and I am going to get them, too."

Those who missed hearing Debs missed a treat of their lives. It may be many a day before the opportunity again presents itself. From Birmingham Mr. Debs went to Columbus, Montgomery, Mobile, New Orleans, and on into Texas, where his first date is Saturday night. He has been receiving an enthusiastic reception everywhere he goes. Mr. Debs fits the lecture platform as well as if he had been born to it. He is a natural leader, is a deep thinker, polished in manner, a master of the English language, with a fund of wit that lends a charm to the naked facts that he serves to his audience. His train of thought and reasoning is irresistible, and from the moment he begins his remarks until he utters

the last word he chains his audience to earnest and respectful attention, enthusing them at some points, amusing them at others, and withal awakening them to a sense of their duty to themselves and their fellow-man. Long live Debs!—Birmingham (Ala.) Labor Advocate.

THE PRIZE CONTEST

The following prizes, offered by Comrades Forman of Milwaukee, and Goebel of Philadelphia, are for the four largest lists of new subscribers to The Herald sent in between Feb. 1 and April 30: "History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," by Edward Gibbon, in five volumes; one set.

Victor Hugo's masterpiece, "Les Misérables"; two volumes, unabridged; 1,300 pages. Three sets.

The prize list as it now stands is given below:

First Prize—One set Dickens' complete works, 15 volumes; one set Gibbon's "History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," 5 volumes; one set Carlyle's "French Revolution," 2 volumes; one set Victor Hugo's masterpiece, "Les Misérables," 2 volumes.

Second Prize—One set Carlyle's "French Revolution," 2 volumes; one set Victor Hugo's masterpiece, "Les Misérables," 2 volumes.

Third Prize—Same as second prize.

Fourth Prize (offered by Comrade Geo. H. Goebel of Philadelphia)—A first-class fountain pen.

Carey in Debate

"Resolved, That the economic interests of the wage-workers can be benefited by supporting the democratic party," was debated before the Workers' Educational club in Boston February 26. Daniel Lynch presided, introducing Reuben Rush of South Boston for the affirmative and Representative James Carey of this city as the latter's opponent.

Mr. Rush said that 6,500,000 people, most of whom were wage-workers, voted the democratic ticket in 1896, and pledged themselves for equal rights against private privileges. He maintained that the platform's stand was absolutely correct in this, as well as on trusts, income tax, government by injunction and trial by jury, and militarism, and said that today there are too many laws, and that the Chicago platform is good enough for all time. On the latter statement there were loud "Noes!"

Representative Carey said the democratic promises were all right; the only trouble was that they are not kept, and he cited many instances. As for militarism, Bryan talks about the Philippines and the down-trodden continental nations, while a worse state of affairs exists today in Idaho, upon which he is mute. As a matter of fact, there is no difference between the democrats and the republicans. As for trusts, the democrats say that they are robbery, in the first place, and then they advise licensing them. If it was not for the trusts, they wouldn't have anything to howl about.

"There are 158 republicans and eighty democrats in the Massachusetts house of representatives," said Mr. Carey, "but with the finest microscope that God ever permitted man to make, you couldn't tell the difference between them."

"If the democratic party is the friend of the wage-worker, where were the democrats when my bill to give working men on trial for contempt a jury trial came up?" continued Mr. Carey. "Not a democrat appeared in support of it. If the democratic party is the friend of the wage-earner, then Mr. Davenport of Greenfield, a member of the house and of the democratic state committee, and his followers should be ruled out of his party."

"I have no hope for the working class if they don't get onto the democratic party. It has been their ancient custom to give us long-distance sympathy. The democrats must come to the working people with something besides promises. There is merit in their platform, but when put to the test they fail."

To Our Washington Readers

Comrade D. Burgess of New Whatcom, Wash., has been selected as organizer for the state and is prepared to assist the Socialists of Washington in organizing branches of the S. D. P. Correspondence addressed to him will receive prompt attention.

To Correspondents

Owing to National Secretary Debs' absence from headquarters during the greater part of next week, when he will be at Indianapolis, there will necessarily be some delay in answering correspondence. All letters requiring his personal attention will be taken up immediately after his return.

Oregon Socialists, Attention

You are requested to communicate with J. D. Stevens, Box 204, Portland, organizer for the S. D. P., with a view to instituting branches of the party in your community. The future belongs to Socialism. Lend a hand and get your state thoroughly organized.

Have your card inserted in the BRANCH DIRECTORY, 25 Cents per Month. It will help you in the work in your locality.

PERTINENT CRITICISM OF AN UNNECESSARY PROGRAM.

By Chas. F. Schneider

A few questions regarding the proposed move to capture through a competing plant the management and control of industry in the interest of all the people.

Question No. 1. Is it advantageous, is it necessary to duplicate capital in order to convert privately owned capital into publicly owned capital? If it can be shown (and nothing can be easier than to show that) that a higher and better organization of labor and capital upon socialistic lines will result in crushing opposing or competing organizations out of existence, should not the unnecessary struggle be avoided?

Question No. 2. Would not an organization of from one to five million men be still opposed by one of from five to fifteen millions of men? And hence, would not the question of success or failure, even upon this gigantic scale, remain an open one?

Question No. 3. Should not more financial sacrifices from those who illy can afford it be avoided if it can be shown that the same thing can be accomplished without them and in the same time? The trusts are showing us daily that competing plants are already here in superfluity, and the establishment of more, therefore, not only unnecessary, but falacious and extravagant. I have in view purely political action as compared with the expropriation proposed through competing plants conducted upon higher and more scientific principles.

Question No. 4. Would we not in drawing one to five million of the better situated men from the present industry, in order to establish our competing plant, or plants, also intensify that very competition which we profess to abhor and seek to abolish? Thus becoming participants in intensifying, enhancing and increasing the very misery, crime and poverty which is cutting every man who has a heart to feel and eyes to see to the quick? The success of our competing industry once established, will we not certainly be the cause of another financial and industrial circle, compared to which all those of the past will be child's play? And the results of which one should rightly shudder to consider?

Question No. 5. Competition is competition by whomsoever practiced; the results remain the same, the crushing of the weaker to the wall, with all that this implies. Are we, as socialists, so rude and inconsiderate of the rights of the weaker combatant as our friends, the enemy, the present capitalists? Are we practicing what we preach? By what right, other than that of the stronger, in this case the better organized and more scientific, dare we inflict greater suffering upon those innocents and ignorants yet in the opposite camp? Are we, as socialists, becoming educators through the stomach rather than the head?

Question No. 6. I hear some say that in withdrawing from the present capitalistic industry one to five million of men we make room for such a contingent which will be drawn from the reserve army of the unemployed, thus conferring a real benefit. But are we? In making our one to five million of men more productive and still adding to capitalism another one to five million men, what are we doing but hastening on another commercial crisis from so called overproduction? It is plain that no fraction of the people, however large, can successfully deal with the question of the unemployed. Nothing short of the entire people through its governmental, or rather administrative machinery, can do this subject justice, and thus settle the matter rightly and permanently. Only socialism can make room for the industrial reserve army of the unemployed and spread a table for them without at the same time robbing the table of another contingent as large.

Question No. 7. Rather than spend time, labor and money in the direction of educating the mass of the people as to their true and best interests through the stomach, would it not be better to spend a tithe of that time, energy and money in educating them through the head? The crying need of the day is a great socialistic daily like the Berlin "Vorwartz" in New York, in St. Louis and in San Francisco first, and as fast as possible in every city of over 75,000 inhabitants of the United States. Money, time and labor thus spent will shortly yield a bounteous harvest, and do incalculable good in hastening the process of education, as well as abbreviating that period of inevitable misery, suffering and poverty yet in store for the great mass of human kind. Instead of a dozen, we should constantly have an army of 10,000 able lecturers in the field; we should be distributing thousands of tons of literature in every village and hamlet. One year of such work in connection with four or five great dailies and hundreds of weeklies and the co-operative commonwealth can be established in the next. If the writer should suddenly become possessed of one or more millions of money he would spend every dollar of it in this way.

Ocala, Fla., February, 1900.

PROPAGANDA FUND

"Appeal to Reason"	Kansas	\$1.00
E. V. Debs	Indiana	.50
City Central Com.	Haverhill, Mass.	\$2.15
Branch No. 9, Milwaukee	Wisconsin	.25
Joseph Roosen	Conn.	.25
		585.00

LOCAL BRANCHES

Notices of Branch Meetings Inserted for 25 Cents per Month

CALIFORNIA

Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evenings, commencing at 8. Admission free. Educational meetings (for members) every Tuesday evening. Sociology, Economics, Public Speaking, etc. Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening. Membership, with advantage of Educational Course and Social Democratic Herald free to each member, 25 cents per month. Apply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk street.

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock at Woodmen's Hall, 1254 Spring St. J. Franc, 700 Dayton Ave., Secretary.

CONNECTICUT

The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at Turn Hall, Rockville. L. Schell, Secretary.

Branch No. 3, New Haven, meets every Tuesday evening, at 18 State St., at 8 p. m. Cornelius Mahoney, Secretary, 185 Frank St.

Branch No. 4, Torrington, Conn., meets first and third Thursdays at Turn Hall meeting room, Village street. Secretary, Richard Niederwerfer, Box 760.

ILLINOIS

Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 52 Dearborn St.

Branch No. 1, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening. Thomas Kirwin, Secretary, 2504 Westworth Ave.

Branch No. 2 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays at 2 p. m. at Nagl's Hall, 535 Blue Island Ave. Secretary, J. J. Jelonek, 606 Blue Island Ave.

Branch No. 3 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Mondays at 8 p. m. in Duider's place, 1090 W. 18th place. Joseph Duder, Secretary.

Branch No. 4, Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays of each month at Andr. Muzik's, 40 String St. Paul Chlapacka, Secretary, 354 Robin St.

Branch No. 5, Chicago, meets every first Saturday each month at 8 o'clock at Nagl's Hall, 535 Blue Island Ave, near 18th St. Albin Gelsler, Secretary, 726 W. 20th St.

Branch No. 6, Chicago, meets at 1145 W. 62nd st., first and third Sundays at 3 p. m. S. L. Westline, Secretary, 6243 Center Ave.

INDIANA

Branch No. 6, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichwein's Hall, corner Market and Noble Sts.

IOWA

Branch No. 2, Hitepan, meets every fourth Friday in the month at opera house, S. B. Jamieson, chairman; James Fisher, organizer; Joseph Schollhaus, secretary.

KENTUCKY

Branch No. 2, Covington, meets first and third Wednesdays and fourth Sunday afternoon of each month. All agitation meetings except third meeting in month. Good speakers. Secretary, F. C. Stumpf, 201 8th street.

MARYLAND

Branch No. 1, Baltimore, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m. at Carpenter's Hall, 550 E. Baltimore St. Public invited.

Branch No. 2, Baltimore, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at Wenzel's Hotel, 325 W. Camden st. Good speeches. Public invited. Levin T. Jones, Secretary, 202 W. Harre st.

MASSACHUSETTS

The Massachusetts State Committee meets the first Saturday of each month at 724 Washington St., Boston. All dues and moneys intended for the State Committee should be sent to the financial secretary, A. McDonald, 104 W. Springfield St. All other correspondence should be addressed to the Corresponding Secretary, Margaret Hallie, 5 Glenwood St., Roxbury.

Branch No. 2, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Mondays of each month at Springfield Turner Hall. H. Schlichting, Organizer, 30 James St.

Branch No. 5, Lynn, permanent headquarters, 71 State St. Business meeting every Monday night at 8 p. m. Open house. Public invited. Harry Gotimer, Sec., 423 Essex St.

Branch No. 9, Brockton, meets the second and fourth Mondays of each month at 10 p. m. at the Industrial Socialist Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Center Sts. Every comrade is expected to attend one meeting a month. Frank S. Walsh, Secretary, 62 Crescent St.

Branch No. 15, East Boston, meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 99 Chelsea St. Miss Jenny Segal, Secretary, 30 Chelsea St.

Branch No. 18, Newburyport, meets the second Monday of each month at Laster's Hall, 1 State St. E. F. McLean, Secretary, 39 Winter St. G. H. Evans, Treasurer, Prince Place.

Branch No. 21, Chelsea, permanent headquarters.

Branch No. 31, Chelsea, permanent headquarters.

Branch No. 32, Chelsea, permanent headquarters.

Branch No. 33, Chelsea, permanent headquarters.

Branch No. 34, Chelsea, permanent headquarters.

Branch No. 35, Chelsea, permanent headquarters.

Branch No. 36, Chelsea, permanent headquarters.

Branch No. 37, Chelsea, permanent headquarters.

Branch No. 38, Chelsea, permanent headquarters.

tern, Room 2, Postoffice Building. Open every evening. Business meetings every Thursday at 8 p. m. Public invited.

MINNESOTA

Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Gesswein, on Main St. A. Kingsbury, Secretary.

MISSOURI

St. Louis headquarters, Room 7, 22 N. Fourth St. Address all communications to E. V. Debs, Secretary. For information concerning ward branches, inquire at the above address.

Branch No. 7, Kansas City, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1300 Union Ave. G. J. Stors, Secretary, 1390 W. 9th St.

MONTANA

Branch No. 2 meets first and third Sundays of each month at G. W. Wood's home, Chico, Mont.

NEW JERSEY

Branch No. 1, Secretary, Michael W. Schor, 87 Livingston st.

Branch No. 8 (German), Paterson, N. J., meets first and third Mondays at 8 p. m. at Helvetia Hall, 54-56 Van Houten St. Karl Lander, Secretary, 246 Edmond St.

NEW YORK

The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York and vicinity meets first and third Tuesdays of every month in Wislitz's Hall, 85 E. 4th St. Elizabeth H. Thomas, Secretary.

East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every first and third Thursday at 112 Clinton St. A. Guyer, Secretary, 138 Suffolk St.

Branch No. 2, 24th Assembly District, meets second and fourth Wednesdays of the month at 1059 Second Ave., at the "Central." Henry Lang, Secretary, 224 E. 60th St.

Branch No. 4, West Side Branch, New York, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of every month at headquarters, 189 W. 90th St. Elizabeth H. Thomas, Secretary.

Branch No. 10, 4th Assembly District, meets every first and third Wednesday of the month at the rooms of The Voice of Labor, 423 Grand St. Jacob Fanken, Organizer, 139 Division St.

Branch No. 12, Brooklyn, headquarters, 251 Rutledge St. Meets every third Thursday at 8:15 sharp. All persons interested are invited to attend these meetings and co-operate in organizing local branches in every district in the city. W. Butcher, Secretary, 23 Rutledge St.

Branch No. 20, New York, 24th Assembly District, meets first and third Thursdays of each month at Faulhaber's Hall, 1551 Second Ave. R. Hoppe, Secretary, 335 E. 80th St.

OHIO

Branch No. 2, Cleveland, meets in Ohlsen's Hall, 65 York St., second and fourth Sundays at 3 p. m. Lectures, discussions, business meetings, first and third Fridays at 8 p. m.

Branch No. 3, Cleveland, meets first and third Sundays in each month at 5 p. m. in Ohlsen's Hall, 65 York St. Lectures and discussions.

Branch No. 4, Cincinnati, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2:30 in room 34, Davies block, Fourth and Main streets. Every comrade interested in practical government is invited to be present. J. C. Schawe, President; N. Dutle, secretary.

Branch No. 8, Cincinnati, meets every second and fourth Sundays in Workmen's Hall, 1318 W. 1st St. F. Hamel, Secretary, 184 First St.

Branch No. 11, German, Columbus, Ed Greiner, Secretary, 806 Mohawk St.

PENNSYLVANIA

Branch No. 2, Erie, meets every Sunday, 3 p. m., at K. of L. Hall, 716 State St. Chairman, Joseph Stain, Secretary, J. E. Perry, 100 Seaboard St.

Branch No. 4, Pittsburg, meets every Thursday evening at 7:30 p. m. at Funk Hall, 8, 24th and Josephine Sts. W. Bohn, President, 244 Addison St. J. H. Lewis, Secretary, 258 Jane St.

Branch No. 5, Jewellville, meets every Friday at 4:30 P. M. at 7:30. Discussion from 5 to 9. I. Gerson, Secretary.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee Central Committee meets on the first Monday of each month at 8 p. m. sharp at 618 E. Water St. Eugene H. Rooney, Secretary. John Doerfer, Treasurer.

Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Tuesday evening of the month at the Ethical Society Building, 558 Jefferson St. Visitors always welcome. Howard Tuttle, Chairman. Eugene H. Rooney, Secretary.

Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Friday in Geates's Hall, corner Green Bay and Concordia Ave.

Branch No. 3, Sheboygan, meets every fourth Thursday of the month at Gustav Burgard's Hall on Pennsylvania Ave. R. Schoen, Secretary-Treasurer, 8, 12th St.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday each month at Meier's Hall, 200 N. 1st St. Secretary, 351 25th St.

Branch No. 8, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at R. Sigel's Hall, south-east corner Orchard St. and 9th Ave. Fred Brockhausen, Secretary, 78 Windlake Ave.

Branch No. 11, Milwaukee, meets the second Wednesday of each month at the office of the Wisconsin Vorwarts, 614 State St.

Branch No. 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of each month at Evans' Hall, 21 and Center St., at 8 p. m. John Doerfer, Secretary.

in fifteen years, in addition to the capital stock of \$75,000.

The gas company had, on his demand, he continued, reduced the price to \$1.10, but, not satisfied with this, he had called in the state gas commissioners. As a result the price had been still further reduced to 80 cents per 1,000 feet, and the 36,000 residents of Haverhill saved \$34,000 a year.

Lynn Scores Odlin

The following resolutions were adopted at last week's meeting of the Social Democratic branch at Lynn, Mass.:

"Whereas, In a debate occurring in the state house on Thursday, February 15, between Representatives Carey of Haverhill and Odlin of Lynn, in regard to the bill on trial by jury, Mr. Odlin referred to Mr. Carey as an anarchist and as a man who represented not the honest laboring classes, but the dangerous and anarchistic element; Mr. Odlin says he "does not represent Socialists, but anarchists"; and

"Whereas, We realize that the same class—viz., the laboring class—which supported and elected Mr. Carey made it possible for Mr. Odlin to take his seat in the house of representatives, but they have been greatly disappointed in his attitude toward Mr. Carey and certain measures, including the bill for trial by jury, which Mr. Carey has introduced as a protection to the rights of the working class.

"Resolved, That the Social Democrats of Lynn, in meeting assembled, and as representatives of the thinking element of the laboring class, indorse Mr. Carey and the measures which that gentleman has introduced; that we suggest to Mr. Odlin that from an educational standpoint or from a standpoint of insuring the future safety and welfare of his constituents, it would be well for him to either consult an up-to-date dictionary and learn what anarchy means, or consult some physician as to the consistency of the gray matter in his brain; that the Social Democrats recognize in the capitalistic class, whom Mr. Odlin represents in his forgetfulness of the class who elected him and who look to him for legislation in their interests, the real anarchists in their defiance of law and legal life, as well as permeating and dominating our social and industrial systems."

ARE THERE NO CLASSES IN THE UNITED STATES?

(Continued from First Page)

million dollars was sentenced to an imprisonment of two years by Judge Dundas, who also doomed to life imprisonment a tramp guilty of assaulting a mail-carrier and robbing him of one cent.

A massage establishment devoted to erotic purposes was raided in Washington in 1897; Senators and Congressmen were found there; but the comparatively lowly keeper of the house was arraigned and the distinguished patrons were left undisturbed by the law.

For stealing twenty chickens a man was sent to jail for six years by a judge in Kansas City, Kan., while a bank cashier appropriating \$84,000 of the people's money was given but one year by the same judge.

Albert King, well-connected, of Boston, last year ran away with \$30,000 belonging to one of the national banks, but, apprehended after a long chase, was ultimately forgiven. One Redhead was then sentenced to six months' imprisonment by the court before which King was brought for opening a letter containing a dollar.

It cannot but be admitted that lately, in consequence of the more pronounced and more unequally dispersed power of wealth, retrogression has begun toward those monarchical conditions which were presumed to have been left behind forever, and the fact is rapidly coming home to the citizens of this country that the potentiality of class demarcations were not destroyed one hundred years ago, and that, inherent in capitalism, are germs virtually as inimical to freedom and justice and the ideals elevated into view by our grandfathers, as ever blossomed under the tyrannical oligarchies of centuries ago. Capitalism has well nigh had its day. It must go. Equality is waiting for the word. The cry of the masses against the classes will not cease until not only shall conditions like those which have been recounted, be impossible, but the basis upon which such conditions rest shall have been succeeded by a more righteous theory of industrial effort.

Sir Anthony Froude says that "the endurance of the inequalities of life by the poor is the marvel of human society." But, with increasing education and intelligence, that marvel is destined to undergo a transformation. The poor will not always tamely submit. If, as without doubt will be the case, the ones comprising the upper crust of our population see things in a proper light, and gracefully yield to the will of the majority as expressed in the ballot box, the country may congratulate itself, but if there is evidenced a disposition to dispute the signs of the hour, there will be troublous times be in store and a revolution not far distant. That is the alternative.

Framingham, Mass.

Ignorant Misrepresentation

Democrats and Socialists. No reason why they should not vote the same ticket in 1900.—Vancouver Register-Democrat headlines.

In 1896 most of the Socialists, from Herr Most down, voted for McKinley on the theory that it would hasten the downfall and put them in power.—Salem Journal.

Is the above from the Journal ignorant or willful misrepresentation? First, the Journal certainly knows that Most is not a Socialist, and makes no such claim. Herr Most is an anarchist, and makes no effort to conceal it, but travels over the country lecturing on anarchism. It is true, probably that Most and his followers did support McKinley in '96, whether on the theory advanced by the Journal or not we are unable to say. But to say avowed Socialists in any considerable number supported McKinley is to state that which is not true. It is also true that there are thousands of men who are today Socialists who did not know it in '96, for the reason that they had not studied the question enough to become posted, but because of just such misstatements as the one quoted from the Journal they had supposed that Socialism and anarchism were synonymous terms, and were afraid of it. Many of these, no doubt, supported McKinley in '96, but will know better than to do it again.—People's Press, Albany, Ore.

Big Crowd at Newport News

Mr. Eugene V. Debs, the noted Socialist and labor leader, spoke at the opera-house last night to an audience which was both crowded and enthusiastic.

The coming of Mr. Debs was an event which had been widely heralded and had been anticipated with keen pleasure in union labor circles in Newport News. He arrived from Norfolk, where he spoke Thursday night, and was met at the boat by a committee of the Central Labor union, under whose auspices the address was made, and to whose hospitality Mr. Debs committed himself while in the city.

Naturally, the audience was composed largely of labor people, but it also numbered among it quite a bevy of ladies and representative citizens from most of the walks of life. The stage

was occupied by delegates to the Central Labor union.

It had been announced that the address would begin at 8 o'clock. It was a quarter of an hour after that before Mr. Debs appeared. He was greeted with hearty applause and was briefly introduced by Mr. Frank Reidy, president of the Central Labor union, who announced the speaker's subject as "Liberty and Labor."

The audience saw before them a tall, somewhat angular, not altogether graceful, but entirely self-mastered, man, with a face that might have been chiseled, an overhanging brow above eyes that gleamed like fire, and a chin that interpreted the individual.

Those who expected to see a raving maniac, an anarchist, or a Fenian, were disappointed. Those who expected to hear the dislocated tirade of a pessimist were disappointed.

Instead, they found a man inspired by enthusiasm and belief in his cause, an orator of high ability, possessing an immense personal magnetism and a large conception of his theme.

His address was, indeed, remarkable, combining eloquence and epigram in classic phrase and clothing in the garment of carefully culled phrase and the bitterest arraignment of capitalism ever heard on the Virginia peninsula.—Daily Press, Newport News, Va.

THE COMING MAN

By Charles Trench

It strikes me, my fellow workmen, that the average citizen, who has not a vivid conception of the present state of affairs in this country, has either read very little or forgotten a great deal. The fact of the matter is that everything connected with government has gone so perversely wrong, by villainy and corruption, that nothing short of revolution can set us right. The very air is heavy with imposture, and we are in the grasp of despots who carry on the policy of government rather in the manner of thieves and conspirators than of statesmen.

Do you not see, my friends, that clouds of insurrection and violence are looming up like a thunderstorm and blackening the sky? So far as I have any power to anticipate affairs at present seem to present a most alarming spectacle. Nothing but the early advent of the Social Democratic party can prevent the letting loose of revolutionary torrents which will spread ruin and desolation in their path.

When we take an impartial view of the transactions of the present McKinley administration it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that they form one of the most shameful pages in American history. Hannan! What a rampant satire on popular institutions! Criticism, in this connection, can not express itself except in language which is painful! Up go the prices of the necessities of life by leaps and bounds, and no help for it. Of all the inhabitants of the civilized world none are so robbed, impoverished, and distracted as the producers in this misgoverned country. What labor sows rascality reaps. Millionaires and corporations are the only almoners of the government's bounty.

The thought that is now uppermost in reflective minds is—Who is the Coming Man? Who is the Moses, destined to lead us out of this wilderness of tyrannical taxation? That he will be a pronounced Socialist there can be no reasonable doubt. That he will be a man of real honesty and indomitable courage is equally evident. But it is clear that however exalted his talents may be he can do little or nothing in the way of radical reform unless a large majority of the American people are in complete accordance with him in the most momentous and pressing interests of the nation. To bring the masses in line with him is the main difficulty which now confronts the socialistic movement.

It is worth noting, in this connection, that oligarchy, wherever it has existed, has dwarfed and stunted the mentality of the human race. Under its debasing influence cringing and obsequious characters are naturally formed. Men and women, starved into dependents and bullied into fawning slaves, are always apt to regard their oppressors as a superior order of beings. Even in my limited experience I have conversed with hundreds of toilers, so degraded by excessive labor and privation, that many of them thought that God made the world expressly for the use of sharking millionaires and luxurious loafers. A large proportion of this element will, no doubt, be in violent opposition to the coming man.

Another stupendous obstacle which will oppose him is the monied power. Wealth, beyond the dreams of avarice, will be employed to crush him. All that is groveling and venomous in human nature will assail him. In a word, he will be a constant object of the most violent and vindictive hatred of monopolists and their minions.

With these considerations in view, it will be readily seen that to fight capitalism to a finish will be no light task. As the slave drivers of the South held on to their human property with desperate ferocity so will the employers and masters of to-day hold on, with equal tenacity, to their wage slaves.

But, though countless multitudes of wage slaves, duped by the buncombe of selfish politicians, will cling to their chains, and support their oppressors, still the coming man, with the Social Democratic party at his back, will march to vic-

tory. The reason is that all events, and all men, are contributing to the progress of socialism. Broadly speaking, a hundred different circumstances, independent of the will of man, are hastening its advent. Socialism has become a political necessity, and the various circumstances of the times are turning to its advantage. Even those who are opposing it are unwittingly serving it. All alike are blind instruments in the grasp of the resistless law of evolution. It is safe to affirm that were it not for this great and immutable law of nature, humanity would fall back into a state of utter barbarism, in which every man would be either a tyrant or a slave. The pessimist would think that we are drifting in that direction now; but never was there a greater error. On the contrary, signs in all directions give promise of brilliant results in the near future. In face of the glaring and monstrous abuses that disgrace our national administration there is every reason to believe that the Social Democratic party will elect its candidate for the presidency in 1904.

THE PLATFORM

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness for every man, woman and child are conditioned upon equal political and economic rights. That private ownership of the means of production and distribution of wealth has caused society to split into two distinct classes, with conflicting interests, the small possessing class of capitalists or exploiters of the labor force of others and the ever-increasing large dispossessed class of wage-workers who are deprived of the socially-due share of their product. That capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity, subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people.

That the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system, will compel the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare, or result in the destruction of civilization.

That the trade union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its economic, the other its political wing, and that both must be maintained to abolish the capitalist system of production and distribution.

Therefore, the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be the establishment of a system of co-operative production and distribution through the restoration to the people of all the means of production and distribution, to be administered by organized society in the interest of the whole people, and the complete emancipation of society from the domination of capitalism.

The wage-workers and all those in sympathy with their historical mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America. The control of political power by the Social Democratic Party will be tantamount to the abolition of capitalism and of all class rule. The solidarity of labor, connecting us with millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international Socialism, the brotherhood of man. In this direction, we make the following demands:

1. Revision of our antiquated Federal Constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to full and complete control of government by all the people, irrespective of race or color.
2. The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.
3. The public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs, and other public utilities.
4. The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal and all other mines, also of all oil and gas wells.
5. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.
6. The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of a large number of the unemployed, the public credit to be used for that purpose.
7. All useful inventions to be free to all, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.
8. Labor legislation to be made national, instead of local, and international where possible.
9. National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.
10. Equal civil and political rights for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.
11. The adoption of the Initiative and Referendum, and the right of recall of representatives.
12. Abolition of war as far as the United States are concerned and the introduction of international arbitration instead.

MILWAUKEE Social Democratic Herald

A Weekly paper advocating the Collective Ownership of the Means of Production and Distribution, and Supporting the Social Democratic Party. Official organ of the Party in Wisconsin. Yearly Subscription, One Dollar.

614 STATE STREET, MILWAUKEE, WIS.

Have rhill Social Democrat

Published Weekly at Haverhill, Mass., by the Social Democratic Publishing Association of Massachusetts. Subscription, 50 cents per year. Make remittance payable to J. F. Fogarty, Business Manager, Address, Haverhill, Mass.

SOCIAL DEMOCRAT, 25 Washington St., Haverhill, Mass.

Federation of Social Justice

This organization hopes to fill the need in Chicago of a society to give expression to the ethical phase of Socialism. Its meetings are as follows:

HYGIEA HALL, 404 Ogden Av., near Roby and Harrison Sts. Sundays 10:30 a.m. Economic Class and general discussion, Sundays, 11 a.m., address by general discussion, Sundays, 11 a.m., address by general discussion, Sundays, 11 a.m., address by general discussion.

BROTHERHOOD HOUSE, 1541 Central Boulevard, corner St. Louis Av. Sundays 3 p.m. Christian Citizenship League, Fridays, 8 p.m., Economic Meeting, lectures and general discussion.

GARFIELD HALL, corner of Madison and Hamlin Aves. Sundays, 9 p.m., address by Frederick G. Strickland.

The Sixth Annual Issue of

The Labour Annual

is now ready, edited and published by Joseph Edwards, Walsley, Cheshire, England

The "American Section" (edited by Leonard D. Abbott) contains the following: "A Year's Work as Socialist Mayor," by John C. Chase; "A Year as Socialist Legislator," by James F. Carey; "Socialism in America During 1899," etc. There are full lists of American reformers, organizations and books. In all, there are over 60 original articles, and 46 portraits, including Owen, Gronlund, Herron, Mayor Jones and John Swinburn. Cloth 50 cts.; Paper 35 cts.

Send orders to LEONARD D. ABBOTT, 226 W. 71st Street, New York

BRANCH SUPPLIES

Charters \$2.00
Membership Cards (per 100) 1.00
Membership Applications (100) .25
Constitutions (each) .03

Send orders with cash to Theodore Debs, 126 Washington Street, Chicago. No supplies sent on credit.

Subscribers will find their expiration number on wrapper. Prompt renewal is requested.

NATIONAL FUND

The following is a list of comrades who have agreed, in response to the appeal of the National Executive Board, to contribute monthly for one year to the national fund. Other names will be added as they are received.

- CONNECTICUT**
Finnell, N.H., Hartford
Holman, B., Hartford
- ILLINOIS**
Stedman, S., Chicago
Jesse Cox, Chicago
F. F. Ayer, Chicago
A. F. W. New York
Dr. J. H. Greer, Chicago
Mrs. C. Brown, Chicago
"Friend," Chicago
James Helm, Chicago
- INDIANA**
E. V. Debs, Terre Haute
- MASSACHUSETTS**
Flanders, P. B., Haverhill
Cohen, A., Boston
Parker, Levi, W. Newton
Monette, G. F., Brockton
Soworth, W. F., Brockton
Tate, Peter, Everett
Hitchcock, D. G., Warren
Goldman, S., Haverhill
Hough, W. Newton
Chase, Jno. C., Haverhill
Brown, J. W., Templeton
Graves, C. S., Amesbury
Allen, H., Lynn
Krohn, Dr. J. A., Lynn
Carey, Jas. F., Haverhill
- MICHIGAN**
Kelber, S., Grand Rapids
- MINNESOTA**
Gesswein, F. Red Lake Falls
- MISSOURI**
Fincher, Wm., St. Louis
Fellner, Henry, St. Louis
Ruesche, Wm., St. Louis
- MARYLAND**
Jacobson, E., Baltimore
- NEW HAMPSHIRE**
Gordon, F. G., Manchester
Mellon, C. H., Manchester
Mellon, C. H., Manchester
"Somersworth Branch"
- NEW YORK**
Fales, L. C., Beaconhurst
Abbott, L. D., New York
Butcher, Wm., Brooklyn
Thomas, E. H., New York
John, Arthur, New York
Hale, F. W., New York
Loppolov, Jas., New York
Panken, J., New York
Weyell, Chas., New York
Mark Raphael, New York
Aaron N. Sodoff, New York
Philip Gruber, New York
Meade, T. F., Brooklyn
- NEW JERSEY**
Pankopf, Carl, Jersey City
Karl Lindner, Paterson
"Comrade," Newark
- OHIO**
Boover, Jos., Cleveland
Zorn, Julius, Cincinnati
Braun, F., Cleveland
Altenbernd, C., Cleveland
- PENNSYLVANIA**
Lewis, J. H., Philadelphia
F. W. Hirt, Philadelphia
- TENNESSEE**
Enloe, Dr. R. K., Nashville
Hamilton, W. A., Nashville
Mahoney, Wm., Nashville
- TEXAS**
Price, R. S., Houston
- WISCONSIN**
Barger, V. L., Milwaukee
Rooney, E. H., Milwaukee
Ziegler, E., Milwaukee
Doeder, John, Milwaukee
Baumann, G., Milwaukee
Arnold, L., Milwaukee
Meister, R., Milwaukee
Heumann, C., Milwaukee
Tuttle, H., Milwaukee
Heath, F., Milwaukee
Branch, F., Milwaukee

PRINCIPLES OF Scientific Socialism

By Rev. Charles H. Vail
Author "Modern Socialism" and "National Ownership of Railways."

CONTENTS:
The Industrial Revolution. The Analysis of Value. The Origin of Surplus Value.
The Advantages of Socialism: Production, Distribution, Elimination of Unnecessary Vocations, Prevention of Waste, Elevation of Woman, Proper Care and Training of Children, Efficient Direction, Solution of the Social Question, Abolition of Taxation, Simplification of Government, Benefits to Capitalists, Benefits to Laborers.
The Evidence of the Moral Strength of Socialism: Its Spirit and Aim; Abolition of Business Dishonesty; Restriction of Divorce; Prevention of Prostitution; Elimination of Crime; Prevention of Intemperance, Inanity, etc.
Poverty—Its Cause and Cure. Wage Slavery vs. Chattel Slavery. Rent and Interest. The Law of Wages. The Law of Progress. Industrial Depressions and Commercial Crises. The Problem of Labor-Saving Machinery.
Political Economic Errors: That Value is Determined by Capitalist Cost of Production; that the Interests of Laborers and Capitalists are identical; that Labor is Better Off To-day Than Ever Before; that "Cheap Prices are Beneficial to Labor; that Foreign Markets are Beneficial to Labor; that Luxury is Beneficial to Labor; that Land Nationalization Would Solve the Social Question; that Extravagance is the Cause of Economic Want; that Socialism Would Destroy Individuality. Conclusion and Index.

12mo, 236 Pages; Paper, 35c; Cloth, \$1.00.

SEND ORDERS TO THEODORE DEBS, 126 Washington St., CHICAGO.

Headquarters for Literature.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC.

1. Liberty, Debs. 5c.
2. Merrie England, Blatchford. 10c.
3. Municipal Socialism, Gordon. 5c.
4. Prison Labor, Debs. 5c.
5. Socialism and Slavery, Hyndman. 5c.
6. Gov't Ownership of Railways, Gordon. 5c.
7. Orator on Voltaire, Victor Hugo. 5c.
8. Evolution of Industry, Watkins. 5c.
9. Hard Times, Gordon. 5c.
10. Women: Past, Present and Future, Debs. 25c.
11. The Red Light, Casan. 25c.
12. The Pullman Strike, Carwardine. 25c.
13. Co-operative Commonwealth, Gronlund. 50c.
14. The New Economy, Gronlund. \$1.25.

MECHANICAL AND ENGINEERING.

15. Progressive Examination of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen. Hill. 50c.
16. Locomotive Running Repairs, Hitchcock. 50c.
17. Simple Lessons in Drawing for the Shop. Reynolds. 50c.
18. Air Brake Practice, Phelan. \$1.00.
19. Ready Reference, Alexander. \$1.50.
20. Locomotive Running and Management, Sinclair. 50c.
21. Compound Locomotives, Woods. \$2.00.
22. Twenty Years with the Indicator, Pray. \$2.50.
23. Hand-Book of the Locomotive, Roper. \$2.50.
24. New Catechism of the Locomotive, Forney. \$3.50.

Note.—Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 in lots of 10 copies, 25 cents; in lots of 100 copies, \$1.50. No. 2 in lots of 10 copies, 50 cents; in lots of 100 copies, \$3.50. Send orders to

DEBS PUBLISHING CO., TERRE HAUTE, IND.

When visiting Greater New York you desire to meet comrades, go to the

INTERNATIONAL CAFE AND RESTAURANT

428 Grand St., Near Attorney NEW YORK CITY
Prompt attention and satisfaction guaranteed
All are welcome

CAREY'S SPEECHES

"CHILD LABOR"
Delivered in the Massachusetts Legislature. The popular verdict pronounces it simply "great."
"SOCIETY'S RIGHT TO LAND AND CAPITAL"
An argument that is irresistible, couched in language clear, graceful and poetic. Don't fail to order this.

Price 5 cents a copy, or \$3.00 a hundred. Send orders to MRS. A. KONIKOW, 1043 Washington St., Boston

Pacific Coast Socialists

Books on economic subjects can be ordered to your advantage from the Bureau of Socialist Literature, 88 Turk Street, San Francisco, Cal.

Following is a partial list of the works of G. B. BENHAM, which we recommend:

- History of the Paris Commune of 1871, paper cover, 50 cts.; full cloth, \$0.75
- Goebel of Discontent (compilation) .15
- Snap Shots at Capitalism (compilation) .15
- Story of the Red Flag .05
- Crises of Capitalism .05

G. B. BENHAM, 38 Turk Street, San Francisco, Cal.

JOS. BARONDESS FIRE AND LIFE INSURANCE

Life Insurance effected by mail in any part of the country. Fire Insurance effected in Greater New York and New Jersey. 6 Rutgers St., NEW YORK.

CLUBBING OFFERS

The Herald and Appeal to Reason .70
" " " Public Ownership .70
" " " Co-operator .70
Order from THEODORE DEBS, 126 Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRACY RED BOOK

EDITED BY FREDERIC HEATH

Printed on Plate Paper Handset by Illustration

This is an annual publication for Social Democrats who will find it indispensable for reference purposes. This first issue is of especial value because of the historical character of its contents. Among the features are:

A HISTORY OF SOCIALISM IN AMERICA

Covering 75 pages, with portraits of Robert Owen, Etienne Cabet, Wilhelm Weitling, etc., etc.

ALBERT BRIERRE

The first American agitator, with portrait.

A TRIP TO GIRARD

By Wayfarer, with view of Appeal to Reason office.

KARL MARX ON THE SINGLE TAX

MACHINE vs. HAND LABOR

Compiled from government reports by Lester L. Loff.

SHORTER PIECES

Labor Conflicts in 1899. Gronlund, Grant Allen, Chronology for 1899. Directory of Social Democrats. Socialist Controversies of 1899. The "Golden Rule" Mayor. Prof. Herron's Case. Social Democratic Platforms, Etc.

BIOGRAPHIES OF WELL KNOWN SOCIAL DEMOCRATS. Twenty in all.

ELECTION STATISTICS

Covering the Socialist movement down to the present year. A valuable reference.

A SOCIALIST PORTRAIT GALLERY

Comprising seventeen likenesses of leading workers in the movement, distributed through the book.

Send postpaid a receipt of price, 15 CENTS.

DEBS PUBLISHING CO. TERRE HAUTE, IND.

Pocket Library of Socialism

1. Woman and the Social Problem. By MAY WOOD SCHAFF. Shows the emancipation of woman will only come with the emancipation of man through socialism.
2. The Evolution of the Class Struggle. By WILLIAM H. NORTH. A historical study showing how socialism is coming.
3. Imprudent Marriages. By ROBERT BLATCHFORD. A masterly answer to the argument that "prudence" would help the workers of modern art and science alike exploited.
4. Packingtown. By J. M. SIMONS. A study of the Union Stock Yards, Chicago; how nature and man are alike scientifically exploited.
5. Realism in Literature and Art. By CLARENCE DAREW. Shows how the workers of modern art and literature are helping on the new social order.
6. Single Tax vs. Socialism. By A. M. SIMONS. Shows the inadequacy of the Single Tax as a remedy for the evils pointed out by Henry George.
7. Labor and Capital. By KARL MARX. The essence of the great philosopher's theory, in his own words.
8. The Man Under the Machine. By A. M. SIMONS. Tells how wage slavery began, what it is today and how the workers are going to free themselves. A condensed handbook of socialism.
9. The History of the Working Class. By REV. CHARLES H. VAIL, author of "Modern Socialism," etc.
10. Socialism and Socialism. By CHARLES H. KERN. Shows how popular ideas of morals are manipulated in the interest of the capitalist class.

Daintily printed, five cents each, post-paid.

SPECIAL OFFER—For one dollar we will mail forty copies of the Pocket Library, all of one kind or assorted as preferred.

SEND ORDERS TO

THEODORE DEBS

126 Washington St., CHICAGO

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LIBRARY

- Karl Marx, Capital, Cloth. \$1.00
- F. W. Sprague—Socialism, from Genesis to Revolution. Cloth. 1.00
- Gronlund—The Co-operative Commonwealth. Paper.50
- August Bebel—Woman: Past, Present and Future.50
- Blatchford—Merrie England.50
- Edward Bellamy—Looking Backward.50
- Edward Bellamy—Equality. Cloth. 1.00
- Linsag—History of the Commune of 1871. 1.00
- Charles Vail—Modern Socialism.50
- Adolph Hotrodor—Economics and Orthodox Profits.50
- Henry D. Lloyd—Wealth Against Commonweal. 1.00
- Volney—The Ruins of Empires.50
- Thomas Paine—The Rights of Man.50
- Henry George—Social Problems.50
- Osborn Ward—The Ancient Lowly.50
- Adams—President John Smith.50
- Richard T. Ely—Socialism and Social Reform. 1.00
- Buchner—Man in the Past, Present and Future. 1.00
- Benham—A History of the Paris Commune 1871 (cloth 75c), paper cover.50
- Chas. H. Vail—Principles of Scientific Socialism.50
- Herron—Between Jesus and Caesar.50
- Fabian Essays.50
- Ropers—Six Centuries of Work and Wages.50
- Faine—Rights of Man.50
- Donnelly—Cesar's Column.50

PAMPHLETS

- F. G. R. Gordon—Hard Times: Cause and Cure.50
- Leonard D. Abbott—The Society of the Future.50
- F. Lasalle—What is Capitalism.50
- H. M. Hyndman—Socialism and Slavery.50
- F. Lasalle—The Workingman's Program.50
- Chas. H. Vail—The Industrial Revolution.50

THE HERALD LEAFLETS

No. 1 Contains "A WORD WITH YOU, JOHN!" being an admirably prepared paper by "Wayfarer," based on a chapter in "Merrie England."

"THE REAL MASTERS"—pertinent questions addressed to workingmen and political demands of the Social Democratic Party of America.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

VOL. II. No. 39

CHICAGO, ILL., U. S. A., SATURDAY, MARCH 17, 1900.

Whole No. 89.

FIRST ANNUAL CONVENTION SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Preliminary Work Accomplished for the Logical and Irresistible Union of the Socialist Forces at Indianapolis

DELEGATES FROM SEVENTEEN STATES PRESENT

Four Days' Session Marked by Great Enthusiasm—An Earnest Body of Class-Conscious International Socialists—Reports of National Officers Given Deafening Applause.

SECRETARY DEBS' REPORT A SURPRISE

Organized in Thirty-Two States in Twenty Months—Reception of Representatives of the Socialist Labor Party—Revised Platform Adopted.

FULL REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS



EUGENE V. DEBS

The first national convention of the Social Democratic Party of America was called to order promptly at 10 o'clock Tuesday morning, March 6, 1900, by Chairman Jesse Cox, at Reichwein's hall, Indianapolis, Ind.

Comrade Caddon of Indianapolis made an appropriate and cordial address of welcome to the delegates and said the convention would mark a new era in the Socialist movement in this country.

William Mailly of Haverhill, Mass., was unanimously chosen as temporary chairman, and Frederick G. Strickland of Chicago temporary secretary.

On motion the following committees were appointed by the chair:

Rules and Regulations—Mahoney, Tennessee; Jones, Ohio; Forman, Wisconsin; Poague, North Dakota; Phillips, New York.

Credentials—Theodore Debs, Illinois; Martin, Ohio; Robinson, Kentucky; Haile, Massachusetts; Fechyew, Colorado.

Communications were read from A. Allen Noe of Ohio and the comrades in Oregon.

In response to call, F. G. Strickland and A. S. Edwards led the convention in singing "Hark! the Battle Cry Is Ringing" and the "Marseillaise."

The credentials committee submitted a partial report, showing the following delegates present:

Colorado—W. H. Fechyew.
Connecticut—W. Loneragan.
Indiana—E. V. Debs, Ozanias, Grenling, J. Oneal, Evinger, H. Miller, J. W. Kelly, W. Blenko, Judson Oneal, M. Hallenberg, J. R. Backus.

Illinois—Edwards, Strickland, R. H. Johnson, Mrs. Johnson, Mrs. Corrine Brown, E. D. Wheelock, Jesse Cox, Stedman.

Kentucky—F. C. Stumpf, J. H. Arnold, Hirschberg, Robinson.

Massachusetts—Haile, Chase, MacCartney, Jones, Mailly, Carey, Putney, Missouri—Putnam, Caldwell, Hoehn.

New Hampshire—Gordon.
New York—Butscher, Phillips, London, Thomas.

North Dakota—Poague.
New Jersey—Strobell, Goebel.

Ohio—Zorn, Taylor, Nagel, Crumley, Jones, Dillon, Arnold, Matz, Martin.

Pennsylvania—Gillis.
Texas—Farmer, Hampton.

Tennessee—Mahoney.
Wisconsin—Berger, Forman, Heath, Arnold.

On motion a committee of five was appointed on organized labor.

Jesse Cox, chairman, read the report of the national executive board, as follows:

Report of Executive Board

Indianapolis, Ind., March 6, 1900.

Comrades of the Convention:
Your National Executive committee congratulates you, and all the comrades of the Social Democratic party, upon the highly satisfactory growth and condition of the party, and of the Socialist movement in the United States.

It has been deemed proper that at the opening of this convention a concise statement should be made showing the origin and development of the party, its policy and present status, and the prospect of its growth in the immediate future.

The original organizers of our party, profiting by prior experience, believed that it was essential to the success of any Socialist political party that its members should be in accord with each other as to the main principles of the party, and the policy to be pursued.

Therefore, the founders of this movement, while endeavoring to maintain a friendly attitude towards all those who are dissatisfied with present conditions, and who are honestly

seeking to better them by any methods, deemed it unwise to associate themselves in a political movement, with any persons, however honest and well-disposed, who did not understand, and could not subscribe to the fundamental principles of international Socialism as stated and embodied in the platform adopted for the party; it is, therefore, made a condition of membership in the party, that the members subscribe to these fundamental principles.

The American people have been slow to recognize the now obvious fact, that the existing economic capitalist system has, by concentrating the capital of the country in the hands of a few, divided American society into two classes, whose interests are necessarily antagonistic and irreconcilable. Our people disliked and hesitated to believe that society had become so divided into classes having conflicting interests; but this truth has now been forced upon their minds by the development of industrial conditions, and it is being recognized and acted upon by the disinherited majority.

It is upon this antagonism of class interests that the Socialist movement has been founded; not so much by the propaganda of agitation, as by the logic of events. The necessary result of this class struggle is the organization of political parties in the interest of these respective classes, and the conflict between the classes, which has heretofore taken the form of an economic struggle, must necessarily in the near future develop into a political struggle between opposing political parties.

Regrettable as this consequence may seem to many, it is nevertheless inevitable; and the sooner this fact is recognized by the people, the sooner the questions at issue between these antagonistic classes will be settled, and the causes of the conflict removed.

It is the mission of the Social Democratic party to remove these causes of conflict; to organize in a fraternal and indissoluble political union the men and women whose only possession is their labor power, and who by their brains and hands produce the wealth of the country, to the end that they may obtain the political power; and to establish a co-operative commonwealth, in which there will be no conflicting classes based upon economic inequalities.

It is evident that blind denunciation of individuals who uphold or profit by the present system of industry is less convincing to the masses than is the peaceful, but clear and forcible, explanation of the causes of existing evils, thus arousing the people to unite in removing them by political action.

It has, therefore, been the policy of the Social Democratic party, by patient but powerful agitation and propaganda, to convince and organize the masses, avoiding so far as possible all merely personal controversies both with enemies and misguided friends. To carry out this policy of propaganda and organization, it becomes necessary, at the beginning of the movement, that the party should be provided with a newspaper, which should be the national organ of the party. Being without organizers in the field, it became necessary that a weekly messenger in the shape of such a newspaper should visit the homes of our comrades, for the purpose of keeping them informed of the progress of the movement, and to maintain their interest in it.

Voluntary contributions of money from friends of the cause, and a timely loan from a comrade, enabled your committee to commence and maintain the publication of the Social Democratic Herald, until the organization became self-supporting. Comrade A. S. Edwards was chosen editor of the Herald; and we cannot too highly commend his unflinching industry, ability and self-sacrifice in the conduct of the paper. But his efforts have been and still are greatly hampered by want of sufficient pecuniary means to properly conduct the paper. The circulation of the Herald has grown from 3,000 to 8,000, and is still rapidly increasing. It is sent gratuitously to every member of the party in good standing.

The Social Democratic party, recognizing that the regularly organized trades unions represent the economic phase of the class struggle, and that their members will ultimately become enlisted in this political phase, has at all times maintained a friendly attitude towards these unions, and rendered them such assistance as was within its power. Some of these unions have courteously received and listened to our speakers; and it is hoped and expected that the doors of the unions will be more and more opened to our agitation.

We hope for large accessions to our party from the trade unionists in the near future.

In the eighteen months of its existence, our party has elected to public office more than twenty of its members.

It is earnestly recommended that our com-

rades nominate candidates for office in every political election wherever the opportunity shall exist. This course is highly important for agitational purposes, and to give opportunity for the expression of Socialist sentiment.

Our membership has grown with increasing rapidity. We now have about four thousand five hundred dues-paying members. One thousand new members have been added since January 1, 1900.

The growth of the Socialist sentiment, and of the Socialist press in the United States, is highly satisfactory. There are now about twenty-five newspapers supporting the Social Democratic party. One of these, the "Appeal to Reason," has a weekly circulation of over one hundred thousand.

Your committee has sent greetings to the convention of the Socialist Labor party recently held at Rochester, N. Y.; and the Social Democratic party has also been represented by Comrade Eugene Dietzgen at the International Socialist conference in Brussels, held last year. The policy of our party during the last eighteen months, in its attitude towards the trades union movement, in avoiding all personal controversies, and in endeavoring to maintain a dignified but earnest propaganda, has, we believe, commended itself to Socialists, as well as to reformers generally, and this policy has attracted the support of the independent Socialist press.

The good reputation of the party thus gained is inseparably associated with the name "Social Democratic party"; and by this name the party has become known and respected throughout the country.

The hearty thanks of all comrades are due to our national secretary-treasurer Comrade Theodore Debs, for his tireless and unceasing efforts in behalf of the party. We doubt if another in all our ranks could be found more highly competent and devoted.

Mrs. Theodore Debs and Mrs. A. S. Edwards have earned our gratitude by their unselfish services to the national organization.

In an address of this character it is customary to close with a series of recommendations which are supposed to indicate the legislation that is required in the interest of the party. Believing as I do that the representatives themselves are fully qualified to meet all the requirements of the party, I refer to their experience and fidelity, and have full faith in their ability to meet all the responsibilities of the hour, and by their united action pilot the party safely and securely to its destined port.

Respectfully submitted,
Jesse Cox, Chairman.
Seymour Stedman, Secretary.
Eugene V. Debs,
Victor L. Berger,
Frederic Heath,
National Executive Board, S. D. P.
Adjournment taken to 2:30 p. m.

Afternoon Session, March 6

Called to order by Chairman Mailly. On motion William Mailly was elected chairman for the day and F. G. Strickland permanent secretary, with R. H. Johnson and E. V. Putnam assistant secretaries; sergeant-at-arms, H. Greuling. Report of the executive board was accepted and referred to committee.

The following committees were elected:

Auditing—Butscher, Jones (Mass.), Miller, Loneragan, Strobel.

Constitution—Cox, Jones (Ohio), Heath, Goebel, Haile, Robinson, Zorn. Declaration and Platform—Berger, Debs, London, Wheelock, Carey, Stedman, Mahoney, Poague, Brown, Gordon, Wenzel.

Resolutions—Crumley, Chase, Phillips, Farmer, Buscher.

Officers' Reports—Arnold (Wis.), Arnold (Ky.), Nagel, Oneal, Martin.

Press and Publishing—Edwards, Gordon, Farmer, Mailly, Hoehn.

Manifesto—Debs (E. V.), MacCartney, Chase, Haile, Carey.

Organized Labor—Miller (Ind.), Carey, Hoehn, Zorn, Debs.

Committee on credentials reported sixty-two delegates present, representing 1,815 votes. (These figures were increased by supplementary reports.)

The following resolution was then adopted:

Whereas, a committee of nine, representing the Socialist Labor party, has been delegated to visit this convention to present certain matters of importance to this body;

Therefore, be it Resolved, That a committee of three members be appointed by the chair to meet said representatives of the Socialist Labor party and extend to them a welcome to this convention.

The chair appointed as such committee E. V. Debs, V. L. Berger and J. F. Carey.

Secretary Stedman of the national executive board then read his report, the same being a review of the work of the board, with which the membership is already familiar.

National Secretary-Treasurer Theodore Debs then presented his report, which is given below:

Secretary Debs' Report

Office of the National Secretary-Treasurer of the Social Democratic Party.

Chicago, Ill., March 1, 1900.
To the S. D. P. in National Convention Assembled at Indianapolis, Ind., beginning March 6, 1900.

Comrades:

I have the honor to submit the following, my official reports as national secretary-treasurer for the period beginning with my election by the executive board, June 16, 1898, and ending February 28, 1900, covering one year eight months and fifteen days.

For convenience I have subdivided the report into three periods, as follows:

First, from June 16, 1898, the day of my election, to and including December 31, 1898, the close of the calendar year.

Second, from January 1, 1898, to December 31, 1899, inclusive.

Third, from January 1, 1900, to February 28, 1900, inclusive.

It will thus be observed that in the absence of any provision in the constitution I have made the fiscal year of the national party cor-

EUGENE DEBS AND JOB HARRIMAN THE IDEAL STANDARD BEARERS

Their Nomination Arouses the Greatest Enthusiasm and Marks the Beginning of a Real Socialistic Working Class Movement

A NEW AND MUCH BRIGHTER ERA BEFORE US



JOB HARRIMAN

Nominating Speech by F. O. MacCartney—G. B. Benham, of the S. L. P., Seconds Debs' Nomination—Declination and Suspense—The Call of Duty is Heard.

THE MAN OF THE TIME TO THE FRONT

With a Fit Running Mate the Beginning of the End of Capitalist Industry will be Proclaimed under the Banner of the Social Democratic Party

GREETINGS FROM ORGANIZED LABOR WELCOMED

respond to the calendar year in order that it might harmonize with the four fiscal quarters of the year in which, under the constitution, the dues of members become payable and are collected, and which quarters also begin and end with the fiscal year.

Inception of Party

Comrades who were present at the memorable midnight meeting at the Revere house in Chicago in June, 1898, when the present party evolved from the Social Democracy, will remember under what trying circumstances the new party began its career. Not only was the party without resources, but many of its members had lost confidence owing to the split in the Social Democracy and the fierce dissensions incident thereto. It was therefore a difficult task from the very beginning to establish the party, but undertaken by the dauntless few who stood sponsor for it with a full knowledge of the obstacles that were to be overcome, they went to work with a will born of faith in their undertaking and from that day to this have battled untiringly for the success of the party. How well they have succeeded will appear in part in the report of the finances and membership.

Though seriously handicapped for the want of financial resources it will be gratifying to the comrades to know that the party has been able to meet every financial obligation and to maintain its credit unimpaired.

The volume of business transacted during the brief existence of the party shows the activity with which the work of organization and agitation have been carried forward.

In the following report is stated in detail the financial transactions of my office during the period of my incumbency. The official records and account books which accompany the report contain complete record and account of all receipts and disbursements and all other financial transactions in detail, and I respectfully request that the convention authorize the proper committee to audit and inspect my official accounts and report the result of the same to the convention.

The receipts and disbursements appear in the subjoined tables:

Branches and Members

The number of branches in active operation at this time is 226, with a dues-paying membership of 4,536. This number does not, of course, represent the full membership of the party, since there are thousands who support the party at the polls and act with it in all things who are not connected with it in the capacity of dues-paying members. As a matter of fact the latter consist of but a small percentage of the actual supporters of the party, the total number of whom can be known only when the votes are counted and the election returns are made.

Rapid Growth

While the progress of the party has been eminently satisfactory from the beginning, I feel justified in inviting your attention to the extraordinary growth which has taken place in the two months immediately preceding the convention. During the months of January and February of this year fifty-three new branches were instituted and 985 new dues-paying members enrolled. This gratifying increase is going forward while this convention is in session. It bespeaks a year of tremendous increase in the number of branches, in the aggregate membership and in the scope and power of the party.

Extent of Organization

The party has rapidly marched from ocean to ocean and from the lakes to the gulf. We are now organized in thirty-two states and territories and growing at a rate to make it certain that within the next few months the Social Democratic party will be organized and will be a factor in every state and territory as well as in the nation at large.

Conclusion

In concluding this, my first report, I congratulate the convention upon the healthy condition of the party and the excellent outlook for the future. In our councils, national, state and local, harmony and good will prevail. There is neither jealousy nor dissension to mar the good feeling or retard the progress of the party. With zeal and enthusiasm our comrades are pressing forward in all directions bearing high the banner of international Socialism.

My work has been a duty of love. I have had the aid and encouragement of true comrades and associates, especially in trying hours. I have also had the unflinching support of the rank and file, and to one and all I wish to express my thanks and the assurance of my lasting gratitude.

With the full faith that the convention will

be harmonious in its councils, loyal in its obligations and wise in its deliberations, I have the honor to subscribe myself,

Yours fraternally,
Theodore Debs.

[The tables of receipts and expenditures accompanying the report went astray and are believed to be in the hands of the auditing committee. An effort will be made to secure them for publication next week.—Ed.]

Adjourned to meet 9 o'clock Wednesday.

Morning Session, March 7

Called to order by Chairman Mailly. Seymour Stedman elected chairman of the day.

Communications read. One from Los Angeles referred to incoming executive board.

The auditing committee submitted the following report:

We, the auditing committee, appointed to examine the accounts and vouchers of the secretary-treasurer from June 15, 1898, to March 1, 1900, have examined them at length and find them correct in every particular. It would be difficult to improve upon the method of bookkeeping in use, and we highly commend the methodical accuracy employed. Every cent of receipts and expenditures was rigidly accounted for.

Samuel M. Jones,
W. P. Loneragan,
G. H. Strobel,
William Butscher,
H. Greuling,
Committee.

The secretary was instructed to send the following in response to greetings from the Socialist workmen of New York:

"Chairman of Mass-Meeting, Cooper Union Institute, New York City: The Social Democratic Party of the United States, in national convention at Indianapolis assembled, extends its cordial sympathy with the cause of the proletariat of Porto Rico. Three cheers for the international Socialist movement!"

Committee on officers' reports commended all reports and recommended their acceptance and adoption.

Adjourned.

Afternoon Session, March 7

Chairman Stedman presiding. Moved that resolution from Boston branch on party organ be referred to press committee. Carried.

Then occurred an incident that will be historical in the Socialist movement of this country and mark the opening of fraternal relations between hitherto separate forces working toward the same goal. The reception committee, amid tumultuous and long-continued applause, entered the hall with Job Harriman and Morris Hilquit, two of the three representatives chosen from the Rochester committee. Comrade Harriman was presented to the convention in cordial and felicitous terms by Chairman Stedman. He spoke briefly but in words excellently chosen and glowing with true comradeship.

Comrade Hilquit was next introduced. He attributed past difficulties and friction in the Socialist movement to personal eccentricities and prejudices, and declared that no good cause exists for the continued separation of the two parties. The Rochester convention, he said, purposely refrained from adopting a name, and the party be represented

(Continued on fifth page.)

To the Workers

Shall you complain who feed the world?
Who clothe the world?
Who house the world?
Shall you complain who are the world,
Of what the world may do?
As from this hour
You use your power,
The world must follow you!

The world's life hangs on your right hand!
Your strong right hand!
Your skilled right hand!
You hold the whole world in your hand.
See to it what you do!
Or dark or light,
Or wrong or right,
The world is made by you!

Then rise as you never rose before!
Nor hoped before!
Nor dared before!
And show as was never shown before,
The power that lies in you!
Stand all as one!
See justice done!
Believe, and Dare, and Do!
—Charlotte Perkins Stetson.

POLITICAL CORRUPTION ITS CAUSE AND CURE

By Charles H. Vall

It is unnecessary to dwell upon the fact of political corruption, most people are so familiar with it that it is taken as a matter of course. They say that "government is utterly corrupt, it is run in the interest of the few and there is no hope of improvement." Such people have no clear conception of the cause of this condition, but they have observed that government is managed in the interest of the wealthy class and have participated, perhaps, in many futile efforts to secure good government.

On the other hand there are those more optimistic, due perhaps to lack of experience, who inform us that something can and should be done to remove this ever growing evil. These people are actuated by noble motives but their efforts betray an utter lack of knowledge concerning the economic question, and consequently of the causes of the evil they seek to remove. Failing to trace the evil to its source, they waste their time in dealing with its effects. They observe that men in public position frequently betray their trust and so conclude that the fault lies with the individual, and consequently demand that better men be nominated and elected to public office. This accomplished, they think the problem solved!

Usually such advocates of reform have but little conception of practical politics and absolutely no conception of the fact that the economic rulers are the political rulers. They little realize the power they are up against and the difficulties in the way of getting men nominated and elected that are not tools of the ruling class. They have also failed to observe that their remedy has been tried time and again and usually proved ineffective even where the difficulties have been surmounted and good men placed in office. The temptations which beset the public official under the present system is often more than his weak human nature can stand.

This brings us to the main question, What is the cause of political corruption? The cause of this corruption is the opposition of private to public interests. Self-interest is the root. Legislators and councilmen are bribed, either directly or indirectly, by those owning vast aggregations of wealth that special privileges may be obtained. Every trust, corporation or important business interest today is admitted to be politically corrupting power. If necessary the officials are bought outright but frequently a little stock a railroad pass, or trolley blue ticket is all that is required. So long as individuals or corporations can advance their own interests at the expense of the public, so long there will be legislative corruption. The lobby, of which so many complain, is but an effect of which self-interest is the cause. It is a perfectly natural concomitant of the present system of industry. Many a man who was upright and honest when he entered public life has fallen from grace. The incentives today to corruption are too great to hope for much improvement. If men were perfect beings they might administer the present government honestly and justly, but in the present stage of human development the temptations seem more than frail humanity can bear. So long as government must be administered by imperfect beings it would seem the only wise course to remove the motive of perjury and dishonesty. It is surely the height of absurdity for reformers to place all their efforts upon getting "good men" in office and leave untouched a system of industry that makes them bad as soon as they get in. If the powers that be are unsuccessful in corrupting the official, he finds himself isolated and at the expiration of his term laid upon the shelf. The party has no use for a man that does not do the bidding of the master class, the campaign contributions are not forthcoming unless the nominee is believed to be all right, and usually only those who have been tried and found faithful are allowed on the ticket.

The would-be reformers, then, are working at the wrong end of the problem. It is futile for them to blame individuals, to censure public officials for doing the very thing they are expected to do. If we support the system we ought not to make war on those who administer it. Neither does it do any good to rail at the political machine and

boss. These are effects, not causes. We might destroy a certain political machine and boss, but unless we change the system another machine and boss would come into existence. No political boss could long maintain his power were it not for the contributions he is able to secure from corporate interests in return for favors rendered. It is corporate pap that builds up and maintains the political machine. In New York city the municipal ailment is not Tammany Hall but the business interests that use Tammany Hall to buy legislation at Albany and franchises at the city hall. Behind the political "ring" is the private owners of public franchises. Public corruption is merely the overflow of business corruption. Our corrupt business system corrupts our political system, even in our highest courts. Political corruption has become an integral part of our business system—legislation, municipal, state and national, is now bought and sold in the open market. It is mere shortsightedness that blames the ward politician and public official. A little careful examination will reveal the fact that the ward politician and public official are merely agents of those who are endeavoring to subvert their material interests.

What is the remedy for this deplorable condition? If the cause of political corruption is the opposition of private to public interests, the remedy, evi-

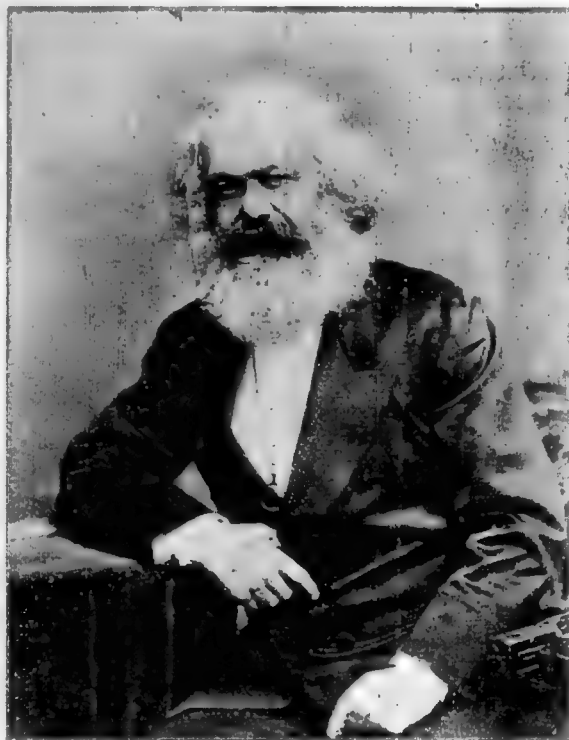
ley systems, etc., is a recognized source of corruption. Many examples might be given of the good results to government from placing these monopolies under public control. Public ownership will remove both the motive and opportunity for this corruption, it will pluck the evil up by the roots. What is true of the municipality is true of the state and nation. It is everywhere private interest opposed to public interest that is the cause of the evil. Collective ownership of the means of production and distribution is the only remedy, and just in proportion as this is realized the evil will be removed. Remove the cause and the effect will disappear.

Socialism would greatly simplify government and render unnecessary its obnoxious powers which result from our false organization of society. Socialism means industrial self-government, a social democracy in which the people are their own masters. Let all who desire the abolition of political corruption join in the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

THE SOCIAL IDEAL

By Leonard D. Abbott

I know that it is not strictly "scientific" to have ideals, but I frankly confess that I cannot help it! Of course we most of us recognize that the great



KARL MARX

dently, is to remove this antagonism, to make the interests of the individual identical with the public interest; in other words, to remove these interests from private or corporate management and control. This would remove both the motive and opportunity for corruption. The motive for political corruption is the same as for business corruption—private gain. Private gain is the cause of selfishness and so long as men can advance their own interests at the expense of others, whether of individuals or of society, just so long the evils will remain untouched. This private gain is the cause of the dishonesty in both private and public business. Of course there is but one remedy, the abolition of this system of antagonisms, in which the interests of every man are set against the interests of every other man and of society as a whole. Socialism would make the interests of one identical with the interests of all.

If we wish to remove public corruption, then, we must remove the cause of dishonesty in public administration—private gain—and thus render it impossible for men to subvert individual interests by violating the public trust and then faithful, honest legislation will be secured. If men could not advance their own interests at the expense of the public, they would have no motive to bribe public officials. By removing capital from private control we remove the cause of political jobbery. Under Socialism there would be no opportunity to raid the public treasury or secure fraudulent appropriations for there would be no opportunity for one to engage in private business. There would be absolutely no opportunity for one to secure special privileges at the expense of the public and even if there were there would be no motive. One could only secure an excess of commodities which he would be unable to consume or dispose of. For the same reason the official would have no motive to sell out, even if there were a buyer, but, as a matter of fact, there would be no one with any interest to purchase, however much he might desire to sell. Under Socialism no one would have a desire to accumulate a great fortune for he could not capitalize it and make it a source of productivity.

Political corruption is inherent in the present system and as long as the system remains we cannot hope for any improvement. It is futile, for instance, to complain of corrupt municipal government and at the same time consent to leaving public utilities in the hands of private corporations. The private ownership of the electric light, gas and trol-

world is pursuing its course regardless of what your ideal or my ideal may be. Yet after all we cannot but cherish more or less definite hopes of what society may one day become, and in so far as we exert any influence upon the thought of our time, we influence and shape the nature of the society that is to be. It will be a sorry day for our Socialist movement when it loses its idealism. Every idealist ought to be a Socialist; every Socialist must be an idealist, whether he is conscious of it or not.

It is impossible in a few words to adequately describe the glorious ideal of Socialism, to which the men and women of our movement are consecrating their lives today, with a whole-heartedness and a self-sacrifice almost unparalleled in the world's history. We can only say that it is the mightiest ideal that ever stirred the heart of humanity. We can only say that it is essentially revolutionary, and that it represents almost the antithesis of existing conditions. In place of strife, we shall have rest and fellowship; in place of misery, happiness; in place of inequality, equality; in place of ugliness, beauty.

What appeals to one first of all in this new life is its comfort and security. There will be no more of this mad, heartless scramble for wealth, no more of this mean, sordid commercialism. Our life will be sane and normal. We shall no longer conduct society on the principle of the herd in the pigsty, but rather in the spirit of kindly altruism and the recognition that an injury to one is an injury to all. We shall not need to think very much about the physical and material side of life at all. A few hours of pleasant labor, organized in scientific fashion on a national scale, will produce enough—and more than enough—to satisfy every human need.

My soul rises up within me to greet the wholesomeness, the equality, of this new epoch in human history. As I dream of it, I feel like one transported from some pestilential swamp to a mountain summit, with its bracing ozone, its splendid panorama. Think of the petty and nauseous stupidity—the utter woodenness—of so much of our life today, with its snobbish castes and grades into which we so solemnly divide ourselves, its so-called "higher" and "lower" classes. Consider, on the one hand, the butterfly life of the ball-room; on the other hand, the drunken soddenness of the saloon. What inspiration it gives us to even think of these things swept from the earth forever! What joy it is to know that we shall one day have a society of real men and women,

instead of (too often) dolls! The world will never realize the pitiful waste and degradation of human life that has been going on through the long centuries, until Socialism produces a new race of men.

Socialism will mean simplicity. It will mean that we deliberately turn our backs on the myriad shams around us. The luxuries of today—the twelve-course dinners, the two hundred dollar dresses, the multitude of servants—are simply signs of disease. It is hard to say which is the more detestable, the overbearing conceit of the plutocrat, or the cringing servility of the flunkey. How pleasant it is to think of the society of equality, enthroning honesty, simplicity, fellowship, and relegating to the ash-heap the pompous shams and the silly "respectability" of today!

Lastly, Socialism will mean beauty. I am sure that one of the first things men will turn their attention to, after the nightmare of capitalism has passed away, will be the beatification of their environment. We will no longer be able to tolerate for an instant the wretched shabbiness and sordidness of modern commercial life. We will put our souls into the architecture of our towns, and make them an ornament to nature, instead of a blot upon it. Everything in those days—from the cup and platter to the steamship—will be worth admiring. We will make the world a garden of beauty.

To my mind, William Morris' "News from Nowhere" is the most beautiful picture of the ideal society ever planned by the hand of man. And I think one might search long without finding anything to equal the exquisite charm of his verses:

Then all Mine and all Thine shall be Ours,
and no more shall any man crave
For riches that serve for nothing but to fetter
a friend for a slave.

And what wealth then shall be left us, when
none shall gather gold,
To buy his friend in the market, and pinch
and pine the sold?

Nay, what?—save the lovely city, and the
little house on the hill,
And the wastes and the woodland beauty, and
the happy fields we till.

The homes of ancient story, the tombs of
the mighty dead,
The wise men seeking out marvels, and the
poet's teeming head.

The painter's hand of wonder, and the mar-
velous fiddle-bow,
And the banded choirs of music—all those
that do and know.

For all these shall be ours and all men's, nor
shall any lack a share
Of the soil and gain of living, in the days
when the world grows fair.

THE MAN UNDER THE DRAY

"A heavy dray broke down in the street and a man was crushed and held captive beneath it. On top of the dray was a load of merchandise and on top of the merchandise were sitting a lot of Monopolists.

"A crowd of men gathered about and began to discuss how to relieve the man crushed by the dray. They stayed so long and discussed so hard that the people finally created them into a Legislature.

"Then they called in a lot more men, called Political Economists, who decided that the man had always been so crushed; it was his natural condition, and it was useless to think of releasing him.

"Edward Atkinson said it would overturn civilization to let the man get out from under the dray—and so it would.

"Next, chairs were adowed in universities to teach that the man was there because he was not fit to survive, or that he had too much overproduction on top of him; that even if he got out he could not walk, because of lack of experience in walking.

"Then came the Theologians, who said the man's heart was bad and that he must be saved before the stuff could be taken off; finally, that if his heart could be got right he need not have the weight taken off.

"And the Theologians secured a life job for centuries, just for preaching that the man could not possibly be anywhere than where he was.

"Finally a man came along who said: 'Why, take the stuff off and let the man go free.'

"That man was a Socialist."—George D. Herron.

Social Question and the Answer

The social problem is a problem to organize the world so that all men may be equally secure in the material means and social resources needful for a complete life. Public ownership of the sources and means of production is the answer to the social question, and the basis of spiritual liberty.—Herron.

Prosperity and Freedom

Property, when first instituted, was endurable; it did not take away from anybody the right and the means of becoming a land-owner, for there was no money, while there was vacant land in abundance. From the moment, however, that every free man could no longer appropriate a part of the soil, property has ceased to be a right. It has become a crying evil, and the cause of the misery and destitution of the masses.—Weitling.

WHAT I HEAR PEOPLE SAY

The people are being educated—some by choice, but more from necessity. Employers are studying the "logic of events," owing to trusts. Employees are forced into this great "student class" by the infrequency of food in their stomachs and the frequency of patches on their clothing. It is true that some are only in the A B C class, but they are all earnest students!

A real estate man who used to occupy a large suite of rooms with help galore, but who now has "desk room," says: "There is something wrong somewhere; I can't make things move."

A lady whose business it is to supply ladies' furnishings remarked: "It is terrible the number of people in the silk business who are thrown out of work by the combination."

Two business men who used to have offices of their own are now working for insurance companies. I asked one of them how he was getting along. "Fine," he replied. "The company has done more business this year than ever before." "Oh," I said, "of course the company is doing well. Nearly all the big companies are doing well. The country is in the interests of the big companies. But I remember the time when you used to have your own business in your own office." He sighed! I inquired of the other one if he had noticed this peculiarly partial phrase of "prosperity" and if he intended voting for the "prosperity" men again.

Another real estate man is also thinking. He has noticed the growth of trusts and the fact that they get anything they want from congress down. I gave him some facts and figures on Socialism, municipal ownership, and what has been done in New Zealand. It is his opinion that "something like that will have to be done here. It seems that everything tends toward trusts, which throws out not only thousands of employees but many employers as well, who are forced to join the workers."

Still another real estate man, who has grown tired of being part of the great but stupid public who are not only being "skinned" by the street railway companies but crowded and almost frozen to death as well, says: "I am in favor of municipal ownership of public utilities; I can't go as far as you do." Nevertheless he is in the lane that leads to the great Socialistic highway, and I can see his finish!

James T. Fishel, a private in the Seventeenth United States Infantry, recently completed his term of enlistment and returned from the Philippine Islands. In an interview in the Chicago Record a few days ago he said: "I should like to go back to the Philippines if Otis would allow me a license to go into business, but his policy is 'once a soldier, always a soldier,' and he will not grant them to any of the boys who have served out their time."

Think of it! That man went there to fight for his country, as he supposed, but that was a great error on his part. In reality he was fighting for the trusts. He can't go into business in the country he helped to grab, but the trusts and rich men, who dodge taxes and don't do any of the fighting except with their mouths, can engage in business there.

"Trade follows the flag," you know! A lot of moral buzzards follow the flag, too, but they follow it after the Fishels risk their lives to place it there. A vote for either of the old parties is a vote for a continuance of generals who are kind to the trusts. Don't forget that.

I think Mr. Fishel ought to be cutting his economic eye teeth!

Miss Frances E. Willard, the great temperance agitator, in her address before the Woman's Christian Temperance union at Buffalo, N. Y., October 29, 1897, spoke of Socialism as follows: "What the Socialist desires is that the corporation of humanity should control all production. Beloved comrades, this is the frictionless way; it is the higher law; it eliminates the activities for a selfish life; it enacts into our everyday living the ethics of Christ's gospel. Nothing else will do it; nothing else can bring the glad day of universal brotherhood."

To all who believe in a religion that touches men's homes and families and pockets—a religion that is a reality and not a Sunday suit only—I make this solemn appeal: Get some simple Socialist literature and read it until you understand it. Socialism is not robbery—it is justice. If it were robbery it would not number among its followers such men as the Rev. George D. Herron, W. D. Howells, Henry D. Lloyd, Washington Gladden, Mayor Jones of Toledo and others. And after you understand it, vote for it.

A vote for the Social Democratic ticket is a vote for a great principle; it is a vote for the universal brotherhood of humanity without distinction of race, creed, sex, caste or color.

A vote for the old parties is a vote for the old system of genteel but remorseless plundering of the people.

Forrest S. Green.

The Union Label

on everything you buy is a guarantee that the producers thereof receive a fair rate of wages for its production

Insist on having the label

THE SOCIALIST PROGRAM

The programme of Socialism is the emphatic assertion of two leading principles: First, we recognize, as the central truth of modern society, the independence of all. No man now works alone, by division of labor and mutual exchange, all are sharing in each other's toil. Second, we apply the doctrine of economic science to the art of government in insisting on the ethical right of the joint workers, and the workers alone, to the whole product of their labor, without any deduction for rent, profit and interest, or any other form of capitalist appropriation. We contend that the whole produce of labor is created by the working class through access to the natural resources of the earth, and to this class it rightfully belongs.

OBJECTS AND PRINCIPLES

Socialism is economic democracy and implies the socializing of all industries. It proposes to emancipate society from class rule, which rests upon the money power, which power in turn rests upon a monopoly of the instruments of production and distribution. Socialism proposes to put an end to the devil's dance of capitalism now going on in the world, by taking all interests whatsoever from the control of the present irresponsible capitalist class, who are using these interests solely for their sordid welfare—thus enslaving the people—and placing these interests in the possession of a responsible national organism, the government, to be owned and operated for the benefit of all the people collectively, who have created these interests and to whom they rightfully belong. The fundamental principle or keystone of Socialism is that the workings of a Socialistic state must be for the benefit of all the people collectively.

The aims of Socialism are principally educational on account of its magnitude, requiring for its complete undertaking the acceptance of a large majority of the people, but the time is not far distant when Socialism will bombard capitalism out of its entrenched monopoly and give it a dose of its own medicine. "What are you going to do about it?" with the answer, Socialism.

Practical Socialism is a method of co-operation managed by a state or nation, by which all production and distribution—in fact, everything which is required for the support and welfare of the individual—shall be owned and operated by the people collectively and co-operatively, so as to enable them to provide for all their wants and guarantee them security of possession and employment for all time.

By doing this things will be produced for use in natural and legitimate channels, and not for profit, which will not exist under a Socialistic state.

Thus everything produced from land and raw material will be produced for use and not for profit. Houses will be built so that people may live in them, and all products will be utilized to serve a legitimate end and purpose. Under the present senseless system everything is produced for the one purpose—that of making money.

Socialism is a principle which requires that industries will be operated to enable people to live, and not pay tribute to and enrich one class, to the manifest injury of the great masses of the people.

The system under which we now live is essentially a robber system, and no honest man can succeed under such a system. The man who can lie, steal, cheat and take a dishonest advantage of his fellow-men at every opportunity, under a legally established system of rent, profit and interest, represents the "survival of the fittest" under our robber system.

Socialism requires that all land, natural resources and all means of production shall be owned and operated for the purpose of enabling the people who labor to live and receive the full product of their labor, thus preventing the capitalist class from despoiling them as is now done of four-fifths of the products of their labor. This implies a change of ownership from the present private system to the collective system, and much of the so-called private property will be looked into and called to account. At present the above interests do not belong to the people, but to a few wealthy men who do not use them for the good of all the people, but simply to make wealth for their owners.

The returns of the United States census of 1890 show that—

Nine per cent of the population of the United States own 71 per cent of the wealth of the country.

Ninety-one per cent of the population owns the other 29 per cent; 4,000 people own the above 9 per cent owning one-fifth of the total wealth of the country.

The national wealth is owned by—

The capitalist class, \$42,203,000,000, or 9 per cent of the population.

The middle class, \$14,550,000,000, or 39 per cent of the population.

The working class (producers of all wealth), \$2,746,000,000, or 52 per cent of the population.

The above figures are suggestive as to who owns the country, and the records of past history show no such complete robbery of the people since the ages when conquest meant confiscation of all the conquered people possessed.

Thus it is plain by the above figures that the wage-workers, who have pro-

duced everything, do not own the land, farms, mines, mills, plants, railway and industrial systems of the nation, but that these are owned by the 9 per cent of the population—i. e., the capitalist class—who operate them solely for their own benefit. Under a Socialist state the people would own and operate the above.

P. P. AYER.

THE PAST AND THE FUTURE

At the beginning of a new century our convention assemblies. The time is portentous of mighty changes. The heavens are darkened with bloody colored battle clouds; but we who have a certain hope for the future know that soon the gloom of strife will be dispelled by the golden effulgence of liberty's rising sun. At the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the century now nearly dead the dynasties of European nations were hurled into oblivion by the French revolution, and the myrmidons of the mightiest monarchs were trampled beneath the swinging onward march of Napoleon's victorious legions. The old was dead and the new was not developed. Nought but battle and bloodshed on every side, the outlook was decidedly hopeless. Nevertheless, we who live at the end of this century perceive this striking lesson when we peer backward through the vista of the past one hundred years: Out of the social chaos caused by contending forces we see emerging the form of civic freedom and political equality. Political freedom, it is true, is not the ultimatum bonum, yet it is the means of reaching any desired end required. As in the past, kings passed away and political power was assumed by the people, so in the near future capitalists will go and the proletariat inherit as its own the wealth which its labor has made possible. Liberty, Equality and Fraternity will be the motto of the French revolution; Liberty, Equality and Fraternity will be the battle slogan of the future.

In Germany, France, Italy, Belgium and England we perceive an international army of militant Socialists 7,000,000 strong, and America will soon swell the ranks of organized intelligent revolt with the solid phalanxes which are being marshaled beneath the standard of the Social Democratic party. Everywhere where political liberty prevails it is being used as a means of obtaining economic freedom. In all lands where political freedom prevails, yes. But there is one great land with an area of 8,660,395 square miles—one-sixth of the land surface of the globe—and a population of 129,932,173, in which not even the remotest vestige of political liberty is enjoyed, and where the despotism is as absolute as that of ancient Persia under a Darius, a Xerxes or an Artaxerxes. Nevertheless this government knows no aristocracy between despot and people, and neither has it a well-developed plutocracy as is the case in other European countries. In Russia the autocrat is the great arch capitalist; the government, which consists of one ruler, controls all the railroads, telegraphs, telephones, salt mines, the silver and gold mines of Siberia and owns almost one-half of the national domain. Besides this it has a monopoly on the sale of tobacco, salt and spirits. A change in this government from a despotism to a republic would be a much nearer approach to the realization of Socialism than the colony of New Zealand is at present. Such a change may be possible in the near future, for it cannot be that Berliński, Korelenko, Sergius, Stepniak, Michael Bakounine, Peter Kropotkin and Leon Tolstoi have lived and battled in vain. It may be that while the Anglo-Saxon and Teuton are agitating and debating that in that far-off northeastern region of darkness and servitude, a Flaric Demos may suddenly arise, cast off manacles made weak with the rust of centuries and call in clarion tones upon the peoples of the earth to follow in the onward and upward path of liberty.

From whence or how the great change for the better will come I do not know. Yet oftentimes in the moments of my deepest pessimism I see a vision of hope. The great Goddess of Freedom, five thousand cubits high, with soft, benignant blue eyes, but with stern resolve enthroned upon her broad white brow, with the naked sword of revolt in one hand and the olive branch of peace in the other, advances with swift, unswerving stride, and in her train arrayed the deep phalanxes of the militant class-conscious proletariat, who march onward singing in the words of William Morris: "Wish ye peace, then be ye with us, let our hope be your desire; Wish ye war, then shall ye perish like the dry wood in the fire."

James Allman.

(Farmers' Review, Bonham, Tex.) The growth of the Socialist movement is something phenomenal. Only a few years ago such a thing as an avowed Socialist was uncommon, but they can now be found in every neighborhood contending for the Co-operative Commonwealth. They are to be found in all classes of society, among the rich as well as among the disinherited. Socialist papers are springing up all over the country proclaiming the necessity of the social revolution. Many ministers are becoming advocates of Socialism and the whole social fabric is being permeated with the doctrine.

HOW SOCIALISM WOULD IMPROVE NEW YORK

Chas. H. Conter in N. Y. Journal

In the first place, it would abolish taxes and give you an ideal city. It would abolish the gambling in the necessities of life and it would make it impossible for one man or a few men to fatten on the great body of our citizens. It would make the happiness and well-being of the millions independent of the whim and rapacity of a few.

Put every enterprise of public utility into the hands of the people and have it run in the interest of the people, instead of for the profit of a few millionaires, and you would get enough revenue to make all taxes impossible and at the same time enable you to build up a city which, in the perfection of its public institutions, charities, hospitals, schools, places of recreation and amusement, street improvements, facilities of transportation, etc., would outrank anything yet imagined.

The principles of socialism are now so well understood by careful and disinterested students than to dispute the accuracy of the above deductions is to set yourself down as ignorant. The matter is capable of exact mathematical proof.

Much more than this, however, can be accomplished, and will in the end be accomplished.

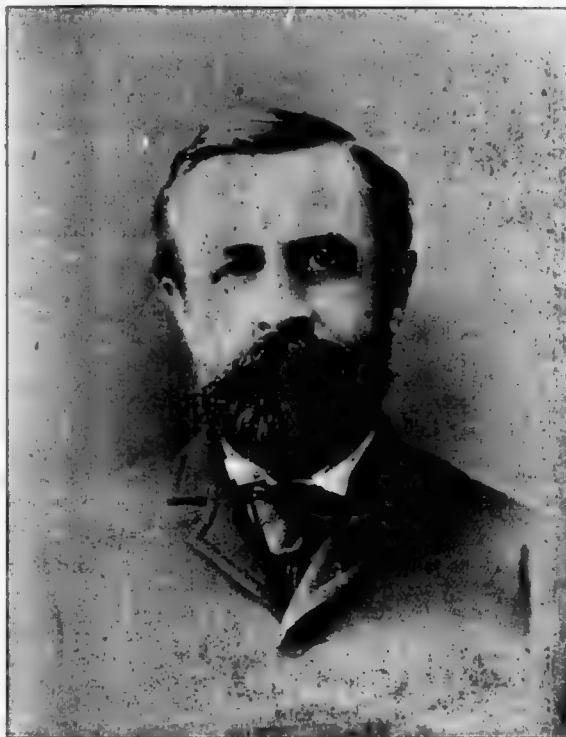
It is only a matter of time, when all

would improve it—would improve it so vastly that within less than a decade it would be hard to believe that the conditions of life, as they are today in this great metropolis, had ever existed.

Let me begin with the children, the children as I have seen them during my stay here, who live in the lower city, especially on the East Side. There is nothing more pathetic than their lives. Often unable to find room in the public schools; more often not furnished with proper clothing to be presentable in school, they grow up in squalid and vicious surroundings without a chance to fit themselves for the duties of citizenship.

Under a socialistic form of government every child, no matter how poor, no matter of what nationality, would be provided with the necessary clothing and the necessary food to attend school. It is, in my opinion, the state's duty to see to it that every child during its school-day age should not only be permitted but obliged to attend, and I am in favor of providing everything to facilitate this, even though it be necessary to provide in addition to shoes, clothing and food a decent abode for them. This necessity has struck me with particular force in New York.

Of course all things which in their nature are connected with the public service should be under municipal or national control, as the case may be. That means, so far as New York is con-



EDWARD BELLAMY

production and distribution will be in the hands of the people—run by the people and in the interest of the people. When all profits will be devoted to the betterment of all the people, but when, nevertheless, each individual will be able to live his or her private life independent of the others. Departments will be established for the operation of every industry and every man will share in the profits according to his ability and his willingness to work. His private life and his amusements he can regulate for himself. One may prefer a fast horse—the other a piano. That is none of the community's business. To interfere with the latter would be "communism," which is often confounded with "socialism."

The average man produces under the present system in four or five hours work a day sufficient to equal five or six thousand dollars a year—I mean that his actual labor is worth that amount, and that under a socialistic form of government the average man would get much.

We advocate strongly the supplying of children with all they need to go to school. They should be properly clothed, shod, fed and sheltered in order that they may be properly educated.

I have been asked what position the socialists take on the liquor question. I answer that I am thoroughly in favor of letting every community decide that for itself. Let the majority say whether alcoholic liquors shall be sold and let the majority impose such restrictions as it deems necessary.

There should be no rival political organizations fighting for patronage and spoils, and there would be none under a socialistic form of government. It would be to the interest of every man to see that the government was properly administered, and there would be no political parasites, hangers-on and professional politicians.

Among other things the pawnshops should be owned by the municipality. This would be of especial benefit to New York, where many people are often obliged to resort to them. Under a system of absolute socialism these would eventually disappear entirely, because they would get no customers, but in the meanwhile their operation by the city would be a boon to the poor.

These are only a few and hastily selected improvements that would follow if New York were governed on socialistic principles.

John C. Chace in N. Y. Journal

Every principle of true socialism, if put into operation in New York city,

cerned, in addition to the public utilities common to all cities, the operation of the ferries. When I watch the throngs that are daily transported across your two rivers I am amazed that the desirability of having these great water highways run for the benefit of the city—that is, the benefit of the people—has not long ago suggested itself to every man and woman.

I assert—and the figures can be furnished—that if all the public utilities, such as railroads, street railways, gas and electric plants, coal mines, water distribution, etc., were run under proper national and municipal control it would not be necessary to assess one cent of taxes for any purpose whatsoever, and we would have enough money to spend on improvements, schools and otherwise to turn every city into a model municipality. And especially is this true of New York City.

But this is not all, by any means. I believe that our present method of production and distribution is a constant breeder of misery, poverty and crime. I believe that an entire overturning—peaceably, of course—of these conditions is necessary.

If everything that is produced now were produced under the supervision and guidance of the people, instead of being wholly a matter of profit and caprice of a few, no man would be obliged to work longer than, at the most, six hours a day, and yet be able to enjoy life, surrounded by the same comforts and luxuries that are now at the disposal of the man who earns \$6,000 a year or more.

The postmaster-general in our country today stands at the head of our postal system. He can figure to a nicety just how many stamps are needed, how much stationery is needed, etc. I believe that if every industry were thus in the hands of a separate department of state there would be neither over nor underproduction, and there would be, consequently, no artificial fluctuation in values. The working hours of the men would be regulated by the department, and would in no case be longer than six hours.

If this system were adopted it would benefit New York more than any other municipality, because on account of its great size, its diversity of nationalities and the vastness of its public utilities, the evils that are sought to be remedied are more glaring here than anywhere else.

New Ready! 135 Pages!

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRACY RED BOOK

EDITED BY FREDERIC HEATH

Printed on Plate Paper Handsomely Illustrated

This is an annual publication for Social Democrats who will find it indispensable for reference purposes. This first issue is of especial value because of the historical character of its contents. Among the features are:

- A HISTORY OF SOCIALISM IN AMERICA. Covering 76 pages, with portraits of Robert Owen, Étienne Cabet, Wilhelm Weitling, etc., etc.
- ALBERT BRISBANE. The first American agitator, with portrait.
- A TRIP TO GIRARD. By Wayfarer, with view of Appeal to Reason office.
- KARL MARX ON THE SINGLE TAX.
- MACHINE vs. HAND LABOR. Compiled from government reports by Leader Ladoff.
- SHORTER PIECES. Labor Conflicts in 1899. Gronland. Grant Allen. Chronology for 1899. Directory of Social Democrats. Socialist Controversies of 1899. The "Golden Rule Mayor." Prof. Herron's Case. Social Democratic Platforms, etc.
- BIOGRAPHIES OF WELL KNOWN SOCIAL DEMOCRATS. Twenty in all.
- ELECTION STATISTICS. Covering the Socialist movement down to the present year. A valuable reference.
- A SOCIALIST PORTRAIT GALLERY. Comprising seventeen likenesses of leading workers in the movement, distributed through the book.

Sent postpaid an receipt of price, 15 CENTS.

DEBS PUBLISHING CO.

TERRE HAUTE, IND.

Pocket Library of Socialism

1. Woman and the Social Problem. By MARY WOOD SIMONS. Shows that the emancipation of woman will only come with the emancipation of man through socialism.
2. The Evolution of the Class Struggle. By WILLIAM H. NOYES. A historical study showing how socialism is coming.
3. Imprudent Paragons. By ROBERT BLATCHFORD. A masterly answer to the argument that "prudence" would help the laborer.
4. Backsliding. By A. M. SIMONS. A study of the Union Stock Yards, Chicago, how nature and man are alike scientifically exploited.
5. Realism in Literature and Art. By CLARENCE S. DAWSON. Shows how the workers of modern art and literature are helping on the new social order.
6. Single Tax vs. Socialism. By A. M. SIMONS. Shows the inadequacy of the Single Tax as a remedy for the evils pointed out by Henry George.
7. Wage-Labor and Capital. By KARL MARX. The essence of the great philosopher's theory, in his own words.
8. The Man Under the Machine. By A. M. SIMONS. Tells how wage slavery began, what it is today and how the workers are going to free themselves. A condensed handbook of socialism.
9. The Mission of the Working Class. By REV. CHARLES H. VAIL, author of "Modern Socialism," etc.
10. Morals and Socialism. By CHARLES H. KERR. Shows how popular ideas of morals are manipulated in the interest of the capitalist class.

Daintily printed, five cents each, post-paid.

SPECIAL OFFER—For one dollar we will mail forty copies of the Pocket Library, all of one kind, or assorted as preferred.

SEND ORDERS TO

THEODORE DEBS

126 Washington St., CHICAGO

The Book You Need

PRINCIPLES OF

Scientific Socialism

By Rev. Charles H. Vail

Author "Modern Socialism" and "National Ownership of Railways."

CONTENTS:

- The Industrial Revolution. The Analysis of Values. The Origin of Surplus Value.
- The Advantages of Socialism: Production, Distribution, Elimination of Unnecessary Expenses, Prevention of Waste, Elevation of Woman, Proper Care and Training of Children, Efficient Directors, Solution of the Monetary Question, Abolition of Taxation, Simplification of Government, Benefits to Capitalists, Benefits to Laborers.
- The Evidence of the Moral Strength of Socialism: Its Spirit and Aim; Abolition of Business Dishonesty; Restriction of Divorce; Prevention of Prostitution; Elimination of Crime; Prevention of Intemperance, Insanity, etc.
- Poverty—Its Cause and Cure. Wage Slavery vs. Chattel Slavery. Rent and Interest. The Law of Wages. The Law of Progress. Industrial Depression and Commercial Crises. The Problem of Labor-Saving Machinery.
- Popular Economic Errors: That Value is Determined by Capitalist Cost of Production; that the Laborer and Capitalist are identical; that Labor is Better Off To-day Than Ever Before; that Cheap Prices are Beneficial to Labor; that Foreign Markets are Beneficial to Labor; that Luxury Benefits Labor; that Land Nationalization Would Solve the Social Question; that Extravagance is the Chief Cause of Economic Want; that Socialism Would Thwart Inventions and Improvements; that Socialism Would Destroy Individuality. Conclusion and Index.

12mo, 236 Pages; Paper, 50c; Cloth, \$1.00.

SEND ORDERS TO

THEODORE DEBS, 126 Washington St.

CHICAGO

Headquarters for Literature.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC.

1. Liberty Debt. 5c.
2. Morris England. Blatchford. 10c.
3. Municipal Socialism. Gordon. 5c.
4. Prison Labor. Debs. 5c.
5. Socialism and Slavery. Hyndman. 5c.
6. Go's Own Ownership of Railways. Gordon. 5c.
7. Oration on Voltaire. Victor Hugo. 5c.
8. Evolution of Industry. Watkins. 5c.
9. Hard Times: Cause and Cure. Gordon. 5c.
10. Women: Past, Present and Future. Debs. 5c.
11. The Red Light. Casan. 25c.
12. The Pullman Strike. Carwardine. 25c.
13. Co-operative Commonwealth. Gronland. 5c.
14. The New Economy. Gronland. 15c.

MECHANICAL AND ENGINEERING.

15. Progressive Examination of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen. Hill. 5c.
16. Locomotive Running Repairs. Hitchcock. 5c.
17. Simple Lessons in Drawing for the Shop. Reynolds. 5c.
18. Air Brake Practice. Phalanx. \$1.00.
19. Ready Reference. Alexander. \$1.50.
20. Locomotive Running and Management. Sinclair. \$2.00.
21. Compound Locomotives. Woods. \$2.00.
22. Twenty Years with the Indicator. Pray. \$2.50.
23. Hand-Book of the Locomotive. Epper. \$2.50.
24. New Socialism of the Locomotive. Ferry. \$1.50.

Note.—Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 in lots of 10 copies, 50 cents; in lots of 100 copies, \$1.50. No. 2 in lots of 10 copies, 60 cents; in lots of 100 copies, \$1.50. Send orders to DEBS PUBLISHING CO., TERRE HAUTE, IND.

The Sixth Annual Issue of

The Labour Annual

is now ready, edited and published by Joseph Edwards, Wallasey, Cheshire, England

The "American Review" (edited by Leonard D. Abbott) contains the following: "A Year's Work as Socialist Mayor," by John C. Chace; "A Year as Socialist Mayor," by James F. Carr; "Socialism in America During 1899," etc. There are full lists of American reformers, organizations and books. In all, there are over 60 original articles, and 40 portraits, including Cabet, Gronland, Herron, Mayne Jones and John Swin ton. Cloth 60 cts.; Paper 35 cts.

Send orders to LEONARD D. ABBOTT, 234 W. 71st Street, New York

Social Democratic Herald

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board
JESSE COX, Chairman
REYNOLD STEWART, Secretary
EUGENE V. DEBS, Treasurer
FREDERIC HEATH

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, \$5.00. Six months, \$3.00. No papers sent to any one on credit. If, without having subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and no bill will follow. Foreign subscriptions \$1.00.

Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

A. S. EDWARDS, Editor
THEODORE DEBS, National Sec'y-Treas.
136 Washington St., Chicago.

89 is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 90 your subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, MAR. 17, 1900.

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Since the human race has no means of enjoyable existence, or of existence at all but what it derives of its own labor applied to the resources of the earth, and since the transformed tools of production have become the property of a class and are used primarily, not for supplying wants, but for making profits, it would be reasonable if the great body of workers, divested by the economic evolution of ownership in the modern tools of production and dispossessed also of the land, demanded that the whole question of labor be considered in all its bearings as if it had now appeared for the first time. The working class, as such, has a right to demand a re-examination of the whole question. Justice and the good of the community demand it.

When the present century opened nearly all work was performed by hand and the various industries afforded opportunities for living getting. The persons engaged in them were, to a large extent, the owners of the tools or means of production. Note the marvellous change and try to grasp its meaning, its effects on civilization.

Work, in constantly increasing measure is done by machinery; the various industries afford opportunity for gaining a living to a comparatively few only, and a diminishing few, with almost unlimited opportunity for the owners of machinery to extend their dominion over the human race.

Millions of men are being reduced to beggary and the dependent class by this one fact of the monopolization of the modern means of production in the hands of an exploiting class.

It is estimated that the productive capacity of the labor-saving machinery in the United States is now equal to a hand-working population of 400,000,000. The machinery in the mills and factories of Great Britain alone is equal to doing the work of 375,000,000 men, more than all the adult inhabitants of the earth at this time.

The single state of Massachusetts has machinery enough to do as much work as 50,000,000 men could do by hand.

Massachusetts contains in its shoe factories enough machinery to produce in six months all the shoes that all the men, women and children in all the states require in twelve months.

A sewing machine does the work of twelve women. A Boston bootmaker with one man to run it makes 300 pairs of boots a day. In 1880 300 of these machines were at work in various countries and turned out 150,000,000 pairs. Glenn's California reaper will in twenty-four hours cut, thrash, winnow and bag the wheat from sixty acres. The Hercules ditcher removes 750 cubic yards per hour. The Darlington borer enables one man to do the work of seven in tunneling and reduces the cost by two-thirds.

A single boy with a knitting machine does as much knitting as 100 persons could perform 100 years ago.

The productive power of society, by discovery and invention, has been doubled every ten years, and even in less than ten, during the century, yet misery, want, degradation, insanity, suicide and murder—nearly all having their procuring cause in the economic distress of the masses who have made civilization only to be stripped of the means of maintaining it—are commonest where capitalism is strongest.

The increase of crime, due fundamentally to the private ownership of the people's tools of production, has become so alarming that a scientific writer proposes the restoration of the "Tarpeian rock, from which the criminal class may be hurled to death."

Private ownership of the machinery of production, which machinery is quite as essential to society now as the individual tool used to be, is a standing menace to the peace of society and involves the destruction of civilization if continued.

The Social Democratic party calls upon the working class to examine the labor question in the light of these revolutionizing facts and to support, this year, the practical program of this party for the emancipation of the makers of civilization who, under capitalism, are denied the enjoyment of the results of their labor.

Dr. H. F. Titus, one of the ablest and most popular ministers of Washington, and hitherto a leader of the non-partisan movement in Seattle, is out with the following declaration:

"Bryan stands for free silver, Agui-naldo and trust regulation, all makeshift or superficial issues. Some populists fondly fancy they can go into the democratic party and make a 'new democracy' of it under Bryan. I do not so read the signs of the times. Rather, a new party is coming, with a new foundation principle—namely, just distribution of the products of labor. Eugene V. Debs, and not William J. Bryan, is the exponent of the new, the Social Democracy. We might as well begin first as last to cut straight down at the root of drunkenness, licentiousness, crime, poverty, idleness, of misconduct and misfortune—namely, capitalism, the exploitation of the many for the benefit of the few."

Among the valued contributors to The Herald we are pleased to reckon the Rev. H. S. Geneva Lake of Olympia, Wash., who has in this number some stirring lines, "We're Coming, Great Jehovah." Comrade Lake has been listened to by thousands from Maine to California and is pronounced one of the most profound and eloquent speakers on Socialism and kindred topics in the country. We should be glad to learn that the comrades in the Evergreen State were making opportunities for Mrs. Lake to be heard. Branches can secure her services by addressing B. L. C., Box 502, Olympia, Wash.

The "Social Democracy Red Book," fresh from the press and fresh with an up-to-dateness that does great credit to the editor, Comrade Frederic Heath, is before us. It is a book that comes just in time to be of great service to the movement, and will, we hope, be given an extensive circulation by the Comrades everywhere. If you see it you will want it. The price is 15 cents; ten copies for \$1. Orders filled from The Herald office.

The Bohemian comrades of Chicago celebrated the commune last Saturday night. There was a large attendance and the musical programme and dance were much enjoyed. The financial result was satisfactory, and the publishing fund of Spravednost, the new Bohemian paper, will be benefited to the extent of \$70. The Herald trusts that the new paper, which was indorsed by the convention, will be well supported.

The national secretary asks for the indulgence of correspondents for a few days while he disposes of the letters accumulated at headquarters during the convention. It might be several days before he can catch up, as a large amount of correspondence awaited his attention on returning to the office.

When I die I wish but two words written on my tombstone—"infidel" and "traitor." Infidel to a church that could be at peace in the presence of sin, traitor to a government that was a magnificent conspiracy against justice.—Wendell Phillips.

The Tampa (Fla.) Advance refers to the visit of Bryan to that place and says that all the questions he discussed are dead ones, while E. V. Debs dealt with the live economic questions of the day.

The Social Democrats of Somersworth, Mass., have nominated Comrade Charles H. Mellen for mayor, with a full list of aldermen and councilmen.

WELL, WHAT OF IT?

We are often told that laborers are better off today than ever before; that they are better fed, better clothed, better housed, better schooled. Admitting this for the sake of argument, the question arises, What of it? Are they any nearer economic independence? Are they any less under the thumb of their employers? After the owning classes have once obtained possession of all the land and tools of production the question of the temporary rate of wages cuts no great figure with them. Having secured permanent control of the laborer by controlling his means of livelihood they can play with him as a cat does with a mouse—let him live awhile and then pinch him awhile. They have him on a chain and can let it out a little or pull it up a little, as it suits them; but there is no hope of ever getting beyond their clutches. The wage laborer is still nothing but a "hired man," and his class never can be anything else under the present system, no matter what their standard of living is. As one writer puts it, "The margin for the possible improvement of their lot is confined within narrow barriers which cannot be passed."

So is a horse better off today than formerly. Horses today are better fed, better stabled, better curried, better harnessed, better blanketed, better shod than one hundred years ago. In these particulars horses have made as much progress as laborers, if not more. In fact, the cab horse standard of living was set up by Gen. Booth as the highest he expected to achieve for the poor of London; to attain anything as good as

the jail standard he admitted was impossible. But after one hundred years of progress a horse is, after all, nothing but a horse and can never be anything else; and likewise wage laborers may improve and improve until doomsday, and yet after all as a class they will be nothing but dependent wage laborers, working only for their "keep," so long as the present system lasts. "Once a wage laborer, always a wage laborer," is truer today than ever before. The only substantial improvement that can be effected is to improve the wage system out of existence entirely.

To claim that the present system of production is the best that ever existed is to utter only a platitude. The fact that it has become the prevailing system is sufficient evidence that it is the "best." So was the slavery system of production at one time the "best," inasmuch as it was the prevailing system until new forms of production rendered it obsolete. The fact that changes have taken place in the past is the ground for our firm conviction, amounting to a moral certainty, that changes will take place in the future. By studying the tendencies of the time we are able to outline what the coming change will be and how and by whom it will be brought about. The industrial change (if that name is more acceptable than the word "revolution") which has already taken place will be followed by a corresponding political change, as has always been the case in the past. This change will be brought about by the intelligent use of the ballot. It will consist in the emancipation of the working class, for the working class and by the working class. This is the only class which is able to bring about a political change, and the only one in whose interest it is to do so.

Marcus Hitch.

"DIVIDING UP"

"You Socialists want to 'divide up things'—make people who have niggered and saved all their lives divide up with a lot of bum-throwers who ought to be run out of the country or hung."

"Well, even so," retorted the Socialist, "that need not worry you, for all you have to 'divide up' is the contents of that little brown jug you ship up from the city as often as you get your pension check, and the more you are obliged to 'divide up' that the better it would be for you. Now, did it ever occur to you to figure on the 'dividing up' that is taking place now in this era of prosperity fostered by your g. o. p., with its gold standard, protective tariff and benevolent assimilation policies?"

"Never did? Then let me give you two or three of the simpler mental arithmetic problems in economic division."

The actual labor cost of running a railway train is not to exceed, in all departments, that of fifteen men, or for a ten hours' run, 150 hours' labor; distance run, 400 miles; passengers carried, 300, or a labor cost of one-half hour for each passenger. At 3 cents per mile railway tariff the cost is \$12 to each passenger. Now, the average earnings per diem, according to the United States census, for farm labor is 25 cents, or 24 cents per hour, if the farmer works only ten hours each day. The ratio of compensation under your g. o. p. prosperity regime of railway service to farm service is 960 to 1; that is, under the present scheme of "dividing up" the average farmer gives 960 hours of productive farm service in exchange for one of railway service. If this is not "dividing up," my capitalist friend, let us have the details of what in your opinion does constitute that operation. In the capitalist arithmetic the process of division is always "long" for the railways and "short" for the farmer, no matter how vociferously he may shout and persistently vote for "the best system on earth."

Or again, according to the Associated Press correspondent, Mr. Frank A. Carpenter, the labor cost of a factory-made pair of men's shoes that retail for from \$2.50 to \$3.50, is but twenty minutes—one-third of an hour. But make it three times as much—one hour. For that one hour of shoe-factory labor the farmer has to return from 100 to 150 hours of farm labor, a ratio of from 100 to 150 to 1. No "dividing up" there, of course. But what blank ruin would engulf the American voting king if an industrial bureau were to furnish him shoes on the same plan it does postage stamps—viz., the cost of the service! Perish the thought and vote the old ticket.

Or again, the farmer buys a common lumber wagon, price \$75. Labor cost of production at factory, forty-five hours or less. Ratio of division in this 'sum' in economic division, 67 to 1, and Grandpa Hayseed keeps on voting the good old party ticket. He believes in "incentive," he does, and means to maintain his "glorious independence."

Or, again, as actually happened in this county lately, attorney fees allowed by the court for less than five days' actual services—but call it ten days—were \$400—\$40 per day; or a division at the ratio of 160 to 1, and our fusion friends propose to fill the gap with a 16 to 1 free standard white metal and national license-to-trusts policy. Let us pr—I mean "divide up." F. E. Miller.

De Soto, Kan.

The Herald has been used for propaganda at 25 cents per hundred copies.

THE VOTERS' CHOICE

By William Maily

Socialists contend, and will continue to contend, that as long as capitalism exists there can be but one vital issue in all elections. And this issue covers all other so-called issues from whatever source they spring, be it the currency, imperialism, the tariff or the trusts.

In this national election, the notes will have to choose between capitalism and Socialism. That is the supreme issue in every country where exploited labor pays tribute to an exploiting class. Of the conditions that make this paramount to all other questions, what need to speak? They are known and realized by all who care to see, better then tongue can tell or pen depict. Let us waste few words on existing evils. Rather let us explain why such things are possible, and what can be done to ameliorate them.

The life blasting and soul withering conditions of today exist because of one fact, the ownership by a class, a comparatively small proportion of society, of the instruments used to produce and distribute those things necessary to the sustenance and welfare of life. These factors are the land, railroads, mines, factories, stores, in short, the entire machinery of wealth production and distribution. Ownership of this machinery presupposes control, and control in its turn means the absolute supremacy of this class in the social, ethical, religious and political life of the remaining members of society. This class is consequently the ruling class in every nation, large or small, republic, monarchy, a despotism, wherever the present civilization prevails. Monopolization of the means by which society exists admits dictation of the manner in which society lives.

Ownership by society, the whole people, of the machinery of wealth production and distribution will mean equal advantages and opportunities to every member of society, first, to make a living, and secondly, to enjoy life by cultivating the sciences, the arts, literature and every other form of social and intellectual activity. An industrial system barren of classes, because it could not heed them. This is Socialism.

The ruling possessing class at present is the capitalistic class. To continue its existence this class seeks to perpetuate the cause of its existence—Capitalism. The governments, local, state, national and finally international, constitute the chief medium through which and by which the capitalist system can be perpetuated. Consequently the capitalist class consciously supports only those political parties whose managers and leaders wilfully or ignorantly plan a continuance of the capitalist system. In the United States these parties are the republican, the large capitalist, and the democratic, the party of the rapidly diminishing small capital, each differing in name, both identical in aim and purpose.

The more possessing masses constitute the working class. With no intent in common with the capitalist class they must consciously support a political party whose aim and purpose is the abolition of Capitalism and the establishment of Socialism. Freedom from the oppression of the ruling class must come through the concerted efforts of the oppressed class. A political party pledged to Socialism is the only party entitled to the support of the working class.

This is an old story now, oft repeated but worth repeating.

If there be any who doubt or mock what is herein written let them look about them. The time has come when they must read and think and act. This must be done sooner or later, and sooner rather than later.

Call us idealists and our theories utopian, we hold nevertheless that ceaseless striving, for a utopian ideal is nobler and grander than slavish submission to a present day inferno.

William Maily.

Haverhill, Mass.

IN MEMORIAM

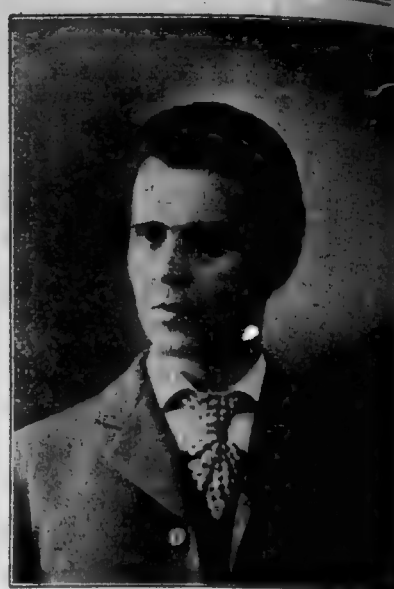
The Herald regrets to learn of the death of Comrade Frederick Scrimshaw, assistant editor of the New York People and author of that clever satirical work "The Dogs and the Fleas." This regret will be shared by Socialists everywhere who admired the man and appreciated his work for the cause he loved.

We have the painful duty of recording the death of Comrade Fred J. Braun of Cleveland. Our deceased comrade was one of the most devoted workers in the organization. At the joint meeting of Branches Nos. 2 and 3 of the Social Democracy, held Sunday, March 4, the following resolution was adopted:

"Whereas, It is with the most profound sorrow we learn that one of our comrades has passed from this life—one of our most patient and hardest workers in the cause of freedom and the emancipation of mankind—namely, our dearly beloved comrade and brother Fred J. Braun; therefore be it

"Resolved, That we here assembled in behalf of the Social Democratic party extend to the bereaved family of our departed comrade and brother our most sincere and heartfelt sympathy and condolence; further

"Resolved, That a copy of this resolu-



EUGENE DIETZGEN

tion be sent to our official organ and also to the Cleveland Citizen."

The grim reaper Death cut down a true and noble worker in the cause of emancipation when Mrs. Sabrie G. Aikin of Duluth ended her labors as editor and publisher of the Labor World. She was endowed with true heroism and rare ability and made her mark in her chosen field of work.

Peace to our dead. May their worth and fidelity be a source of encouragement to the living.

NEW BRANCHES

Oregon City, Ore.

Chairman, G. M. B. Jones; vice-chairman, W. B. Hiddleston; secretary, J. S. Imel; treasurer, C. E. Reynolds; organizer, Joseph Meindl.

Olympia, Wash.

Chairman, Alfred Taylor; vice-chairman, Jean B. Cutter; secretary, E. E. Martin; treasurer, F. N. Chase; organizer, H. S. Geneva Lake.

Salt Lake City, Utah

Chairman, Joseph Ward; vice-chairman, C. A. Yetter; secretary, E. B. Judson; treasurer, Frank Pearson; organizer, A. B. Edler.

Stoughton, Mass.

Chairman, L. W. Drake; secretary, J. M. Sullivan; treasurer, Frank Smith.

Wollaston, Mass.

Chairman, H. G. Marden; vice-chairman, C. J. Axberg; secretary, A. E. Baker; treasurer, O. F. W. Schrader.

Pittsburg, Ky.

Chairman, M. L. Glancy; vice-chairman, L. E. Pike; secretary, J. N. Hutchison; treasurer, Jacob Wyatt; organizer, M. J. Cullar.

Webster, Mass.

Chairman, Adolf Nothe; vice-chairman, Robert Pohler; secretary, Herman Bonat; treasurer, Adolf Koebke; organizer, Max Jahn.

Bingham Canyon, Utah

Chairman, W. D. Clays; vice-chairman, Carl Schneider; secretary, W. J. Burdette; treasurer, E. R. Powell; organizer, Fred Richards.

Tampa, Fla.

Chairman, R. L. Turner; vice-chairman, Joseph Hilgards; secretary, W. A. Platt; treasurer, G. L. Stephens; organizer, W. H. Frecker.

ELECTION RETURNS

In the local election at Hyde Park, Mass., last week the Social Democratic party made the usual remarkable gains and showed surprising strength. K. W. Dodge, for selectman, received 231 votes; William Deagle, selectman, 108; William Kaine, assessor, 143; A. E. Tibbets, tax collector, 143; J. F. Tibbets, board of health, 386. Our vote at Hyde Park last fall was 13. Hurrah for Socialism and the Social Democratic party!

The Socialists of Newark, N. J., in convention assembled March 6, decided to unite under the name of the "Social Democratic Party" and nominated for mayor Edward C. Wind, together with a full local ticket, including candidates for all offices to be voted upon at the approaching municipal election.

DEBS' LECTURE TOUR

Bloomington, Ill. afternoon ... March 8
Peoria, Ill. evening ... March 9
Florence, Ill. March 10
Blue Island, Ill. March 11
Joliet, Ill. March 12
Carthage, Mo. March 13
Nebb City, Mo. March 14
Joplin, Mo. afternoon ... March 15
Galena, Kan. evening ... March 16

NOTICE TO BRANCHES

The quarterly dues for the quarter ending June 30 are due at the headquarters, 136 Washington St., Chicago, Ill., on or before April 5. Prompt remittance is of the highest importance to insure the interests of the organization, and the branches are urged to provide for the collection, which should be begun at once.

THE CONVENTION

with his colleagues held itself open to adopt any name.

Comrade Benham was the next to speak, and supported the purpose of his committee in coming to the convention.

An Indianapolis photographer who had waited long to get a shot at the delegates was then given an opportunity, and all present were grouped together for that purpose.

After the recess the report on platform was received, and while the discussion was on Max S. Hayes, editor of the Cleveland Citizen, the third member of the sub-committee from Rochester, arrived and was given a rousing reception. He responded in a heartfelt manner.

On motion the visiting delegates were given seats and a voice in the proceedings of the convention.

Comrade E. V. Debs moved that a committee be elected to meet the committee representing the Socialist Labor party in conference for the purpose of considering and deciding upon the matters relating to the unification of the parties; said committee to report its action back to this body and to be subject to the approval of the same. Carried.

The committee elected was as follows: Hoehn, Putnam, Berger, London, Robinson, Chase, MacCartney, Butcher, Strobel, Lonergan, Brown, Putney, Cox, Heath.

Discussion of the platform was then resumed, and after some slight changes the same was adopted.

The Platform

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness depend upon equal political and economic rights.

In our economic development an industrial revolution has taken place, the individual tool of former years having become the social tool of the present. The individual tool was owned by the worker who employed himself and was master of his product. The social tool, the machine, is owned by the capitalist and the worker is dependent upon him for employment. The capitalist thus becomes the master of the worker and is able to appropriate to himself a large share of the product of his labor.

Capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people; but the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system will necessitate the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare.

The present system of social production and private ownership is rapidly converting society into two antagonistic classes—i. e., the capitalist class and the propertyless class. The middle class, once the most powerful of this great nation, is disappearing in the mill of competition. The issue is now between the two classes first named. Our political liberty is now of little value to the masses unless used to acquire economic liberty.

Independent political action and the trade union movement are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its political, the other its economic wing, and both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system.

Therefore the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be:

First—The organization of the working class into a political party to conquer the public powers now controlled by capitalists.

Second—The abolition of wage-slavery by the establishment of a national system of co-operative industry, based upon the social or common ownership of the means of production and distribution, to be administered by society in the common interest of all its members, and the complete emancipation of the socially useful classes from the domination of capitalism.

The working class and all those in sympathy with their historic mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America.

The control of political power by the Social Democratic party will be tantamount to the abolition of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting the millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international Socialism, the brotherhood of man. As steps in that direction, we make the following demands:

First—Revision of our federal constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to complete control of government by the people irrespective of sex.

Second—The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

Third—The public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones; all means of transportation, and communication; all water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

Fourth—The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal, and other mines, and all oil and gas wells.

Fifth—The reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

Sixth—The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

Seventh—Useful inventions to be free, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

Eighth—Labor legislation to be national, instead of local, and international when possible.

Ninth—National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.

Tenth—Equal civil and political rights, for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

Eleventh—The adoption of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

Twelfth—Abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

Adjourned.

Morning Session, March 8

Convention was called to order by Chairman Stedman.

The credentials committee reported that sixty-seven delegates were present from seventeen states, with 2,090 votes.

John C. Chase was elected chairman for the day.

The following report from the press and publishing committee was read and received. After discussion, in which the need of free discussion in the party organ was emphasized, the report as adopted was as follows:

The undersigned, your committee on Social Democratic press, respectfully report that we have had under consideration suggestions made relative to the establishment of a co-operative publishing plant controlled by the party. While we are not prepared at this time to make any definite recommendations, owing to financial considerations, our opinion is that the course of the party should be in the direction of such control and we recommend:

First—That the incoming National Executive board be instructed to take under consideration the establishment of a central bureau of literature.

Second—That a committee consisting of three be selected by the convention with instructions to arrange for furnishing to publishers of Socialist and other newspapers plate matter.

Third—That members of the party consider wisely the difficulties incident to starting new papers and the almost inevitable loss attending the duplication of printing plants.

Fourth—That a communication be sent from national headquarters to editors of all publications in sympathy with the principles of the party and printed in German, Bohemian, Hebrew and other languages, requesting them to print all official or party news for the benefit of their readers and that official documents be furnished for that purpose.

Fifth—That official indorsement be given the Sparvelsdunst, a Bohemian weekly paper to be published by the Bohemian comrades of Chicago. This recommendation is made upon the understanding by your committee that the paper will be the property of the Bohemian branches of Chicago and under their editorial control.

W. E. Farmer, Chairman.

A. S. Edwards, Secretary.

For the Committee.

After much discussion relative to some parts of the report on organized labor the following resolutions were adopted:

Attitude Toward Trades Unions

In accordance with our declaration of principles we declare that the trades union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the wage-working class. We recommend to the members of the Social Democratic party the following general rules:

First—Join the union of your respective trade.

Second—Assist in building up and strengthening the trade union movement.

Third—Support the union labels of all crafts.

Fourth—Educate your fellow-unionists on the question of Socialism and the labor movement, on economic and political lines.

Fifth—It shall be your duty to work for the unity of the labor movement, thereby recognizing the fact that the emancipation of the working class can only be achieved by the united efforts of this class.

Sixth—Educate the members of the unions in the principles of Socialism and induce them, individually, to affiliate with the Social Democratic party.

Seventh—Trades unions are by historical necessity organized on neutral grounds, as far as political affiliation is concerned. The trades union is the arena where all wage-workers may be brought together for joint action to resist the encroachments of capitalism on the economic field and to participate in the class struggle of the proletariat which will finally develop into the political alignment of the forces of labor in the struggle for proletarian emancipation.

The conference committee of fourteen on union then reported. After thorough discussion the following recommendations were adopted:

First—That a committee of nine be elected by this convention to confer with the committee of the S. L. P. in relation to union.

Second—That the convention instruct its committee of nine to urge the selection of the name "Social Democratic Party" as the most appropriate name of the united party if union shall be effected.

Third—That after the conference of the two committees aforesaid all recommendations or reports of the committees and all questions, including especially the question of party name, shall be submitted to a majority referendum vote of each party, said vote to be taken separately by each party.

Provided, however, that in case any question other than that of party name submitted to a referendum vote shall fail of concurrence, the committee shall have power to submit new propositions regarding such matters to a referendum vote.

The Nominations

On motion the convention then proceeded to nominate candidates for president and vice-president of the United States. Frederic O. MacCartney of Massachusetts took the floor and said:

Mr. Chairman and Comrades of the S. D. P. in Convention:

I know that it is customary in the nomination of a candidate for president to give forth utterances which are winged with eloquence. Now, I am not an eloquent man, but I believe that the comrades will accept in lieu of eloquence a few words that come from the heart of the one who makes the nomination.

In a dark epoch of strife a child was born, an epoch of strife between two great classes of society. On the one hand there was the maturing capitalist class, and on the other hand there was the evolution of the self-conscious, class-conscious, wage-earning, working class. From the earliest time that this child could take cognizance of the condition of the class into which he was born his interest began to develop in the destinies of his class. There was therefore the conjunction of the birth of a great movement with the birth of a great man. The individual is subservient to the growth of any epoch; nevertheless, the individual who grasps the meaning of the epoch in which he lives makes his impress upon the epoch, and molds it by the power of his individuality.

And thus began a campaign of conquest of the minds of his fellow countrymen in order to bring it about.

I say that the man contributes to the epoch, and the epoch in turn contributes to his life.

Twenty-five years ago the young man, grown from a child, definitely gave his life in

consecration to his class and to his kind. He took the first movements which were open to his influence. He was a wage-earner; he was a working man. He therefore identified himself with those movements which look to the improvement of the conditions of his class, to the maintenance of the standard of living of his class.

This was the great trades union movement, and it finally culminated in one of the most heroic strikes in modern history, a strike based upon love for fellow-man, a strike which was the quintessence of unselfishness, of self-abnegation, a strike in which men asked not only that their own rate of wages should be maintained but that the wages, the standard of living, of their fellow-men, should be maintained.

In the meantime capitalism had been reaching its maturity. A critical point has been reached. A strike was inaugurated by the American Railway union delegates and men. The capitalist party gave forth its ultimate power in the courts, for the courts in the evolution of the capitalist class had become subservient and did their will. This man defied the courts in the cause of humanity. This man jeopardized his life, and finally he gave himself to imprisonment. For the time being the courts had their sway, and the capitalistic class was triumphant.

The man thus giving himself had followed the evolution of the labor movement. He had gone from one party to another party in the evolution of politics, his mind open, all alive. When he entered the tomb he had completed one cycle of his life. There it was that, like a John of Patmos, he had revealed to him a vision of the things that were to be, of the new kingdom, of the new era. There it was that there came to him a message which was the completion of the Pilgrim's Progress of labor. When he came forth from that tomb it was to a resurrection of life and the first message that he gave to his class as he came from his darkened cell was a message of liberty. He became the liberator. Then the inevitable movement and the man had met, and they were never again to be separated. He was still to continue to mold the movement, and the movement was again to transform him into a liberator of his kind, and now the time has come when the first presidential campaign shall be prosecuted.

We would not tax him. We would rather preserve his life as more precious than our own. If he will commit that life to us we will preserve that life. We ask him to give us his name. It is for him to decide. I therefore place in nomination the name of one whom we love, the peerless champion of labor, the knight errant of the new chivalry which will mean the emancipation of our land. I place in nomination the name of Eugene V. Debs.

A mighty wave of enthusiasm rose when the speaker resumed his seat. All eyes were turned on Gene. The applause gradually subsiding, he arose and said:

"Mr. Chairman and Comrades: How completely I respond to the very beautiful and touching words of the comrade it is impossible for me to say, deeply moved as I am by this manifestation of your confidence and good will. When I attempt to give expression to the emotions within me, all words become meaningless. Far more than language can express do I appreciate the confidence of the comrades who would make me the standard-bearer of the campaign in which we are now entering. I say again in the presence of my comrades that there is nothing within my power to bestow that I would not gladly give in the interest of this party. But for certain reasons which are sufficient but not necessary to be stated, it is not possible for me to accept the honor you wish to confer on me. Strange as it may seem to you, I say that I cannot accept the nomination. I am not considering my own honor, but only that of the Social Democratic party, of which I am only a simple member. I hope you will not consider me indifferent to your appeal. I could not be insensitive to it without being destitute of every quality that dignifies human nature. For twenty-five years I have been enlisted in the cause of labor; I have done what has been in my power to advance that cause. There are considerations of health which make it impossible for me to accept the nomination. I hope the comrades will be considerate and accept my declination in the same spirit in which I am compelled to tender it."

For a few moments the profoundest silence prevailed, every one present realizing how much to this man meant any other course, but all hoping that the very silence itself was the herald of joy to come. Hoehn of Missouri was the first to break it; with great feeling he appealed to Debs to reconsider his decision. Benham of the S. L. P. committee followed, and, urging an acceptance, said: "We have a climate out in California that is good for men like you. Come out there with us; we will care for you." Harriman added his plea for the sake of duty, union and Socialism. Others also pled, all in vain; the convention's choice, the choice of the visiting delegates, sat immovable as a statue.

The session had been prolonged for the purpose of making the nominations Thursday night, but failing in this an adjournment was taken to Friday morning.

Morning Session, March 9

The convention was called to order by Chairman Chase.

On motion the following were appointed a committee to arrange to furnish plate matter to Socialist and other publishers: Gordon, Evinger, Edwards.

The following resolution was adopted: "That the national executive board be instructed to formulate and publish, in such form as they deem advisable, general instructions to organizers in reference to the organization or formation of local branches of the Social Democratic party."

Eugene Dietzen was nominated for delegate from the Social Democratic party to the International Socialist con-

gress at Paris; but after discussion the matter was referred to the committee of nine.

Debs and Harriman

MacCartney of Massachusetts then took the floor and in a few words renominated Eugene Victor Debs for president amid a storm of cheers. Benham of California rose and seconded the nomination, which was made unanimous by a rising vote.

Victor L. Berger of Wisconsin then placed in nomination for vice-president Job Harriman of California. Instantly the delegates were on their feet; the ticket was complete; the ideal ticket had been named. While the nominees stood on either hand of Chairman Chase, the convention indulged in a demonstration the like of which has never before occurred in a Socialist gathering on American soil.

The nomination of the committee of nine to confer with the Rochester committee was then taken up. There were fifteen nominees and the vote was taken by ballot, each delegate casting as many votes as he had credentials.

On motion the committee of nine was empowered to fill vacancies.

The following resolution was adopted: "Resolved, That our incoming national executive board be instructed to devise ways and means for a systematic campaign of agitation and organization among the working women of the country by means of a special committee."

A new constitution was submitted, adopted and referred to a committee of eighteen.

On motion the present executive board and officers were instructed to serve until the committee of nine reported.

On motion the Manifesto was referred to committee of eighteen.

On motion the matter of party emblems was referred to the joint committee.

On motion the time of meeting for the joint committee was left to the committee itself.

On motion Seymour Stedman was chosen as chairman of committee, with power to select four others to solicit funds.

On motion the convention tendered a vote of thanks to the comrades of Indianapolis, to the city press, the secretary and assistants.

Short addresses followed by Harriman, Hilquit and Hayes.

Chairman Stedman announced as the committee on funds—Strobel, MacCartney, Finn, Haile, Zorn, Mil'ner (N. Y.). Stedman, MacCartney, Hilquit and Benham were appointed a committee to escort the candidate for president to the hall.

Adjourned.

Afternoon Session, March 9

Called to order at 2 p. m. by Chairman Chase.

Debs and Harriman were escorted into the hall, creating an extraordinary scene of enthusiasm, which was repeated when both ascended to the platform. Again and again the cheering was resumed as Debs in a brief speech announced his acceptance. He was followed by Harriman, who met with a demonstration that indicated unmistakably the spirit and purpose of the delegates.

Tellers reported the following elected as members of the union committee of nine: V. L. Berger, J. C. Chase, W. Butcher, Mararet Haile, G. A. Hoehn, Frederic Heath, W. E. Farmer, Seymour Stedman, J. F. Carey.

Moved that those next following the nine in number of votes fill vacancies. Carried.

The convention then adjourned sine die, all joining in singing the "Marseillaise."

Social Democratic Party

The committee of nine was instructed, as the report shows, to urge the adoption of the name "Social Democratic Party" for the united party. This met with no opposition in the convention, and was the unanimous sentiment of the delegates. Morris Hilquit in his first address to the convention declared that the Rochester convention had purposely refrained from adopting a name, and the party he represented was willing to adopt any name the committee on union might agree upon.

The committee of nine representing the Social Democratic party met and decided to hold a joint meeting at New York in two weeks. In the event that any of the nine are unable to attend, the four receiving the highest vote in the order named and entitled by vote of the convention to fill vacancies are: Lonergan, Connecticut; Martin, Ohio; Mahoney, Tennessee; Strobel, Newark.

GREETINGS OVER THE WIRES

The following dispatches were received and read to the convention during the four days' sessions:

New York Jewish Socialists

New York Jewish Socialists send fraternal greetings to Social Democratic convention. Let the party be the light of emancipation of America's proletariat from economic slavery to freedom. We are animated by the spirit of brotherhood and in our good will participate in the labors of the party's representatives for the welfare of the party and Socialism. Step forward on the road of progress and lead us to "justice and unity."

Cooper Union Mass Meeting

The Socialist workmen of New York, in Cooper Union mass-meeting assembled, extend to convention of Social Democratic party fraternal greetings with the confident hope that the deliberations of the convention will show to the world the solidarity of labor in actual fact and that all shadow of differences will dissolve into one grand harmony of political action.

Woodworkers' International Union

The Amalgamated Woodworkers' International Union of America in convention assembled extend fraternal greetings and congratulate you upon the rapid progress of your movement in America. We hope your efforts will be crowned with success. Three cheers for organized labor and Socialism.

United New Jersey Socialists

We, the united members of the Socialist Labor party and Social Democratic party send from our joint county convention of Essex county, New Jersey, greeting to the comrades assembled at the national convention of the Social Democratic party and hope that our example of unity will be followed by you.

More Gains in Massachusetts

Victories in Amesbury, Spofford, two offices; Dr. Adams, board of health, Merrimack, Heath, police, Georgetown, Dawkins, overseer poor. Big gains for Social Democrats. Hurrah for unity.

From a Texas Comrade

Greetings to the heroes of humanity. May your deliberations accomplish that class-conscious unity which will free the masses from their serfdom. Fraternally, Karl Feige.

New York Central Committee

New York City Central committee sends fraternal greetings and wants Debs for president and unity under Social Democratic name. Hurrah for international Socialism. Leonard D. Abbott, Secy.

Section San Francisco, S. L. P.

Comrades, we greet you with words of Karl Marx: "Workers of all countries, unite."

Branch 15, Brooklyn

Let your convention be the foundation of Socialist unity and progress.

Voice of Labor, New York

Heartiest congratulations. March forward through unity to victory. Debs for president.

Fourth Assembly Dist., New York

Fraternal greeting. Let unity be the guide on your way.

Columbus, Ohio, Branch

Our best wishes from branch to convention.

Winfield P. Porter, Massachusetts

Congratulations on presidential and vice-presidential nominations. On to victory.

List of Delegates

Colorado—W. H. Fechyew.
Connecticut—W. P. Lonergan.
Indiana—E. V. Debs, J. Ozanics, H. Greuling, James Oneal, Ed Evinger, J. W. Kelly, Hugo Miller, W. Blenko, J. R. Backus, Judson Oneal, Matt Hallenberg, H. Stumpfle, J. Breil.
Illinois—Mrs. Corinne Brown, Jesse Cox, A. S. Edwards, R. H. Johnson, Mrs. R. H. Johnson, F. G. Strickland, Seymour Stedman, E. D. Wheelock, Theodore Debs.
Kentucky—F. C. Stumpf, J. H. Arnold, A. Hirschberg, P. L. Robinson.
Maryland—E. H. Wenzel.
Massachusetts—Margaret Haile, J. C. Chase, F. O. MacCartney, S. M. Jones, William Mailley, J. F. Carey, S. E. Putney.
Missouri—G. A. Hoehn, E. V. Putnam, S. K. Caldwell.
New Hampshire—F. G. R. Gordon.
New Jersey—G. H. Strobel, G. H. Goebel.
New York—Elizabeth H. Thomas, I. Phillips, William Butcher, M. London, L. Miller.
North Dakota—G. W. Poague.
Ohio—Charles R. Martin, W. E. Taylor, Julius Zorn, A. Nagel, H. R. Crumley, Charles O. Jones, J. M. Dillon, F. J. Arnold, Joseph Matz, J. L. Franz.
Pennsylvania—M. J. Gillis, F. W. Hirt.
Tennessee—W. Mahoney.
Texas—W. E. Farmer, S. J. Hampton.
Wisconsin—V. L. Berger, F. Heath, A. B. Forman, L. A. Arnold.

Committee of Nine

Following is the committee of nine to confer with the Rochester committee on the matter of union and the vote each received:

V. L. Berger	1861
J. C. Chase	1731
William Butcher	1677
Margaret Haile	1591
G. A. Hoehn	1568
F. Heath	1386
W. E. Farmer	1305
S. Stedman	1303
J. F. Carey	1236

A Pleasant Incident

One of the incidents of convention week that will not soon be forgotten occurred at the New Occidental hotel Friday. When the delegates were seated for dinner one of the comrades rose and proposed a vote of thanks to the waiter girls, which was given with a hearty cheer. A few moments later another was seen trying to make himself heard above the din of conversation. He said he thought the delegates should do more than give thanks, and in behalf of those present tendered the girls a purse of \$11, which had been quietly made up for their benefit. Then Mrs. Corinne Brown seized the occasion for a few appropriate words to the girls, telling them who the guests were and advising them to study Socialism and marry Socialist husbands. One of their number acknowledged in an appreciative manner this parting evidence of good will, and the delegates turned their attention to the dinner.

20 MONTHS' RECORD AT THE BALLOT BOX

(From the Social Democratic Red Book, edited by Frederic Heath; price, 15 cents)

Wisconsin, Fall, 1898.	
(The * indicates successful candidates.)	
First Manitowoc Assembly District—D. R. Giblin	22
Second Manitowoc Assembly District—Arnold Zander	46
First Milwaukee Assembly District—David White	51
Second Milwaukee Assembly District—E. Krupp	102
Third Milwaukee Assembly District—Geo. Landwehr	45
Fourth Milwaukee Assembly District—Louis Fingres	80
Fifth Milwaukee Assembly District—John Heymann	84
Sixth Milwaukee Assembly District—Edward Zeigler	98
Eighth Milwaukee Assembly District—And. Longstad	54
Ninth Milwaukee Assembly District—P. Ronneberger	141
Eleventh Milwaukee Assembly District—Jas Sheehan	118
Twelfth Milwaukee Assembly District—Emil Seidel	404
Fifteenth Milwaukee Assembly District—Jos. Braun	158
Fifteenth Senatorial District—Abraham Andrews	74
(Calumet and Manitowoc counties.)	
Wisconsin, Fall, 1898.	
For Governor—Howard Tuttle (S. D. P.)	2,544
Henry Reiss (S. L. P.)	1,473
Lieutenant Governor—E. P. Hassinger (S. D. P.)	2,535
H. G. Gauger (S. L. P.)	1,543
Secretary of State—Thos. C. P. Meyers (S. D. P.)	2,540
E. B. Bartlett (S. L. P.)	1,550
State Treasurer—August Mohr (S. D. P.)	2,591
C. Emmerich (S. L. P.)	1,552
Attorney General—Richard Elser (S. D. P.)	2,608
J. Anderson (S. L. P.)	1,560
State Superintendent—R. O. Stoll (S. D. P.)	2,538
F. R. Wilke (S. L. P.)	1,566
Railroad Commissioner—Chas. Richter (S. D. P.)	2,554
A. Griefenhagen (S. L. P.)	1,579
Insurance Commissioner—Eugene H. Rooney (S. D. P.)	2,550
R. Koepf (S. L. P.)	1,564
Fourth Congressional District—Louis A. Arnold (S. D. P.)	993
S. L. P.	500
Fifth Congressional District—Geo. J. Eckelman (S. D. P.)	1,088
S. L. P.	342
Massachusetts, November, 1898.	
For Governor—Winfield P. Porter	3,749
For Lieutenant Governor—T. M. Skinner	5,890
For Secretary of State—C. H. Bradley	9,285
For Treasurer—C. W. White	6,302
For Auditor—C. S. Grieves	6,823
New Hampshire, November, 1898.	
For Governor—Sumner F. Clafin	263
Haverhill, Mass., November, 1898.	
For State Senator, Fourth Essex District—J. C. Chase	1,110
For Representative, Third Essex District—L. M. Scates	674
For Representative, Fifth Essex District—James F. Carey	751
For Congress, Sixth District—A. L. Gillen	845
New York City, November, 1898.	
Twelfth Assembly District—Jos. Baroness	845
S. L. P.	600
Eighth Assembly District—Louis Miller	128
Fourth Assembly District—Meyer London	272
Kansas City, November, 1898.	
Vote of S. D. P.	82
Vigo County (Terre Haute), Ind., November, 1898.	
For Sheriff—Henry Stumpfle	260
Missouri, November, 1898.	
For Judge Supreme Court—Albert Sanderson	1,645
S. L. P.	1,056
For Judge Supreme Court, short term—G. A. Hoehn	1,631
S. L. P.	1,034
For Superintendent Public Schools—Rendell	1,646
St. Louis Congressional, November, 1898.	
Tenth District—Keeler	229
S. L. P.	121
Eleventh District—Gebelin	149
S. L. P.	144
Twelfth District—Tomson	100
S. L. P.	61
St. Louis local vote	710
Newburyport, Mass., November, 1898.	
For Congress, Sixth District—Gillen	103
Representatives, Twenty-second Essex District—McLean, 117; Souther	121
Springfield, Mass., December, 1898.	
For Common Council—S. M. Jones	99
176; Eric M. Ericson	626
Brookton, Mass., December, 1898.	
For Mayor—C. H. Coulter	301
Newburyport, Mass., December, 1898.	
S. D. P.	301
Whitman, Mass., March, 1899.	
For Town Clerk—D. W. Finn	212
For Selectman—C. E. Lowell	107
For Assessor—A. T. Clancy	254
For Water Commissioner—J. F. Connor	289
For Park Commissioner—B. V. Lothrop	388
For Constable—J. E. Burke	264
For Constable—R. E. McDermott	213
Amesbury, Mass., March, 1899.	
For Selectman—John Miller	414
For Selectman—J. H. Maycock	442
For Selectman—Jason Spofford	522
For Overseer of Poor—John Miller	383
For Overseer of Poor—J. H. Maycock	422
For Overseer of Poor—Jason Spofford	482
Assessor for 2 Years—Jason Spofford	398
Assessor for 3 Years—J. H. Blackstock	472
Board of Health—Dr. J. Q. Adams	511
School Committee—C. S. Wingate	636
St. Louis, April, 1899.	
For City Council—Gebelin, 1,049; Sanderson, 1,036; Franz, 1,021; Bechtold, 1,054; Hoehn, 1,017; Tomson	1,020
For Board of Education—Rendell, 1,292; Meier, 1,307; Putnam, 1,035; Nelson	1,039
Baltimore, Spring, 1899.	
For Mayor—C. B. Backman	280
President of Council—E. Jacobson	280
Comptroller—E. H. Wenzell	291
Pacific, Wis., Spring, 1899.	
Chairman—Elected.	
Treasurer—Elected.	
Justice—Elected.	
Spring Valley, Ill., Spring, 1899.	
For Mayor—James Beattie	120
City Clerk—James Barrowman	130
Treasurer—Malcolm Condi	325
Police Magistrate—Henry Watts	89
Inspector—Jos. Malcor	124
Alderman—Henry Morgan	17

Alderman—Wm. H. James	20
Alderman—Joseph J. Novak	66
Alderman—G. M. Schmidt	42
Massachusetts, Fall, 1899.	
For Governor—W. P. Porter	8,262
Lieutenant Governor—T. W. Skinner	8,614
Secretary—Chas. H. Bradley	10,231
Treasurer—Chas. W. White	8,648
Auditor—Angus McDonald	10,447
Attorney General—Addison W. Barr	10,847
Fourth, Plymouth (Rockland) District, Mass., November, 1899.	
For Representative—Frederic O. McCartney	703
(102 plurality.)	
Essex (Haverhill) District, Mass., November, 1899.	
For Representative, Fifth District—James F. Carey	909
(361 majority.)	
Third Representative District—Louis M. Scates	814
Fourth Representative District—C. S. Woodcock	465
Ninth Representative District—A. L. Gillen	580
Fourth Senatorial District—Jos. W. Bean	3,526
San Francisco, November, 1899.	
For County Clerk—Mark Bartlett	440
Auditor—Emil Liess	321
Supervisors—Max Block, 331; H. Warnke	301
Colorado, November, 1899.	
Social Democratic Party—No ticket.	
S. L. P.	1,201
Haverhill, Mass., December, 1899.	
For Mayor—John C. Chase	3,539
(156 majority.)	
S. L. P.	59
For Alderman—H. M. Crittenden	3,023
For Alderman—G. A. Kelley	3,000
For Alderman—Seth B. Morse	3,144
For Alderman—P. B. Flanders	3,371
(311 majority.)	
For Alderman—Frank A. Beal	2,854
For Alderman—Louis M. Scates	3,074
(34 plurality.)	
For Alderman—Jos. W. Bean	3,409
(340 majority.)	
Haverhill, Mass., December, 1898.	
For Mayor—John C. Chase	2,293
S. L. P.	68
For Alderman—L. Legacy	1,554
For Alderman—G. A. Kelley	1,416
For Alderman—S. Goldman	1,371
For Alderman—P. B. Flanders	3,392
For Alderman—C. A. Frazier	1,700
For Alderman—C. H. Bradley	1,921
For Alderman—J. B. Bean	2,568
For Councilman—Jos. Bellefeuille	655
For Councilman—Jos. W. Hillsgrrove	555
For Councilman—A. L. Gillen	347
For School Committee—N. W. Wason	613
For Assistant Assessor—F. S. Reed	641
Boston, December, 1899.	
For Mayor—John W. Sherman	912
S. L. P.	951
For Alderman—Finestone	158
For Alderman—Ramin	192
S. L. P.	131
For Alderman—McCarthy	421
Worcester, Mass., December, 1899.	
For Mayor—Chas. W. Saunders	134
Alderman—Addison W. Barr	806
Alderman—T. M. Carpenter	418
Alderman—Howard A. Gibbs	276
Chelsea, Mass., December, 1899.	
For Mayor—Charles R. Green	269
Alderman—Gimpel	307
Alderman—Miller	486
Alderman—Polack	351
Alderman—Casey	831
Alderman—Hondust	488
Alderman—Taft	517
Quincy, Mass., December, 1899.	
For Mayor—C. B. Bates	298
Councilman—A. W. Russell, 450; P. M. Carlson, 117; W. M. Packard, 141; G. K. Carter, 138; D. Desmond, Jr., 151; T. J. Halvoss, 248; H. B. Johnson	110
Rockville, Conn., December, 1899.	
For Mayor—Wm. P. Lonergan	249
Clerk—McVeigh	229
Treasurer—Spielman	228
Sheriff—Quinlan	229
Assessor—Gunderman	220
Assessor—Orcutt	220
Assessor—Kellaer	229
Alderman—Pike, 13; Theuer	63
Councilmen—Smith, 36; Spielman, 63; Schlaf	114
Lynn, Mass., December, 1899.	
For Mayor—Ernest W. Timson	457
S. L. P.	330
For Alderman—Gidney, 529; Hitchcock, 454; Jackson, 506; Jones, 556; Kilks, 479; Lee, 530; Miles, 482; Nofal, 297; Stone	505
Newburyport, Mass., December, 1899.	
For Mayor—Chas. W. Johnson	744
For Alderman—S. H. Noyes	248
For Alderman—George W. Hussey	192
For Alderman—E. C. Lang	318
For Alderman—A. L. Binley	302
For Councilman—L. A. Thibault	51
For Councilman—D. F. Souther	156
For Councilman—E. F. McLean	88
For Councilman—C. E. Preble	48
For Councilman—T. H. Chishell	84
For Councilman—F. W. Dorr	132
For School Board—Mrs. Elizabeth G. Porter	
Brocton, Mass., December, 1899.	
For Mayor—C. H. Coulter	3,394
(1,546 plurality.)	
For Alderman—W. P. Bosworth	335
For Alderman—Chas. B. Malpas	258
For Alderman—G. C. Brown	317
For Alderman—Benjamin Thatcher	236
For Alderman—Samuel L. Beal	651
For Alderman—W. T. West	178
For Alderman—Edw. T. Spear	258
For Alderman—Edward D. Perry	350
For Alderman—George H. Sprague	244
For Councilman—David S. Brothers	325
For School Board—French, 1,838; Harrington, 1,809; Norling	1,567
To pension firemen, 1,218 majority.	
Maryland, December, 1899.	
For Governor—Jones	432
Comptroller—Fowler	453
Attorney General—Backman	490
Fort Angeles, Wash., December, 1899.	
For Mayor—David O'Brien	50
Fairhaven, Wash., December, 1899.	
For Mayor—John Cloak	141
Lacking but 26 votes of election.	

Socialist Vote in the United States from 1890 to 1897	
California cast 1,611 votes for the Socialist candidate for president in 1896, and 1,726 (local) in 1897.	
Colorado cast 160 votes in 1896. In 1895 there were 158 votes cast in an election in Denver. In 1897 it cast 1,444.	
Connecticut cast 39 Socialist votes for president in 1892. In 1894 it cast 870. In 1896 it cast 1,223.	
Illinois cast 1,147 Socialist votes in 1896.	
Indiana cast 324 votes in 1896.	
Iowa cast 537 votes in 1894 and 453 in 1896. In 1897 it cast 910.	
Kentucky cast no Socialist votes up to and including 1896. In 1897 it cast 68 votes locally in Louisville.	
Maine cast 83 votes in a local election (Rockland) in 1895.	

Maryland cast 315 votes in 1892, 403 in 1895, 587 in 1896 and 508 in 1897.	
Massachusetts cast 1,429 votes in 1891, 676 in 1892, 2,033 in 1893, 3,104 in 1894, 3,249 in 1895 and 2,114 in 1896. In 1897 it cast 6,301.	
Michigan cast 358 votes in a local election (Detroit) in 1895 and 297 in the same kind of an election in 1896. In 1897 it cast 2,166.	
Minnesota cast 867 in 1896.	
Missouri cast 1,631 votes (St. Louis) in 1893, 1,537 in 1894 and 596 in 1896.	
Nebraska cast 186 votes in 1896.	
New Hampshire cast 228 votes in 1896.	
New Jersey cast 472 votes in 1891, 1,338 in 1892, 2,018 in 1893, 5,309 in 1894, 4,147 in 1895, 3,985 in 1896. In 1897 it cast 4,360.	
New York cast 13,704 votes in 1890, 14,651 in 1891, 17,956 in 1892, 19,984 in 1893, 15,868 in 1894, 21,497 in 1895 and 17,667 in 1896. In 1897 it cast 20,854.	
Ohio cast 470 votes in a local election (Cleveland) in 1894, 1,867 in 1895 and 1,167 in 1896. In 1897 it cast 4,242.	
Pennsylvania cast 808 in 1892, 1,733 in 1894, 1,329 in 1895 and 1,683 in 1896. In 1897 it cast 5,048.	
Rhode Island cast 592 in 1894, 1,730 in 1895, 558 in 1896, 1,386 in 1897.	
Vermont cast 48 votes in 1895.	
Virginia cast 108 votes in 1894, 528 in 1897.	
Wisconsin cast 1,314 in 1896.	

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PRESS

The following is an incomplete list of the weekly newspapers in the United States giving an entire or partial support to the Social Democratic party:

Social Democratic Herald. A. S. Edwards, editor, room 56, 126 Washington street, Chicago. Price 50 cents a year.

Appeal to Reason. J. A. Wayland, editor, Girard, Kan. Price 50 cents per year.

Haverhill Social Democrat. Wm. Mailly, editor, Haverhill, Mass. Price 50 cents per year.

Social Democrat. 614 State street, Milwaukee. Price 50 cents per year.

Journal. Warren, Mass.

Public Ownership. Erie, Pa.

The Toiler. Ed. Evinger, editor, Terre Haute, Ind.

Coming Nation. Duke, Georgia. Price 50 cents per year.

Vorwarts, 8 pages (German). Victor L. Berger, editor, 614 State street, Milwaukee. Price \$2 per year.

Die Wahrheit, 8 pages (German). Victor L. Berger, editor, 614 State street, Milwaukee. Price \$2 per year.

Volks-Anwalt (German). Gustav A. Hoehn, 22 North Fourth street, Room 7, St. Louis. Price \$1.50 per year.

New Light. E. E. Vail, editor, Port Angeles, Wash. Price 50 cents per year.

The Farmers' Review. W. E. Farmer, editor, Bonham, Texas. Per year, 50 cents.

Sheboygan Volksblatt (German). Oscar Loebel, editor, Sheboygan, Wis. Per year, \$1.50.

People's Press. A. D. Hale, editor, Albany, Ore. Price \$1.25 per year.

Spravedlinest (Bohemian). Chicago.

THE SOCIALIST VOTE.

The Political Strength of Socialism from 1867 to 1898.

	Austria.	Germany.
1866.	90,000	30,000
1867.	750,000	101,927
1868.	750,000	101,927
1869.	750,000	101,927
1870.	750,000	101,927
1871.	750,000	101,927
1872.	750,000	101,927
1873.	750,000	101,927
1874.	750,000	101,927
1875.	750,000	101,927
1876.	750,000	101,927
1877.	750,000	101,927
1878.	750,000	101,927
1879.	750,000	101,927
1880.	750,000	101,927
1881.	750,000	101,927
1882.	750,000	101,927
1883.	750,000	101,927
1884.	750,000	101,927
1885.	750,000	101,927
1886.	750,000	101,927
1887.	750,000	101,927
1888.	750,000	101,927
1889.	750,000	101,927
1890.	750,000	101,927
1891.	750,000	101,927
1892.	750,000	101,927
1893.	750,000	101,927
1894.	750,000	101,927
1895.	750,000	101,927
1896.	750,000	101,927
1897.	750,000	101,927
1898.	750,000	101,927
Total Estimate Strength, 1900.	7,000,000	7,000,000

They Hewed the Path

The sword of Gideon, sword of God
Be with ye, Boers. Brave men of peace
Ye hewed the path, ye broke the sod,
Ye fed white flocks of fat increase
Where Saxon foot had never trod;
Where Saxon foot unto this day
Had measured not, had never known
Had ye not bravely led the way
And made such happy homes your own.

And yet meanwhile ten thousand miles
She seeks ye out. Well, welcome her!
Give her such welcome with such will
As Boston gave in battle's whirl
That red, dread day at Bunker Hill.
—Joachim Miller.

The Paupers of the Land

We've toiled through life in grief and strife
And earned a pittance bare;
But now we're left, of work bereft,
To feed upon despair.

For Youth must come, and Age must go
To wander where it will,
Our last few years shall end in tears,
For we are Paupers still.

They count for naught the days we wrought,
A grateful country knows
Our work is done, with it we've won
The Union's strange repose.

For such as we no brighter fate
May bid the heart be brave.
A little while to watch and wait—
And then the pauper's grave!

We strove too well to earn that Hell,
The Workhouse and its gloom;
Those dismal halls of whitewashed walls
Are sombre as the tomb.

But go we must to join the throng
Of State-imprisoned Poor,
God grant our days may not be long
Till death brings rest secure.

[How would it do for those who toil
and create wealth to "brace up," and instead
of waiting for "the rest that death brings," as-
sert their right to live by wresting the govern-
ing power from the exploiting class and
socializing the means of life?—Ed. S. D. H.]

MILWAUKEE
Social Democratic Herald
A Weekly paper advocating the
Collective Ownership of the Means
of Production and Distribution, and
Supporting the Social Democratic Party.
Official organ of the Party in Wisconsin.
Yearly Subscription, One Dollar.
614 STATE STREET, MILWAUKEE, WIS.

LOCAL BRANCHES

Notices of Branch Meetings Inserted for
25 Cents per Month

CALIFORNIA

Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evenings, commencing at 8. Admission free. Educational meetings (for members) every Tuesday evening. Sociology, Economics, Public Speaking, etc. (German).
Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening.
Membership, with advantage of Educational Course and Social Democratic Herald free to each member. 2 cents per month.
Apply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk street.
Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock at Woodmont Hall, 1294 Spring St. J. Franco, 700 Dayton Ave., Secretary.

CONNECTICUT

The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at Turn Hall, Rockville. L. Schlarf, Secretary.
Branch No. 3, New Haven, meets every Tuesday evening, at 196 State St. at 8 p. m. Cornelius Mahoney, Secretary, 165 Frank St.
Branch No. 4, Rockville, Conn., meets first and third Thursdays at Turn Hall meeting room, Village street. Secretary, Richard Niederwieser, Box 760.

ILLINOIS

ON THE EVE OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

A Vision

I dreamed I was once more in exile in the Arctic region, watching the dark blue starry skies at night, nearly in the center of the northern part of the horizon. I saw a deep, dark segment, so deep and dark and menacing that a feeling of awe and terror crept unawares over me. Strangely enough, the deep dark segment, glaring like a bottomless abyss under the feet of a daring mountain climber and ready to swallow him at any moment not only did not repel me, but rather attracted all my attention with an unexplainable fascination. Whittish clouds of indistinct, perpetually changing shape and outlines were slowly creeping forward and backward, like shadows of dethroned ancient deities, over the black abyss. At times the shadows broadened, spread out, glimmered with phosphoric flames covering like a phantastical huge curtain a considerable part of the horizon and then vanished at once, leaving the same menacing deep Egyptian darkness behind. The gigantic shadows reappeared, took more distinct shape and outlines, more intense colors; green, blue, red; all the shades and hues of the rainbow in the most unexpected but always harmonious combinations.

It was a chaotic vision, a series of perpetually changing pictures. At times a part, at times the whole horizon, at times the starry heavens and the snowbound soil, and even the intensely cold atmosphere appeared in flames, as if all the volcanoes of the globe were thrown into a state of the most violent eruption. The waves of the scene of colored flames seemed to menace everything and everybody on earth, like an irresistible flood of fire. And not a sound, even the faintest, could be heard. I looked and waited and wondered. A crushing feeling of my human nothingness overwhelmed me. I felt like shutting my eyes, dazed and tired out by the vision, when suddenly a divine being approached before me, as if borne by the waves of flaming air. It would be futile and sacrilegious at the same time on my part to attempt to describe the heavenly apparition—so celestially beautiful and radiant and yet so human, plain and everyday like. I felt as happy, calm, hopeful as never in my life before or after. So much goodness, so much sweetness and simplicity radiated from the childlike, womanly countenance of the goddess. I at that moment felt with all the fibres of my body, with all the powers of my soul that I was in the presence of a goddess, and all the dross of everyday drudgery, cares, fears and anxieties melted away, leaving behind the pure gold of an exalted human being.

"Follow me!" uttered the goddess, touching me with the torch in her left hand, and her voice sounded like the murmur of flowers caressed by the zephyr wind in spring. "I am the future of the human race."

I had no will but hers, and obeyed silently and joyfully, like a child, the command of a well-beloved mother. The earth at once lost the power of attraction for my body and soul, and I felt lifted to heights unspeakable. I lost all idea about space and time. The stony walls, iron doors and armed sentinels did not exist for us, and we passed into a dark, damp, cold and filthy dungeon deep under the surface of the earth. A prematurely aged man with remarkably noble and intelligent features with chained hands and feet kept near to the slimy wall on a wooden bench. Fearful phantasma seemed to disturb the prisoner. The goddess touched him with her torch. The prisoner did not rise, but a happy smile rejuvenated the careworn face of the martyr.

"It is new year, the first of a new century. You know me; I came to console you," said the goddess.

"To console me?" retorted the unfortunate, with a faint, broken voice, once so musical and magnetic. "Do not trouble yourself about me! You had no more devoted servant than me. I sacrificed my life-blood to the cause of humanity and here I am—a slave of slaves, a broken vessel! Go to the mighty of the earth—to the kings, emperors and czars!"

An indescribable sadness overshadowed the divine face and we departed. Again we soared silently through the space still we stopped before a small frame building and entered a small room all filled with books, manuscripts, maps and philosophical instruments. An old, venerable sage was dreaming in his old-fashioned chair. The goddess touched him with her torch and repeated her greeting.

"A new century, indeed! What a consolation!" answered the scientist sarcastically. "I spent all my life in the seeking of truth, opened new vistas of thought, made many discoveries and inventions. But did all this improve the conditions, lighten the burden of the poor, the down-trodden, the persecuted, the disinherited? Go to the priests, to the successful captains of industry and politicians!"

Again sadness crept over the features of the deity and we departed. We then entered the splendid palace of a mighty ruler—the Czar of Russia. Surrounded by almost inhuman luxury, and treated like a demi-god, he dreamed on his gorgeous throne. The goddess did not touch him with her torch, and he took no heed of us. His wife and child came in and congratulated him on the advent of the new year, a new century. The ruler of

a hundred million of subjects did not seem to be happy and contented.

"I wish I could be a poor peasant," said he to his wife. "The burden of my crown is too heavy for my head. I am the least free of all my subjects, and my rule is, after all, only nominal. I do not and cannot know and ascertain the real needs of my people, and if I would and could I would be powerless to accomplish any real good. I am the servant of my advisers and cannot make one step independently. I am surrounded by people I cannot trust and must any moment be ready to meet a violent death. The future does not belong to us so-called mighty rulers. Our days have passed. O! for the humble lot of the poorest of my subjects!"

Not less surprising was our experience in the palace of one of the richest men on earth. "Do not congratulate me with new years and centuries," said he to his intimate friends. "The future does not belong to us financial kings. Our days have passed and I really am not quite certain if there is any cause to lament it. My life was, frankly speaking, a failure as far as real human happiness is concerned. I exhausted all my energies in amassing fabulous wealth. At first I enjoyed success; but soon got used to it and looked upon it as a matter of course. I had no time to enjoy life in my young years and lost the capacity for enjoyment in my declining age. My friends are few, my enemies name are legion. And my conscience bothers me sometimes more than I care to confess. I did, alas! many a thing in my career I would give my life to be undone. O! for the humble lot of one of the humblest of my employers! My wealth turns more and more burdensome to me with every hour."

We then visited the pope of Rome. He at once recognized the goddess, but did not seem to be especially edified by her arrival.

"I do not see any reason to rejoice in the advent of the new century. As a representative of one of the strongest dogmatic religions I have to confess that our days have passed and the future does not belong to us churchmen. The old creeds are decaying fast. But what replaces them? A total absence of any philosophy of life, of any guiding principle of conduct."

Again we soared through space till we stopped in the midst of one of the largest cities of the United States. A numberless crowd of listeners was gathered around a young carpenter, a speaker with a self-concentrated, dreamy expression on his unusually handsome face. His voice was remarkably clear, strong and winning. The audience was spellbound and thoroughly in touch with the magnetic personality of the orator. He spoke about the prospects of the new century with unsurpassed eloquence. The passing nineteenth-century was the epoch of unchecked individualism, pessimism and selfishness, of purely negative ideas (as so-called political freedom, competition, etc.), of destruction of old institutions without building new ones to replace them; of religious hypocrisy and general moral cowardice. The speaker hailed in glowing words the twentieth century as the dawn of a new era of race consciousness instead of individualism, altruism instead of selfishness and optimism instead of pessimism. Positive ideals as a basis for the construction of perfected social institutions, ideals of human brotherhood and solidarity of all interest will replace the old fetishes of the sovereign personality.

There was no trace of declamation or mannerism to be noted in the speaker. He appealed not only to the reason, but the innermost hearts of his audience, to the holy of holies of the human soul. And there was not one man or woman so hardened and soiled by the meanness of their lives as were not touched and ennobled for the time being. The divine spark weakly glowing under the heaps of moral, or rather immoral, rubbish even in the most depraved human being was blown into flames and the enthusiasm of the listener was great. Indeed, before their spiritual eyes were unrolled vistas of thought and sentiments, of the existence of which they never dreamed, were pointed out motives of action about which they never heard. But, above all, they were made to feel for the first time in their barren lives the deep sacredness, high dignity and true significance of human relations. He preached the gospel of humanity turned divine, of humanity identified with divinity, of the total renunciation of the personality in the interests of the race—this sublime unity with a past full of mysterious charm and a future too glorious to be imagined by us. The longer he spoke the greater ran the enthusiasm of his listeners, the more their number grew. Every word of the prophet of raceism was wired by special reporters to all the nooks and corners of the globe and aroused everywhere the same enthusiasm, kindled the same religious ardor, implanted the same ideals and aspirations. For the first time in the history of the world all humanity was united in one all-absorbing thought—its perfect solidarity as a race.

Again we soared through space till we arrived at Paris. The world's fair was in its climax of attraction, but it was overshadowed by the world's congress of nations assembled with the purpose to inaugurate eternal peace on earth and good will to men, to devise new social and economic institutions on the basis of reason

and equity, to do away forever with exploitation of one class by another in any shape or manner, to inaugurate real freedom and equality, to proclaim the religion of divine humanity. The world's history never witnessed such a mighty throng of people of the higher mental and moral capacity as the representatives of this congress. The world's history never witnessed deliberations so profound in their nature, so broad in their scope, so deep in their significance.

I was so enthused by the sight of the world's congress of nations as to venture to say a few words myself, but at that moment I awoke, and the vision vanished. The sun was still under the horizon, but its light messenger, the rosy rays, spread like a heap of sheaves upward into the deep azure of the starry sky. The eastern part of the sky seemed to glow in a sea of molten gold, silver and rubies. The upper rim of the sun appeared over the horizon, blending us, joyous spectators, with its fiery light and inaugurating the glorious dawn of the XXth century.

Son der Thorheit! Traume immer Wenn dir's Herz im Busen schwillt, Dach im Leben suche nimm mer Deiner Traume Elenbild.

Isador Ladoff.

Song of the Factory Slave

(By Ernest Jones.)

The land it is the landlord's;
The trader's is the sea;
The ore the usurer's coffer fills,
But what remains for me?
The engine whirrs for master's craft;
The steel shines to defend;
With labor's arms, what labor raised,
For labor's foe to spend.
The camp, the pulpit, and the law,
For rich men's sons are free;
Theirs—theirs are learning, art, and arms;
But what remains for me?

The coming hope, the future day,
When wrong to right shall bow;
And hearts that have the courage, man,
To make that future now.

I pay for all this learning,
I toil for all their ease;
They render back in coin for coin,
Want, ignorance, disease;
Toil, toil, and then a cheerless home,
Where hungry passions cross;
Eternal gain to them who give,
To me eternal loss!
The hour of leisure—happiness—
The rich alone may see;
The playful child, the smiling wife;
But what remains for me?

The coming hope, etc.

They render back—these rich men—
A pauper's niggard fee;
Mayhap a prison, then a grave,
And think they're quits with me.
But not a fond wife's heart that breaks,
A poor man's child that dies,
We score not on our hollow cheeks
And in our sunken eyes;
We read it there, whenever we meet,
And as the sum we see,
Each asks, "The rich the wealth have got,
But what remains for me?"

The coming hope, etc.

We bear the wrong in silence,
We store it in our brain;
They think us dull, they think us dead,
But we shall rise again.
A trumpet through the lands will ring,
A heaving through the mass,
A trampling through their palaces,
Until they break like glass;
We'll cease to weep by cherished graves,
From lowly homes we'll flee,
And still as rolls our million-march,
Its watchword brave shall be.

The coming hope, the future day,
When wrong to right shall bow;
And hearts that have the courage, man,
To make that future now.

—London Social Democrat.

"MY BOY"

By Morris Rosenfeld, Author of "Songs from the Ghetto"

I have a little boy, a fine little fellow is he! When I see him, it appears to me the whole world is mine.

Only rarely, rarely I see him, my pretty little son, when he is awake; I find him always asleep, I see him only at night.

My work drives men out early and brings me home late; oh, my own flesh is a stranger to me! oh, strange to me the glances of my child!

I come home in anguish and shrouded in darkness—my pale wife tells me how nicely the child plays.

How sweetly he talks, how brightly he asks: "O mother, good mother, when will my good, good papa come and bring me a penny?"

I hear it, and I hasten: it must be, yes, it shall be! The father's love flames up; my child must see me!

I stand by his cradle, and see and listen, and hush! A dream moves his lips: "Oh, where is, where is papa?"

I kiss the little blue eyes, they open: "O child!" They see me, they see me, and soon close up again.

"Here stands your papa, darling! Here is a penny for you!" A dream moves the little lips: "Oh, where is, where is papa?"

I stand in pain and anguish, and bitterness, and I think: "When you awake some day, my child, you will find me no more!"

Whenever a part of society possesses the monopoly of the means of production, the laborer, free or not free, must add to the working time necessary to his own maintenance an extra working time in order to produce the means of subsistence for the owners of the means of production, whether the proprietor be the Athenian Etruscan theocrat, Norman baron, American slave-owner, Wallachian boyard, modern landlord or capitalist.—Karl Marx.

SHOES AND SOCIALISM

An article under this heading appeared in the New York Sun, date of December 24, 1899, and was printed in the Social Democratic Herald of January 6, 1900. It would seem that the Sun would like some light in connection with the recent Social Democratic successes in Haverhill and Brockton, relative to the relationship between shoes and Socialism.

If the Herald will permit, the writer, an inventor and deviser of new things and ideas, would like to mention a few points which may throw some light upon the question.

History tells us that nearly all great and good men spent their youthful days in shoemaking and thus the reform movement began. The shoes are the guide and protector of humanity's forthcoming. The emblems or tools that the shoemaker used were connected with some good old historical names that served as the mainspring of the forthcoming of the battle of humanity.

The mention of a few will illustrate. First the (awl), all, which means the same as alpha, if we jump over the small (kit), we will find the (last), that means omega. We have thus found the beginning of the end. The shoemakers are the founders of the people's understanding; they cut and form the innersoul, trim and finish to their own last, the same he does with the (outersoul) which is turned out to endure the hardships of world. Then the (sole) sole is truly hammered and leveled. You can step upon snakes and scorpions and all the sharks of Wall street cannot stand up against you.

They are the cutters and shapers of the (tongue) and the tongue that they form serves for all nations, regardless of languages.

He digs the (channel) through which all (thread) must run, and whether you believe it or not, the shoemaker never gets stuck like others who may have tried, for he has a small bunch that is bristling with good points and his thread runs as smooth as wax. If you are getting weak, the shoemaker will put on a backstay. If your (soul) is uneasy or noisy, he will ease it up and bring about harmony. He connects the top and bottom (body and soul); he puts (eyes) in the body so the shoes are the feet's lantern and light you on your paths. They upbuild people who are going wrong, and when they find a wicked (sole) they cut it off and throw it in a consuming fire. He connects the now (so common welt) to the (soul) and without him we would all die within six months of consumption or some other sickness.

The only thing he does not part with is his heart and brains, for he needs them for future use.

Breaking away from genuine shoemaker's language, and using common, every-day talking, we can sum up the relationship this way: A shoemaker as an individual has been able to make a fairly good living, and has had something left with which to buy literature; furthermore, his place of business has been a bureau of information, particularly in the line of politics, and has had a good following in those who came in to kill time. There was a time when a skilled workman received medals and honors of various kinds for a high quality of workmanship, using the best material; then the competition was in seeing who could produce the best. Today this competition is on a different basis—to see how greater price can be produced by using the cheapest materials and get the greatest production in the least time; hence we have few or no shoes that are manufactured, but shoes that are machine-made. A competent worker knows his business from beginning to end, and is justly a shoemaker. The only opportunity now left a thorough shoemaker is to become a sixty-second part of a shoemaker, or a feeder on a machine that makes shoes. Thus the shoemaker has seen his trade ruined and can only see his salvation out from wage slavery through Socialism. There is no chance for a workman to compete with capitalism, for it requires millions of dollars instead of a few hand tools, as was the case a few years back. The shoes are now made for profit instead of for wear and comfort.

The greater part of the shoes made today consist of shoddy, such as paper counters and heels with vamps cut short. The upper leather is glazed, enameled; creased, pressed and pebbled. The upper leather made from one ordinary cow hide will appear in the market under twenty or more different false names, some of which are the following: Grain, kip, calf, seal, goat, kangaroo, with numerous prefixes and affixes.

Is it, then, any wonder that shoemakers, as a class, have had the advantage of others in discerning the deceit practiced under a capitalistic system of commercialism? The shoemakers are heartily sick of the system which has ruined their trade and compelled them to participate in making an inferior product from that made by them with the old hand tools for a bare existence. This would not be the case if the machinery were operated by the community, for then the best material would be used and the shoes would be made for wear and comfort, and not for profit. The same will apply to all branches of industry; therefore, if you would like all things which you are consuming pure,

wholesome and durable, become a Socialist. Wake up! Follow the leaders who proclaim the dawn of the new day, when no man shall live upon the sweat and toil of others or by rent, profit or fraud, but where every man shall have what he produces, and not, as now, only a small portion which comes to him in the shape of a wage. In view of the experiences of shoemakers and their honest belief that salvation can only come to the human race through unity at the polls, consequently they have identified themselves with the Social Democratic party in a class-conscious movement.

Down with the classes!
Up with the masses!
Defeat to the traitor
That money can buy.

This has been the battle cry in both Haverhill and Brockton, and has surely been a winner. May the same battle cry be heard in every city and town until there is no more talk of the classes and masses, but of the common welfare of the human race.

Karl W. Leaf.

ANOTHER VIEW OF GOEBEL

Editor of The Herald: The article of Comrade James Allman in your issue of Feb. 24 moves me to say a few words with reference to the assassination of Goebel.

From the proletariat point of view, it is a great error to conclude that Wm. Goebel was an enemy to any corporation. He did not question their right of exploitation of the people, although as a matter of political tactics he did publicly object to their having certain special privileges—at least without his consent. As a member of the bar, and having had a few cases in Covington (Goebel's home) I am somewhat familiar with Goebel's "opposition" to the capitalistic class.

While the assassination must meet with the severest condemnation, on every hand, yet Goebel was himself responsible for the conditions which caused it, just as he was responsible for the conditions which resulted in his killing Banker Sanford. Sanford may have drawn his weapon first, but Goebel's merciless abuse drove him to desperation.

As a Socialist, I do not believe in attacking individuals, realizing that they are but the creatures of their environments, but it is sometimes necessary to the explanation of circumstances.

Goebel was a most capable, cold-blooded, mercenary, political bully, who was never known to smile. His method of accomplishing his end was by force and chicanery. At the moment he was shot he was accompanied by the two most notorious duellists and bullies in the state of Kentucky—Jack Chinn and Eph Lilliard—for several years his principal henchmen in state politics.

Goebel was the czar of Kenton county politics and the most powerful leader in state politics, and herein lies the solution to his "capitalist opposition." He bled the corporations.

All legislation in the state, and particularly in Kenton county, required his indorsement.

Furthermore, his ability to get enormous judgments against corporations was recognized, and hence nearly all the damage suits filed in Kenton county for several years were filed through him. The judges of the bench were practically his appointees, and the "hangers-on" of the courts, some of whom always got on the juries, were his ward-healers. Is it any wonder that corporate greed chafed under his regime, and connived for his downfall? This seeming opposition to corporations made many friends for Goebel among the common people, but he was not fighting their battle. The class-conscious Socialist will not allow these events in capitalist politics to confuse him, knowing as he does that that fight does not concern him, but is merely a fight over the division of spoils fleeced from the working class.

Goebel was not the advocate of any principle the operation of which would directly facilitate the emancipation of the working class.

An Observer.

Federation of Social Justice

This organization hopes to fill the need in Chicago of a society to give expression to the ethical phase of Socialism. Its meetings are as follows:

HYGIEA HALL, 404 Ordan Av., near Roby and Harrison Sts. Sundays 10:30 a.m., Economic Class and general discussion, Sundays, 11 a.m., address by Frederick G. Strickland.
BROTHERHOOD HOUSE, 1541 Central Boulevard, corner St. Louis Av. Sundays 3 p.m., Christian Citizenship meeting, Fridays, 8 p.m., Economic Meeting, addresses and general discussion.
GARFIELD HALL, corner Chicago and Hamlin Avs. Sundays, 8 p.m., address by Frederick G. Strickland.

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC
RED BOOK
ORDER IT
Edited by Frederic Heath
PRICE 15 CENTS
Sent postpaid on receipt of price
Debs Publishing Co.
TERRE HAUTE, IND.

MERLIN'S MIXTURE

Human vivisection.

I have just received a dainty, perfumed request from a society in Boston to fill out an inclosed petition against the practice of vivisection in the state. It is in furtherance of a dignified attempt made by "culchah" to save the poor "dawg."

It's well enough in its way. The dogs deserve our help, no doubt, against the barbarities practiced on them by the students of science. There is much unnecessary pain inflicted on animals in this study, and our fellow-brutes deserve our assistance.

But good heavens! have these people time to waste on cats and dogs when a process of human vivisection is going on? What right have they to use their human energies to abolish brute wrongs when their human fellows are undergoing a process equally painful and unnecessary?

I say that this competitive life is pure, cold-blooded vivisection. By its infamous methods the poor are being literally torn to pieces and flayed alive.

In factories where wheels whirl, and where greed refuses to put up barriers of safety, the workers are daily caught, crushed and flung out, a mass of bloody jelly.

In sweatshops where women and babes toil from dawn to dim, from birth to death, their lives are crushed out with greater and more prolonged torture than any dog suffers under the vivisectioning knife.

In homes, so called, where haggard women dread the wakening hunger of their babes, and await the slow step of the husbands whose bread-winning services society rejects, there are human hearts crushed, broken, torn out with a cruelty no doctor, however savage or calloused, would think of inflicting on a brute.

And yet, in spite of it all, these gloved reformers applaud sentiments of republican prosperity, vote for puppets and plead for pups!

When we have stayed the social knife that cleaves homes, hearts and happiness in pieces, we may perhaps assist our four-legged brethren. At present we will use our energy for the relief of bipeds.

Heathendom here.

Not long ago I heard a minister—one of that class who go out to heathendom for a six months' jaunt, and then spend the next twenty-five years as ecclesiastical tramps, or, as they are generally called, "returned" missionaries—describe in harrowing phrases the condition of the poor benighted heathen, who never read the bible nor said grace before they indulged in a cannibal feast.

He pictured the various acts of heathenish barbarity practiced by the un-Christian race, and pleaded pathetically for his hearers' co-operation and cash—mostly cash—in order that the heathen might receive the blessed gospel whose tenets are so comforting to McKinley, Rockefeller and Russell Sage.

As he drew one vivid picture after another of heathendom there came up in my mind a parallel to each in so-called civilization. We in our own way are guilty of deeds just as evil, but we have acquired the art of gilding the brass of barbarism with the gold plate of civilization.

There is not a deed of cruelty, of superstitious folly, of selfish injustice, that is not duplicated in present-day civilization. Tear off the cloak of religion and refinement and you find the savage.

Slaying our babes.

Women, we are told, used to unclasp their babes' clinging arms from their necks and fling them screaming into the jaws of crocodiles in the Ganges. We shudder with horror, and do the same thing.

Every one who is aiding to perpetuate, by influence or vote, our present system of competitive life, is consigning his or her children to a cursed fate. Every parent who conservatively continues and religiously worships the river of wealth, is literally flinging his children to the crocodiles of capital.

The thousands of suicides who last year cast away their lives had parents who a generation ago voted to sustain the system that has slain their offspring. They were "good, patriotic citizens," most of them, who believed that competition was the life of trade, and who never foresaw that it would be the death of the trader.

What chance have our children to win success unless we aid in making social conditions more conducive to health and happiness? How dare a man face his children who is making no attempt to rid the path of industrial life from the pitfalls that are proving the death of so many now?

The thousands of prostitutes in our cities today had parents who believed in things as they were, and are, never dreaming that their conservatism helped to fling their daughters into the stream

WE ARE COMING, GREAT JEHOVAH

A LABOR ANTHEM

BY H. S. GENEVRA LAKE

We are coming, great Jehovah, thou who makest stars and years;
We are coming from the lowlands of the Earth with all its tears;
We are coming with our cypress for the sins that we have done;
We are coming, great Jehovah, with our faces towards the sun.

We are coming from the darkness, we are moving toward the light;
We have toiled too long for nothing, we have strayed away from right;
We have lain in meek submission, we have crouched, and cried, and prayed;
We are coming now from darkness, with our spirits undismayed.

We are coming, great Jehovah, as the slime comes from the sea;
We shall toil no more for tyrants, who pretend 'tis toil for thee;
For the God of all the planets needs no sacrifice from man;
We can see with clearer vision in the great eternal plan.

We are banner bearers, only, of the truth that all are free,

For the toil of loving service in "the bonds of liberty";
And the one who would have comfort must of comfort ever give;
We are coming great Jehovah, and declare our right to live.

We shall live as freemen, truly, with our passions curbed to peace;
We shall scatter and shall gather, and shall share the earth's increase;
Oh, we shout with solemn gladness as the squadrons march and form;
"We can see the sun is rising through the blinding mist and storm."

We are coming, great Jehovah, as the shipwrecked from the sea;
We will climb the rigging Progress, and survey the life to be;
We are coming, oh, we're coming, with our leader true and tried,
In the Commonwealth of Justice to forevermore abide.

Chorus:—
We are coming, oh, we're coming, with our leader true and tried,
In the Commonwealth of Justice to forevermore abide.



NATIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD, SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

of vice. They dreamed of heaven and voted for hell!

The American juggernaut.

Again, we read of the car of juggernaut, under whose ponderous wheels the religious fanatics flung themselves, to be crushed to death.

No one can question the suicidal character of such acts. No one will think them either wise or sane. And yet we have in our own country scenes almost identically similar.

Do you remember the crowds of workmen who in 1896 used to tear up the turf on a Canton lawn and made the air hideous with their patriotic yells? Do you remember how workmen cast their votes for the presidential idol of the idolatrous jingo, thinking thereby to gain the favor of the gods of fortune?

What has come of it all? Have the gods smiled on them? Have their sacrifices been rewarded?

Or have not the wheels of industry, on which the republican god rested, rolled on and over them?

Every workman who is urged on into patriotic fervor by the subsidized press, and is made to vote for a capitalistic party under the guise of loyalty to a flag-fetich, and is afterward robbed by the party for whom he voted, is in precisely the same condition as the heathen devotee, who, spurred by the priesthood, flung himself under the wheels of juggernaut.

A republican workman is a social suicide.

The aged poor.

Not very long ago certain tribes of pagan Canadian Indians practiced the custom of killing all those of the tribe who by reason of age or infirmity were unfitted for work or war. When it was decided that a man had outlived his usefulness he was quickly put out of the way.

Sometimes I think we have not greatly improved upon the expeditious method of the Indians. Contrasting it with the treatment accorded the old poor now, it seems to resolve itself into a question of speed only.

It is a commonly accepted fact today that the old have less and less chance to procure employment. Tendency of industry is to discriminate, constantly and increasingly, in favor of the young and against the old.

I have seen on the streets of Boston, times without number, old women with scrawny and bruised fingers, clawing

over the contents of the refuse barrels on the sidewalk.

I have seen, in poorhouses, the aged poor herded with the insane, spending the remainder of what in many cases have been useful lives in the company of fools and imbeciles.

Better would it be, and more humane, to shoot them down by a charitable bullet, and give them at least the blessing of oblivion. Better still to give them, under Socialism, their rights and reward.

Merlin.

MUSINGS IN MY LEISURE HOUR

Among the charming Rubayat of the Persian astronomer-poet Omar Khayyam there is a quatrain which, in Fitzgerald's masterly translation, reads as follows:

"Whether at Naishapur or Babylon,
Whether the cup with sweet or bitter run,
Life's wine is oozing drop by drop,
Life's leaves are falling one by one."

Ever since the 7th day of last month those lines, which for a number of years have lain dormant in my almost overburdened memory, have risen ghost-like in my mind, stalking there by night and day, now and then disappearing for a moment, only the more impressively to mark their reappearance and to persecute me by their presence.

There they were, do what I might. In vain I sought refuge from them in the truth of Dickens' pages, and in the fiction of the newspaper columns; in vain I tried to find a means of escape by studying the gentle ways of the rude Boers, and the poetical brutality of the polished Kipling; in vain I busied myself in figuring out the income of Carnegie, and the outcome of triumphant plutocracy. All in vain. Everywhere and in everything I seemed to see nothing but "Life's oozing wine," or "Life's falling leaves," just as if the structure founded on greed and propped up by crime which we call human society contained no other real living fact but grim, ghastly death.

Now, I am not generally given to gloomy contemplation of incurable ills, but as from time to time one or the

other of the great intellectual leaders of our movement disappears from the surface, I seem to drop into a mood such as the one alluded to, and then there is, for a while at least, nothing but visions of what the Scandinavian saga calls the ride of the heroes to Valhalla.

It was on the 7th of last month that a message was cabled here from Paris, France, that Peter Lavroff, the grand old Russian, had ceased to exist. He was, among the prominent European Socialists, the fifth that had departed since I crossed the ocean some five years ago. The first to go was Frederick Engels, the last glorious ovation in whose honor I was privileged to witness at the close of the Zurich (Switzerland) international Socialist congress, in August, 1893. Then went the heroic, never-to-be-forgotten Stepniak, a man whom you would have thought incapable of taking the life of a fly, and who did not flinch nor falter when he was called upon to destroy one of the fiercest and most bloodthirsty of the Russian tyrant's henchmen. The next to go was he whom many English-speaking generations to come will delight to honor under the name of William Morris. A year or so later we all mourned the irreparable loss of Eleanor Marx, the lady who not only glorified in being the bearer of the most revered name in the history of Socialism, but who for many years acted the part of interpreter among all the civilized nations participating in the struggle for the regeneration of the human race. And now it was Lavroff's turn to go.

Twenty-one years ago, when in the course of my peregrinations I arrived at Paris, and spent there the hungriest but nevertheless the happiest half-year of my life, I, in common with many other young fellows, sat at the feet of the Socialist Gambiell, then already an old man. Everybody felt a better, nobler, braver person for being in his company, and as we listened to his earnest, instructive and withal unpretentious talk, we felt as if the grand future of mankind were almost within our grasp.

All around the outlook was gloomy and disheartening. France was still bleeding after the wounds which the brutes who vanquished the commune had inflicted on her very heart—on Paris. Germany, where the anti-Socialist law had a short time ago come into force, was one tremendous jail. Russia was daily witnessing the slaughter of her most heroic children. Austria was fast asleep, Italy was in chains and Switzerland looked like giving up her freedom, her past and her ghost. England was of course what she has always been, but not what she ought to have been: Shelley was still dead to her, while Morris was as yet but "the idle singer of an empty day." Everything looked dismal and dreary wherever you turned, but you had only to contemplate the grand, serene, loving old face of Peter Lavroff, and there was light and faith and hope and gladness.

And now he is gone. Our French comrades have honored themselves by giving him an honorable escort to his last place of refuge, where tyranny will not torment him any more. We will follow in his footsteps until our business in life shall be over and done.

M. Winchewsky.

SOCIAL MORALITY

It is only by comparison with the straight that we recognize what is crooked, and a comparison of society as it is with society as it ought to be reveals clearly the crookedness, the iniquity, the immorality of our present social state. Herbert Spencer, in his "Data of Ethics," in which he seeks to find a scientific basis for morals, sets up a standard of individual, parental and social conduct which is difficult to surpass. That kind of individual conduct is good or moral, he says, which preserves the life of the individual for the longest possible period and at the same time insures the broadest life, the widest range of healthful and pleasurable activities, the fullest development of all his faculties. This is self-preservation, the first law of nature. And the second law is like unto it, being the preservation of offspring. That kind of parental conduct is good which best takes care of the young and develops, equips and prepares them in youth to follow out the individual ideal of a long, broad and complete life.

Next we come to social morality. That kind of social conduct is good or moral which enables a man to live up to the two former standards, to secure for himself and his offspring the longest and most complete life without at the same time interfering with the equal right of every other to do the same for himself and his offspring.

No one can fail to realize the beauty and the justice of this ideal of conduct, nor can any one fail to realize the absolute impossibility of its attainment under the present system.

The working classes exist under such conditions of overwork, lack of nourishment and improper sanitation, that they cannot live out one-half of their allotted three score years and ten. The average length of life among them is only 27 years, while among the professional and leisure class it is 55 years. And as for breadth of life, one has only to look into

the vacant faces, the barren lives of ceaseless toil and grinding poverty of the millions in the city slums, the mines and factories, to be overwhelmed with a sense of how woefully short they fall of reaching the individual ideal.

Then how about the parental ideal? The crime that capitalism is perpetrating from day to day against the children is appalling. It is not the fault of the individual parents. They cannot do otherwise under the capitalist system, poor victims! Instead of caring for the children and fully equipping them for after life, we let 500,000 of them die in infancy, and mostly from preventable diseases—mostly from lack of proper care, of pure air and nourishing food. They work in soap and hemp factories till they become blind for a miserable 35 cents to \$1.15 per day. They work in cotton bleacheries till their skin is whiter than the cloth they bleach. The statistics of the Massachusetts bureau of labor show that the average workman in this state has to depend upon his children for two-fifths of his family's income. Instead of the parents following nature's second law and providing amply for their children, the children in their tender years are forced into the factories and mills to help support their parents.

But it is our social conduct that is the most atrocious and immoral, because it is the foundation and the cause of all the rest. Bear in mind that our social ideal demands that the welfare of each individual and of his children shall be sought, without interfering with the equal right of every other person. Now, I say that our whole industrial system is based directly and fundamentally upon interference with the equal rights of others to support themselves and their families out of the natural fertility of the earth, and by means of the machinery of wealth production which are the result of the labor and inventive genius of all the generations of workers past and present.

From the individualistic beginning the race has been climbing onward and upward toward the ideal of moral social conduct, and today the capitalist system stands directly in the way of its further progress. It is a moral necessity, as well as an economic one, that this barrier to human progress should be swept away, and that an industrial system be instituted which shall enable the race to go forward to a realization of the social ideal of mutual helpfulness in attaining the longest, broadest, fullest and most complete life for every human being that is born upon the earth.

Boston.

Margaret Haile.

CALL TO ACTION

ORGANIZE FOR 1900

There are few communities in this country today without one to a dozen Socialists who are not affiliated with the Social Democratic Party. At the last State election in Missouri votes were cast for the candidates of the Social Democratic Party in nearly every county in the State.

In almost every community a thoroughly wide-awake and earnest Socialist, with little exertion, could in one week effect the organization of a Branch of the Social Democratic Party.

WHAT THEY CAN DO
The Declaration of Principles and Political Demands of this party will be found in this paper; read it and you will see that the party is a straight, uncompromising Socialist organization, recognized as such in the International movement for Socialism.

DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATION
The triumph of the Socialist cause, which is the cause of the world democracy, requires organization, and without it nothing can be accomplished; this party is controlled by no individual nor by any set of individuals short of its entire membership through the referendum.

THIS YEAR'S CAMPAIGN
The year 1900 will be one of great and far-reaching importance to the people and especially to the United States; the latter have wealth-producing people of the United States; the latter have the future of any longer giving support to capitalist parties.

ORGANIZE WHERE YOU LIVE
Socialists should have as their main object in 1900 the polling of every vote possible for straight and uncompromising Socialism, and to do this the Social Democratic Party of every attached Socialist in the work of organization, where he lives, is necessary.

HOW ORGANIZED
The Social Democratic Party is now organized in more than half the States; it consists of Local Branches, State Unions and a National Council. A Local Branch may be organized with five members. It will nominate candidates for President and Vice-President next March.

SEND FOR INSTRUCTIONS
Full instructions and all necessary supplies for organizing Local Branches may be obtained from the National Secretary, Theodore Debs, 136 Washington St., Chicago, Illinois.

NATIONAL FUND

CONNECTICUT	NEW YORK
Finley, N.H., Hartford	Fales, I.C., Beaconhurst
Holmes, B., Hartford	Abel, H.L., New York
ILLINOIS	MASSACHUSETTS
Stedman, S., Chicago	Butcher, W., Brooklyn
James Cox, Chicago	Thomas, E.H., New York
P.A. Ayer, Chicago	Kahn, Arthur, New York
"A Friend", Chicago	Kahn, F.W., New York
Dr. J.H. Greer, Chicago	Loupey, J., New York
Mrs. C. Brown, Chicago	Panken, J., New York
Griffin, S., Chicago	Weyall, Chas., New York
James Wright, Chicago	Mark Raphael, New York
INDIANA	NEW JERSEY
E.V. Debs, Terre Haute	Aaron N. Godwin, New York
MICHIGAN	OHIO
Keller, S., Grand Rapids	Boycar, Jos., Cleveland
Flanders, F.B., Haverhill	Korn, Julius, Cleveland
Cohen, A., Boston	Braun, F., Cleveland
Parker, Levi, W. Newton	Alsenbrecht, C., Cleveland
Kosnett, G.C., Brockton	PENNSYLVANIA
Boerwirth, W.F., Brighton	Lewis, J.H., Piquette
Tate, Peter, Everett	F.W. Hirt, Erie
Hitchcock, D.G., Warren	TENNESSEE
Graham, S., Haverhill	Balou, Dr. B.H., Nashville
Booth, W. Newton	Balou, Dr. B.H., Nashville
Chase, Jno. O., Haverhill	Mahoney, Wm., Nashville
Brown, J.W., Templeton	TEXAS
Griffin, S., Amesbury	Fries, R.S., Houston
Allen, Helen M., Lynn	WISCONSIN
Keown, Dr. J.A., Lynn	Barger, V.L., Milwaukee
Carry, Jas. F., Haverhill	Boocoy, E.H., Milwaukee
MINNESOTA	MARYLAND
Goswami, F., Red Lake Falls	Arnold, L., Baltimore
MISSOURI	NEW HAMPSHIRE
Finley, Wm., St. Louis	Gordon, F.G., Manchester
Palmer, Henry, St. Louis	Brown, Geo., Manchester
Emmels, Wm., St. Louis	Mahoney, C.H., Manchester
NEW YORK	SOMEWHERE
Jacobson, E., Baltimore	Somebody, Somewhere

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

VOL. II. No. 40

CHICAGO, ILL., U. S. A., SATURDAY, MARCH 24, 1900.

Whole No. 90.

MAHON IS OUT FOR DEBS

SPEAKS FROM SAME PLATFORM WITH OUR PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE AT BELLEVILLE, ILL.

When the Central Labor union of Belleville, Ill., engaged Eugene V. Debs for a lecture in that city on March 13 they did not know they were going to have the pleasure of listening to a presidential candidate. The occasion turned out to be a very excellent beginning of the campaign. The opera house was literally packed with people. Over 2,000 were present. A delegation of Social Democrats from St. Louis went over on the electric line and arrived just in time to join in the street parade. The delegation carried the Social Democratic banner and a large sign bearing a picture of Debs, with the words "For President" beneath. Both of these banners were placed on the stage after the parade was over.

In spite of the suffocating atmosphere the audience listened to the orator's words with great attention. There was none of the reckless hurrah-for-my-side applause which always characterizes the meetings of old-party candidates. The audience applauded freely and enthusiastically, but intelligently. That the great mass of workmen present were thinking—thinking as they had never thought before—could readily be discerned by watching the expression of their eager faces. The number of young men present was surprising, and it is safe to assume that most of them went home with the truths of Socialism firmly impressed on their minds. For two hours the speaker held the attention of

the people and preached the doctrines of the cause he loves so well.

Then occurred an incident which is well worth noting as being indicative of the camp in which the trades unions of America will be found before the coming campaign is closed. After Comrade Debs had concluded his address the chairman called upon W. D. Mahon, national president of the Amalgamated Association of Street-Railway Employees of America, who happened to be present, to address the meeting. Mr. Mahon, in a short, forcible speech, declared that he endorsed every utterance of the previous speaker. He thought that the trades unions were paving the way for a higher step, and that they would be found supporting a working-class party in the near future. He urged the workmen to think for themselves, and wound up by saying: "If you do you will vote for Eugene V. Debs." At these words there arose from the audience one long, unanimous cheer that seemed to come from the very souls of the weary toilers who were crowded into the house. It seemed, indeed, as though some magic hand had for a moment pushed ajar the gates of the co-operative commonwealth and allowed the assembled proletarians to catch a glimpse of the future in store for them.

When election day rolls around and the votes have been counted, the city of Belleville will have done her duty to the wage-working class and have paid her compliments to our candidate with a handsome vote.

Eugene V. Brewster of New York has decided to quit Bryan, become a Social Democrat and support Debs and Harriman. In an interview last Saturday he said:

"I can see no hope of ever obtaining any permanent reform through the democratic party, however radical be its platform. Both of the old parties are fast rotting away with corruption, and, even after 1896, I see the vast and beautiful organization of the democratic party controlled at almost every point by a human hyena grimly waiting for plunder. There must be a new party, and I am not sure that that party is not the one just formed by the two Socialistic factions and headed by Eugene V. Debs."

Brewster says, further, that Bryan's defeat is certain, and will be accomplished by his own party.

During our convention last week Dr. Lyman Abbott lectured in Brooklyn on "Industrial Democracy" to an audience of workmen. From the newspaper reports of his remarks we take the following:

"I assume that the common people ought to control in industry as in politics. That we don't do that now is apparent. We elect governors, but not railroad kings; we elect municipal assemblies, but not those who control factories and mines. I have nothing to say against those who do control, but I am merely pointing out the fact that we can turn out presidents and governors, but if we think a railroad owner is not working for the public good we can't turn him out peaceably. Our political system is a democracy, but our industrial system is an oligarchy. We ought to carry the same principles into industry as into politics."

"This, then, is the radical object which we reformers ought to keep in mind—Social Democracy. That means that the railroads should be controlled and owned by the common people, that the factories and mines should be theirs, that they should own the tools with which they work. It means the diffusion of wealth. It means the employment of capital by labor, instead of labor by capital. It is a radical idea, but we need radical ideas. It is not a hopeless idea, either."

SKETCHES OF CANDIDATES

HOOSIERDOM FURNISHES BOTH STANDARD BEARERS OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Eugene Victor Debs was born in Terre Haute, Ind., in the autumn of 1855, and at the age of 15 years began his work as a railway employee in the Vandalia car shops. Soon afterward he obtained a position as fireman on a freight engine, in which capacity he served some years, and soon attracted attention in the councils of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, of which he had become a member. He was 22 years old when that organization made him editor of its magazine, and from that day forward he has been unable to escape for a moment the exacting cares of leadership. Quickly following this entrance to official life he was made general secretary and treasurer of the organization, and saw it grow rapidly from infancy to national proportions. In this position he was custodian of literally millions of dollars of organization funds.

In 1892 Mr. Debs founded the American Railway union, which was the first organization in the railway world to admit to membership every employee, from the section man and engine-wiper to the conductor and engineer. Its central idea was complete and universal organization. Under his guiding hand it speedily reached colossal proportions. Its first great strike was called on the Great Northern railway. The road was successfully tied up from St. Paul to the Pacific ocean and the company forced to restore the wages of all employees, amounting in the aggregate to many thousands of dollars a month.

Scarcely was the Great Northern railway case out of the way than the Pullman strike claimed attention. Thoroughly alarmed at the invincible strength of the new union built on the "universal brotherhood" plan, the General Managers' association resolved to force a general fight with the hope of crushing it in its infancy. The organization was less than one year old when the general managers began the assault. Employees were discharged simply for holding membership in the American Railway union. The Pullman trouble was brewing at the same time, and Pullman's employees, who were members of the organization, had their wages cut fully 50 per cent. The public was led to believe that Mr. Debs could have avoided the Pullman strike, and that he deliberately plunged into it. This, of course, was not true. He clearly understood the scope of the conspiracy against the life of the organization and knew the struggle could not be avoided. The Pullman matter was the most flagrant wrong at hand, and he took it up first, offered to submit the question to arbitration, and meeting with an emphatic refusal, ordered the members of the union to handle no Pullman cars. The battle was on, and within two days scarcely a car of any description was moving between the Mississippi valley and the Pacific coast. Within a short time the commerce of the nation was practically paralyzed.

So long as the general managers fought fairly and proceeded as in all other strikes they were completely out-generated. Finally realizing this they

appealed to the courts and found one willing to ignore the rights of man as guaranteed by the constitution of the nation and issued an edict suspending the freedom of speech. Mr. Debs was forbidden to send messages, letters or telegrams from headquarters to the members. This meant just what it would mean if a general on the battlefield was deprived of the right to speak or write. Of course he refused to submit, and within a few days Mr. Debs and his lieutenants were behind the prison bars. Released later, when the strike was dead, there followed a long and hard-fought legal battle to test the new principles sought to be established, but the United States Supreme court dodged the real question at issue.

In 1892, when Mr. Debs resigned his positions in the Firemen's Brotherhood, he was receiving \$4,000 per year. The convention of over 400 delegates by unanimous vote refused to accept his resignation, and offered him any salary he might name. When it was found he could not be induced to change his mind, the convention by acclamation voted him a gift of \$2,000, with which to go to Europe and recuperate his somewhat broken health. This he declined. On January 1, 1897, Debs issued a circular to the members of the A. R. U., entitled "Present Conditions and Future Duties," in which he reviewed the political, industrial and economic conditions, and came out boldly for Socialism. When the A. R. U. met in national convention in Chicago, in June, 1897, that body was merged into the Social Democracy of America, which organization was perfected on June 21, 1897, with Mr. Debs as chairman of the national executive board, to which he devoted his means, energy and splendid talents. After the split at Chicago in 1898, Mr. Debs was made a member of the national executive board of the Social Democratic party, a position he still fills.

Job Harriman was born on January 15, 1861, in Clinton county, Indiana. His people were farmers, and he remained on the farm until he was 18 years of age. He then went to Butler university, at Irvington, where he graduated. He went into the ministry, but his views soon became changed, so that he could not conscientiously continue in the church. He then took up the practice of law.

He was brought up as a democrat, but became dissatisfied and did not vote at all after 1887 until 1890, when he became interested in Socialism. At this time he was living in San Francisco. For the next five years he was more or less active in the Socialist movement there.

In 1895 he removed to Los Angeles and immediately entered the work there, where he has been an active agitator ever since. In 1898 he was the S. L. P. candidate for governor and made an energetic campaign, polling 5,600 votes.

In the beginning of 1899 he was chosen as state organizer, and put in the whole year in propaganda work throughout the state.

DEBS' SPEECH OF ACCEPTANCE

Mr. Chairman and Comrades: A few moments ago your committee advised me of the great honor conferred upon me by this convention in making me one of the standard-bearers of the party in the great campaign upon which we are now entering. Never in all of my life was I so profoundly impressed with the conviction that there is a divinity that shapes our ends, rough hew them how we will. Yesterday I left this hall under the solemn belief that I could not, under any possible circumstances, accept the nomination tendered me with such enthusiastic unanimity. But with your united voices ringing in my ear, and your impassioned appeals burning and glowing in my breast, and your eyes searching the very depths of my soul, I was soon brought to realize that in your voice in behalf of Socialism there was the supreme command of Duty—that I could not disregard it and decline the nomination without proving myself wholly unworthy of the confidence which inspired it. I felt that I could not decline this nomination, tendered me under such circumstances, without being guilty of treason to the cause we all love so well; and so I come to you this afternoon, obedient to the call voiced by your committee, to say that I accept your nomination, and with it all of the responsibilities that the great trust imposes; and with my heart trembling upon my lips, I thank the comrades, one and all, for the great honor you have conferred upon me. I also thank you for having nominated as my associate and colleague so true a Socialist, so manly a man as Comrade Job Harriman, and let me assure you that we will stand together, side by side, in the true spirit of Socialism, and joining hands, will bear aloft the conquering banner of the Social

Democratic party of America. The ordeal through which we passed yesterday was indeed painful and trying to us, but perhaps it was necessary to completely consecrate us to our great task. Standing in your presence this afternoon the standard-bearer of a united socialist party, so long a cherished hope and now practically a realized fact, all the skies of the future are bright, and I do not hesitate to believe that in the great campaign upon which we are now entering that we are to achieve results that will mark the real beginning of Socialism in America, as also the real end of capitalism. The line is to be sharply drawn. The issue is to be clearly understood. We are to move forward side by side, a united party, a solid indivisible phalanx. We are to move forward with steady step, our eyes upon the goal. No backward step is to be taken. We are not to be deflected from our course the breadth of a hair; and in the first battle, whatever the outcome, a great victory will have to be achieved to be followed by others, until at last Socialism is triumphant in the United States, capitalism falls never to rise again, and the working class, bruised, degraded, and plundered through all of the centuries of the past, for the first time in the history of all the ages will stand forth redeemed, and disenthralled, the coronated sovereigns of this world.

I congratulate my comrades, one and all, upon the very happy outcome of this historic convention. I were less than just to myself if I failed to make some proper acknowledgment of the invaluable services rendered us by the committee representing the Socialist Labor Party. During the trying hours of yesterday I was more than impressed with their noble bearing, with their manly

conduct. They appeared before us in the spirit of Socialism. Fortunately for you and me, and for the party, they were met with the same spirit; and now, instead of being in hostile camps, with divided forces, we stand before the world in a united body that is to move forward until it wrests this government from the grasp of capitalism and restores it to the people at large. Comrades, we invoke your united aid and co-operation. We should be remiss in no single obligation that has been imposed upon us. We shall to the extent of our ability serve you and those you represent in this great cause. There is no mistake as to the ultimate outcome. Speaking for myself, I am not only hopeful, I am confident. The new crusade is now thoroughly organized, and when the message goes forth it will send joy and hope and enthusiasm to the heart of every Socialist in the land.

Allow me to say, in closing, that I am deeply sensible of the great honor that you have conferred upon me—that when I attempt to express the gratitude with which my heart is overflowing, all language is meaningless. I am proud to be a Socialist. I believe with all my heart in the conquering and emancipating power of Socialism. With me it is something more than a conviction. It throbs in my heart; it surges in my soul; it is my very life. Without it, every star that blazes on the horizon would go out forever. Without it, this earth were simply a jungle, and we wild beasts devouring each other. With it, this earth becomes transformed into a veritable paradise, and we are almost gods. Again and again I thank you. All hail to the united Socialists of America!

told in a new chapter of the history of the American labor movement, and written with golden letters."

The Danville (Ill.) Democrat gives a lengthy report of the convention, with biographical sketches of both candidates.

Farmers' Review (Bonham, Texas) for March 9 contains a three-column editorial headed "Socialists Are Practical." Also mention of our candidates.

The Haverhill Social Democrat of March 10 gives a newsy account of the opening days of the convention.

dications are that Eugene V. Debs will be nominated for president on a combination ticket—Social Democratic and Socialist Labor. These two bodies should be united on general principles."

The Toiler of Terre Haute gives a full account of the convention in signed correspondence by the editor, Ed H. Evinger.

The Brauer-Zeitung of Cincinnati, Ohio, prefaces an account of the convention with the following paragraph: "The convention of the Social Democratic party of America, held in Indianapolis last week, is a thing of the past. The records of its work will be

The St. Louis Republic of March 14, in reprinting part of Sheldon's edition of the Topeka Capital, selected half a column of Comrade Leonard D. Abbott's article on Socialism and the S. D. P. This article was reprinted by the Rev. Mr. Sheldon from the New York Outlook. We say, with Benjamin Franklin, "Thus let good offices go abroad." Abbott's article has been in type for The Herald for three weeks; it appears in this number.

From the Iowa Unionist of Des Moines we clip the following: "The Social Democratic national convention in session in Indianapolis. The in-

PRESS NOTES AND COMMENTS

Memphis Commercial-Appeal: "Eugene V. Debs will lead the presidential ticket of the Social Democrats this year, and Eugene will wake the echoes. He is a plausible talker and one who is very effective with the masses."

Very true; and the united testimony of the southern press is that there is not one more popular with the masses.

Buffalo Express: "There is an element of the populists that can never be counted upon to return to the democratic fold. The most radical members of the populist organization have been tending to straightforward Socialism. They will be attracted by the programme of the Social Democrats. The latter will draw to them a not inconsiderable body of voters throughout the country."

The drawing quality of the Social Democratic party has already manifested itself in Kansas, where populism has shown its greatest vitality. One of the surprises of the campaign will be the straight Socialist vote in Kansas.

New York Tribune: "So far as the United States is concerned, we should be glad to see war abolished. But we

should also like to hear Mr. Debs and his fellow Social Democrats explain how it is to be done. 'You may rezoloot till the cows come home,' but how are you going to keep other nations from making war upon you?"

Social Democrats, as the editor of the Tribune may learn if he will take the trouble to inform himself, are really quite practical people. They understand that militarism and war are necessary to capitalist exploitation. Nations are forced to make war upon each other by and in the interest of the capitalist class. Therefore Social Democrats throughout the world stand for the abolition of capitalist production and distribution of wealth, and thereby the abolition of war and military establishments.

Baltimore American: "The Social Democrats, in session at Indianapolis, salute one another as 'Comrades.' Comrades in what—pessimistic rumination?"

Oh, no; put your ear to the ground, man! We are comrades in the most optimistic movement of the century. It is a movement with optimism as its mainspring. For that reason look out for it.

Social Democratic Herald

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board
JESSE COX, Chairman
SEYMOUR STEEDMAN, Secretary
EUGENE V. DEBS, VICTOR L. BERGER
FREDERIC HEATH

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, \$3.00. Six months, \$2.00. No papers sent to any one on credit. If, without having subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and no bill will follow. Foreign subscriptions \$4.00.

Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

A. S. EDWARDS, Editor
THEODORE DEBS, National Sec'y-Treas.
136 Washington St., Chicago.

90 is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 91 your subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, MAR. 24, 1900.

FIGHT FOR A PRINCIPLE

From the beginning of the glorious campaign to be made by the united Socialists this year, let it be understood that we are in the political arena for a principle. We are neither Debsites nor Harrimanites, but Social Democrats, affirming and firmly believing in the ultimate supremacy of the collectivist principle in industry and the industrial democracy wherein the robbery of the working class ceases and justice and comradeship is established in the earth.

The men chosen as our standard bearers were chosen not because they are cunning and ambitious men, desiring public office as a stepping-stone to self-aggrandizement, but rather because both have stood unflinchingly for the great cause of the working class and the principle which unites us as a party in a class struggle against the united and legally-intrenched capitalist class, for the overthrow of industrial exploitation and the establishment of economic freedom.

The hired guerrillas of the capitalist press may be expected this year to resort to every trick known to low calumny to serve their masters, but their attacks will in no way affect the reputation and character of the men who, in this new century conflict, stand for the emancipation of the working class from the shackles of capitalism. The people of this country have been learning that the representations made of Socialists and Socialism by the capitalist press are false creations proceeding from capitalist-owned brains. Their flippant jibes and prodigious lies will have no effect on the thorough-going, earnest Social Democrat, and the thinking public generally ceased long ago to regard with seriousness any utterance of the average daily newspaper designed to prop up or defend the prevailing system of industry. The Socialist movement in this country has outgrown the power of any capitalist editor or editors to hinder or molest it. The people are fast coming to see in it, not a fad, but a fact; not a thing to be avoided, but a historic cause to be aided and fostered.

Towards Socialism the thoughts of men are changing as never before and those who are informed find amusement in the first lie started by the pressmen of capitalism, viz., "that Debs has organized a party of his own and got himself nominated for president." The vulgarity of the thing is worthy of its vulgar origin. There is no truth in it. The Social Democratic party was organized when Debs was a sick man, confined to his room, unable to organize a party and with no ambition save to serve as a member of the party and an advocate of its principles when his strength returned. This ambition he has indulged with such telling effect in the past eighteen months, lecturing to larger audiences than any man living and winning the heads and the hearts of the people for Socialism, that his name at the head of a Socialist ticket for president means the beginning of a political revolution to match the industrial revolution, and this it is that the capitalist class fears.

Hurray for Social Democracy and its chosen standard bearers, Debs and Harriman!

WORKING CLASS OPPORTUNITY

Fellow workmen: For the first time in our history we have the opportunity of voting for one of our own great leaders for president. We are going to walk up like men and do our duty next November, are we not? "Oh, well, there are arguments on the other side, you know!"

First. We are so used to voting for lawyers. We think only these paid retainers of the capitalist class are trained to guide the ship of state. If any one save a lawyer were at the helm she might ground on the rocks. Yes, the lawyers are trained—to skin us!

Second. The clergy and the other authorities (?) on morals are going to tell us that a vote for Socialism is a vote for confiscation. In the same way they defended slavery, claiming that to destroy property in human flesh and blood was confiscation.

Third. The newspapers are going to poke fun at us. They are going to make cartoons of our leader and malign his character. And we still support the

capitalist press while that of our own class goes starving. We have not learned that the first step toward wisdom is to cast aside as authority the wretched, partisan daily sheets of our time.

Fourth. We have some prosperity now, and it would be such a pity to spoil it. We have jobs, it may be. We get back only one-fifth of what we produce, but we have jobs. Of course, it takes a high-power microscope to detect the difference between modern prosperity and a modern panic; but such authoritative microscopists as Mr. Dun and Mr. Bradstreet pronounce the present article prosperity. Anything so harsh as a vote for a labor leader might frighten it away. Prosperity is very shy!

Fifth. We might throw our vote away. We ought to vote for what we don't want and get it, rather than to vote for what we want and fail a time or two. We have been voting for what we don't want and getting it right along for many years, and it is hard to break off an old habit, surely!

Sixth. We have a chance of electing a man who is more friendly to our cause than the other fellow. We have not yet learned that the greatest enemies to our cause are good men who go against us; that the bad fellows can do no harm; that we want them on the other side. We have not yet found out that a good man on the wrong side is most to be feared.

Fellow toilers, in spite of all reasons, we have the opportunity of a lifetime. In these months preceding the one day when we are "voting sovereigns," we ought to be making votes for Debs and Harriman.

NOTES AND COMMENT

The Herald wishes to say to the trades unionists of the United States thus early in the campaign of 1900 that trades unionism in this country is now practically committed to the essential principle for which the Social Democratic party stands; that is, that all the means of production and distribution now owned and exploited by the capitalist class shall become the common property of society at large.

A vote for McKinley will be a vote for the capitalist class; no trades unionist can cast such a vote and be true to the doctrine of trades unionism.

A vote for Bryan (or any other man representing the confused and planless democracy) will be a vote for capitalism—for the middle-class—for an impossible reactionism; no trades unionist can give such a vote and be true to the interests of his own class.

A vote for Debs and Harriman will be a vote for representatives of the working class; every trades unionist in the land can vote the Social Democratic ticket and be true to his class, to the principles of his union and to himself.

Of course the irrepressible humorist of the party, Charlie Martin, had to get in his joke at the convention, and he did it in the following credential, which was posted in the hall:

"O Mr. Debs and all the rest of you: This is to certify that the bearer of this document is known as Jonas Harrison, and that the members of Puckerbrush alliance, located in the state and among the ideas of Mark, which we are trying to change to the ideas of Marx, have duly selected him to represent us as a fraternal delegate in the national convention of the Social Democratic party, called to meet in the capital of Hoosierdom on March 6, 1900, with instructions to root for a union of Socialist forces outside the tribe of Dan.

"Witness our hands and the seal of Puckerbrush alliance on last Saturday.

"John Strong, President.

"Jessie Bright, Secretary."

There has been much said and written in Chicago about short-measure coal. The small dealers, it appears, have sold for a bushel of coal baskets containing less than a bushel, and have done it at prices equal in some cases to \$12 and \$15 a ton. The people who paid these high prices were, of course, the poor. We have seen nowhere any reference to the fact that the winter has been one of unusual severity for the small dealers, whose sales have been uncommonly small and made as to the ton trade on a close margin. Neither have the mining barons, whose profits are enormous, been taken into account. That the small dealers are forced to give short weight and charge long prices only shows how increasingly difficult it is for the "honest middle trading class" to exist.

Public Ownership (Erie, Pa.) devotes nearly its entire first page to a report of "Debs for President," gives a review of the growth of Socialism and prints the executive board report complete. Editorially it says: "Job Harriman polled 5,000 votes for governor of California on the Socialist ticket in 1898. With Eugene V. Debs he would shake the state."

The die has been cast for 1900. We are to have a straight and uncompromising battle for Socialism. Let it be made of such power and effect that it may always be a source of inspiration for all future campaigns. Trades union workmen, this is the year of opportunity

for you to rebuke your enemies and give your friends a splendid support.

The Arbeiter-Zeitung of St. Louis gives nearly eight columns and an editorial to a report of the Indianapolis convention. The familiar features of our candidates, Debs and Harriman, appear on the first page. A very good report for our German friends and comrades to read.

The comrades of Indianapolis, who made arrangements for the convention under the leadership of Hugo Miller, took upon themselves all expenses incident thereto. Their devotion and generosity will be remembered by us all.

Reasons of a personal nature compelled Comrade Farmer of Texas to resign from the committee of nine. He is succeeded by Comrade Lonergan of Connecticut, who received the next highest number of votes.

In issue of March 10 the Sheboygan Volksblatt gives account of the convention.

The People, New York, March 11, gives a report of the first day's proceedings.

The Arbejderen of Chicago reports the convention in its issue of March 8.

WHAT THE "CITIZEN" SAYS

In the Cleveland Citizen for March 17, Editor Max Hayes has the following references to the movement and the candidates:

"The Social Democratic party will urge that its name be accepted by the united movement rather than that a new name be selected, and thus increase the confusion. It is pointed out that no stigma is attached to the title, that it is international in scope, and that it expresses perfectly what the labor movement stands for. The writer believes that the arguments are good ones, and that, if legal difficulties do not stand in the way, the easiest and most satisfactory manner to settle that question is to adopt the name Social Democratic party."

"Eugene V. Debs needs no introduction to our readers. They all know him and love him, not because he is Debs, but the sterling manhood, the splendid ability and his confessions of faith in the noble cause of labor have been put to the test, and he has not been found wanting. From boyhood almost he has been identified with organized labor, and he rose in triumph and went down in defeat with his class, ever holding aloft the flag of the workers struggling for economic freedom. Persecuted by all the powers of capitalism, made the target of the poisoned arrows of envy and malice from ambushed guerrillas, Debs has nevertheless stood firm for the great principles of industrial liberty and social progress."

"Job Harriman is in every way fitted to be Debs' running mate. The dashing Californian, though still a young man, is one of the pioneer Socialists of the Pacific Coast. He leaped into fame when he unhorsed Congressman Maguire in a debate upon single tax and Socialism several years ago, and since then he has labored unceasingly for the upbuilding of the Socialist movement. Mr. Harriman is a Marxian student, a keen logician, and an eloquent orator, and withal warm-hearted and modest to a fault."

A Chicago Drama

A Christian woman in a Christian town of nearly two million inhabitants died last Thursday night of starvation and a lack of medical treatment. Her home was a hovel in an alley. For some years she had been a widow, and had supported herself and child, but when she fell ill this was impossible.

Not one person in all of that two million went to her relief until it was too late. A big-hearted policeman brought her food at the moment her soul was leaving her body, and when there was no longer need of it.

The scene that met his gaze as he entered the room was one that should be depicted to and impressed upon the mind of every man and woman in this town calling himself or herself a Christian.

A 7-year-old boy was kneeling by the bedside, and this is what he was saying: "Oh, please, God, don't let my mamma die. Please get her something to eat so she can live with me."

This happened in Chicago, where millionaires are counted by scores, where the Associated Charities have splendid offices in a magnificent building; where there are relief corps innumerable.

It happened in the fourth year of the reign of William McKinley, when coffers are filled with gold and when the fat land is bursting with prosperity.

How many other like cases are there in Chicago?

Who is responsible for a condition of society where a worthy Christian woman can starve to death in the midst of plenty?

Who is going to remedy it, and how?—Chicago Journal.

DEBS' LECTURE TOUR

Nebb City, Mo. March 24
Joplin, Mo. March 25
Galesburg, Mo. March 25

The Herald Leaflets are good for propaganda at 25 cents per hundred copies.

MERLIN'S MIXTURE

Expensive expansion.

Dr. Jabez Fisher, in an excellent paper on "Dividends versus Brotherhood," read before a Fitchburg audience on March 4, gives a striking illustration of the accumulative power of the dollar.

He figures that if Joseph had invested one dollar, at 6 per cent compound interest, for the benefit of his son Jesus and His future cause, it would have amounted today to a value equal to that of a solid cube of gold measuring 4,600,000,000 miles on each side!

To those of us who have only the occasional privilege of gazing at the small rim of a five-dollar gold piece—through a broker's window—this illustration is well-nigh incomprehensible. To the average workingman gold is as unfamiliar a coin as the haiku-shells of the British Columbia Indians, the cowries of India or the whales' teeth of the Fiji islands.

But it serves to show the enormously expansive power of gold, given to it by the system of profit and interest that we permit and perpetuate. And this same expansive process is going on every day. The capital of the rich is increasing, and as the result the poverty of the poor is increasing, too.

When mammon gains, man loses. When capital gets, labor gives. When the dividends of the rich increase the comforts of the poor decrease. Every private pile of wealth is simply the accumulation of legalized pilferings.

Why are some so poor? Why are others so rich? The same question answers both. By the system of industrial profit and loss, the profit always going to one class and the loss always being borne by the other.

An honest millionaire.

In a religious weekly received yesterday casual reference is made to a certain millionaire. After speaking of his being worth four and a half millions, it stated that it "seems he earned his money honestly."

This is really a significant statement. It implies that the popular idea concerning the dishonesty of millionarism is getting strong enough to be opposed and disputed. And again it implies a doubt, in a quarter where loyalty to wealth is supreme, in the asserted fact of honesty, the man in question only "seeming" to earn his money in an honest way.

The statement made is fallacious. No man can earn a million honestly. He may inherit it. He may steal it. He may find it. But earn it he cannot.

My dictionary defines "earn" as "to gain by labor." No one is foolish enough to suppose that a millionaire, according to this, can rightly use the word.

The word "earn" comes from the Dutch "ernen," to reap, while the original root was "ar," to plough. We today use too often the former definition and forget the latter. We forget that to earn means not only the harvesting, but the plowing as well.

Money has in reality, no expansive power. Plant a dollar, and you expect to dig up a dollar and no more. It has no inherent power to increase of itself.

It is only when labor power is introduced that wealth increases. Capital is but the golden key that unlocks the legal barriers and permits labor to use its energy in the increasing of wealth.

To labor, then, all wealth belongs. In that case, how can a capitalist honestly earn his millions?

One day last year Rockefeller made \$8,000,000 in one day by a manipulation of stocks. What fool says he earned it?

Labor's luck box.

A month or so ago a man named Henry Parker advertised a "lucky box" in the Boston papers. He made prodigious claims for his wonderful box, and bolstered his claim by citing case after case where great fortune had followed the purchase of a box.

These boxes were made, he said, in India, by Hindoo magicians, who gave them some mysterious power known only to that occult race. And this marvelous box was offered at the equally marvelous price of 99 cents.

Business boomed. Fools are plenty hereabouts, and most of them got a box. Orders poured in to Parker. Sacks full of mail and money orders were emptied in his office. His office was blockaded by the aspirants to fortune.

By and by the authorities, who are always so blind during a crime and so wide awake after it, put a stop to the thing. They found that the boxes were made by the gross in Lynn, and never got any nearer India than Breed's wharf.

Then the fools found out that it was a lucky box for only one person, and that person had cleared out with his ill-gotten wealth.

Fools? Not a bit more so than the great majority of American workmen. Year after year we have had offered to us, at the price of a vote, the "lucky box" of "prosperity." The competing agents, the "Republican Lucky Box company," and the Democratic ditto, have in turn offered us their wares,

with extravagant claims for their magical power.

And the most of us have been deceived. In buying the box we have been sold ourselves. We have given up our votes, year after year, and have gained nothing by it.

Already these two firms are getting out their lucky boxes and painting them over and looking for fine phrases to put on the covers. And already labor fools are getting ready to be taken in by the same old trick.

The real lucky box.

There is a lucky box, however, that has the power to bestow unlimited good fortune on labor. It has the magic power to change every labor slave into a prince of fortune. And that is the ballot box.

The ballot boxes of America are simply the hollow tricks which are used to construct either a palace or a prison for labor. By it we can either vote away our rights, or else secure them. We can make our paths pleasant, or we can make them rough and hellish.

So long as the ballot box is within our reach we can make no reasonable protest against conditions. When we have set a trap and stepped into it, we can blame only ourselves. When we flavor our soup with machine oil we cannot be pitted for having to eat it.

So far we have not availed ourselves of the marvelous merit of the ballot box. We have suffered it to be a dice thrown by competing oppressors. We have permitted its use as a thing for tyrants to juggle with.

Let us begin to use it as the instrument whereby we can mold our own destinies and make our own happiness. Let us make it the avenue through which to make our strong and effective protest against injustice.

Let us straightway begin to tear down the prison and build the palace.

Merlin.

SONG OF THE NEW CENTURY

By Edwin Markham

Striving in the Purpose of the Upper Sphere,
We sweep on to the Century ahead.
But something makes the heart of man forbode,
For Labor is the Sphinx beside the road;
And we must answer its dread Question—yes,
Or perish as the tribes of yesterday.

Thunder and earthquakes crouch beyond the gate;
But fear not: man is greater than his fate.
And one will come with Answer—with a word
Wherein the feet of morning will be heard;
One who will feel the grief in every breast,
The heart-cry of humanity for rest.

So we await the Leader to appear,
Thinker and Doer and Seer.
The hero who will fill the Labor Throne,
And build the Comrade Kingdom, stone by stone—
That Kingdom that is greater than the Dream,
Breaking through ancient vision, gleam by gleam.

Something that Song alone can faintly feel,
And only Song's wild rapture can reveal.
Thrilled by the Cosmic Oneness he will rise,
Youth in his heart and morals in his eyes;
While glory fallen from the far-off goal
Will send mysterious splendor on his soul.
Him shall all toilers know to be their friend;
Him shall they follow faithful to the end.

Though every leaf were a tongue to cry, "Thou must,"
He would not say the unjust thing is just.
He would not all the flattery in his eyes
Shall shake his heart or hush his lyric lips.
His cry of justice, it will stir the stones
From Hell's black granite to the Seraph thrones.

Earth listens for the coming of his feet;
The hushed Fates lean expectant from their seat.
He will be calm and reverent and strong,
And carrying in his thought the dream of song
Will send a cry upon these weary men,
A cry to make the heart grow young again.

A cry to comrades scattered and afar:
"Be constipated, star by circling star;
Give to all mortals justice and forgive—
License must die that Liberty may live.
Let Love shine through the fabric of the state—
Love deathless, Love whose other name is Fate."

Fear not: we cannot fail—
The Vision will prevail.
Truth is the oath of God, and sure and fast,
Through death and Hell holds onward to the last.

[Copyright, 1899, by the New York Journal.]

New Ready! 136 Page!

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRACY RED BOOK

EDITED BY FREDERIC HEATH

Printed on Plate Paper Handsomely Illustrated
This is an annual publication for Social Democrats who will find it indispensable for reference purposes. This first issue is of especial value because of the historical character of its contents. Among the features are:

A HISTORY OF SOCIALISM IN AMERICA
Covering 76 pages, with portraits of Robert Owen, Etienne Cabet, Wilhelm Weitling, etc., etc.

ALBERT BRISABANE
The first American agitator, with portrait.

A TRIP TO GIRARD
By Wayfarer, with view of Appeal to Reason office.

KARL MARX ON THE SINGLE TAX
MACHINE vs. HAND LABOR
Compiled from government reports by Isaac Ladoff.

SHORTER FIRES
Labor Conflicts in 1899. Greenland. Grant Allen. Chronology for 1899. Directory of Social Democrats. Socialist. Controversies of 1899. The "Golden Rule Mayor." Prof. Herron's Own Social Democratic Platform, Etc.

BIOGRAPHIES OF WELL KNOWN SOCIAL DEMOCRATS. Twenty in all.

ELECTION STATISTICS
Covering the Socialist movement down to the present year. A valuable reference.

A SOCIALIST PORTRAIT GALLERY
Comprising seventeen likenesses of leading workers in the movement, distributed through the book.

Sent postpaid on receipt of price, 15 CENTS.

DEBS PUBLISHING CO.

TERRE HAUTE, IND.

The Union Label

on everything you buy is a guarantee that the producers thereof receive a fair rate of wages for its production

Insist on having the label

THE WOMEN DELEGATES

There were in the convention as delegates Margaret Haile, Corinne Brown, Elizabeth H. Thomas and Mary Simons Johnson. We should be glad to give Herald readers the portrait of each of them, but that being impracticable at this time, we present that of the most active and widely known of their number, whose work for the cause of Social Democracy in Massachusetts has been second to no "man's" work, and who enjoys the confidence and esteem of comrades throughout the country. We refer, of course, to Margaret Haile.



MARGARET HAILE

Comrade Haile, as a member of the committee on constitution, did effective and valuable work for the party. Before returning East, she accepted an invitation to visit Milwaukee, where she met with a cordial reception from comrades who appreciate her great service for the cause in Massachusetts.

NEW BRANCHES

Davisville, Cal.

Chairman, J. W. McDonald; vice-chairman, Thomas Brown; secretary, Harry Lytte; treasurer, B. F. Noel; organizer, W. J. Montgomery.

Paonia, Colo.

Chairman, Rufus P. Laucks; vice-chairman, Charles H. Taylor; secretary, Ira D. McFadden; treasurer, Alonzo C. Williams; organizer, Bolen Reames.

Chicago, Ill.

Two new branches organized in Chicago have not selected permanent officers; names will be reported next week.

Dubuque, Iowa.

Chairman, William D. Wilbur; vice-chairman, A. B. Wymer; secretary, W. T. Beals; treasurer, A. H. Fluck; organizer, F. A. Lymburner.

Ardmore, I. T.

Chairman, A. D. Matthews; vice-chairman, J. M. Davis; secretary, Julius A. Martin; treasurer, E. F. Ensworth; organizer, Arthur C. Bell.

Bellevue, Ky.

Chairman, A. Wagenlander; secretary, Jules Ronshheim; treasurer, Jacob Biehle.

Whitman, Mass.

Chairman, L. W. Drake; secretary, James M. Sullivan; treasurer, Frank Smith.

Esrom, Mo.

Chairman, George F. Brous; vice-chairman, E. Surber; secretary, S. B. Stephens; treasurer, R. S. Howe; organizer, C. C. Coates.

Williamsport, Pa.

Chairman, G. B. Smith; vice-chairman, M. E. Kelley; secretary, John J. Lyons; treasurer, Jonas Parker; organizer, G. F. Drill.

Beaumont, Texas.

Chairman, M. D. Fagan; vice-chairman, L. N. Hodges; secretary, J. O. Hillie; treasurer, W. C. Burk; organizer, F. J. Miller.

Equality, Wash.

Chairman, William Hogan; vice-chairman, H. W. Halliday; secretary, Walter Griggs; treasurer, W. B. Boyd; organizer, C. M. Dunn.

Geneva, Wash.

Chairman, L. Thompson; vice-chairman, George Hewitt; secretary, Mrs. Belle C. Hatt; treasurer, R. Watkins; organizer, Mrs. Elizabeth Thompson.

Lynden, Wash.

Chairman, E. Edson; vice-chairman, S. L. Palmer; secretary, Jerome S. Austin; treasurer, J. F. Stark; organizer, H. B. Blair.

Milwaukee, Wis.

Chairman, Frank Peters; vice-chairman, Louis Fernges; secretary, Frank Strehlow; treasurer, Dr. C. Barkmann; organizer, Adam Schaefer.

NOTICE TO BRANCHES

The quarterly dues for the quarter ending June 30 are due at the headquarters, 126 Washington st., Chicago, Ill., on or before April 5. Prompt remittance is of the highest importance to insure the interests of the organization, and the branches are urged to provide for the collection, which should be begun at once.

CAREY IN NEW HAMPSHIRE

Monday evening March 12, our town hall held the largest audience ever assembled in it to hear a political speaker. Comrade James F. Carey had hurried all the way from Erie, Pa., to fulfill a long-standing engagement. Comrade Manfred Tibbitts first addressed the people on local issues. He was followed by Comrade Carey, who spoke on Socialism in its larger aspect. It was the most interesting and enthusiastic meeting ever known here. It must be borne in mind that the branch here contains but few members, a strike in a shoe factory and labor depression generally having caused many of its most active members to leave town.

Town meeting came the day after the rally just spoken of. The democrats, who had not made a town ticket for years, nominated selectmen, just to help out the republicans, and claimed they would poll 200 straight votes for their ticket. But the result showed that most of them went over to the republicans to make a sure thing against the Social Democrats. Owing to a false report, over thirty Social Democrats in a shoe factory did not get out to vote. The result of the meeting was:

Regular democratic.....46
Social Democratic.....130
Regular republican.....289

Our people had expected to poll 170 to 180 straight votes. But those who know think that to have 130—who, under the most adverse circumstances, will face both bosses of shops and political bosses and vote the Social Democratic ticket—is a big achievement for a branch that numbers no more than ours.

I am instructed to say that all Social Democrats here—and I can say the same for all in our state—most cordially indorse the action of the comrades in laboring for a peaceful union of the two great bodies of working Socialists in America. No greater boon can come to us at this time than this fraternal union.

D. Fisher, Secretary.

Exeter, N. H.

Socialists of Oregon

The S. D. P. A. will hold a conference in Portland, Ore., Thursday, April 10, 1900, for the purpose of state organization and the calling of a state convention to nominate state, congressional and national officials, and such other matters as may come before the meeting for discussion. By order Branch No. 1, Portland, O.

T. C. Wendland, Chairman.

F. Smith, Secretary.

J. D. Stevens, Organizer.

Box 204, Portland, Ore.

THE PARIS COMMUNE OF 1871

Address by E. Val. Putnam at St. Louis Commune Celebration

There is probably no event in all history that has been so shamefully misrepresented or that has been so little understood as that grand uprising of the proletariat known as "the Paris commune of 1871." To the average mind the word "commune" signifies lawlessness, rioting, pillaging and murder. It is safe to say that not more than one out of five hundred Americans today has any other notion of that important occurrence than that it was an uprising of ignorant and vicious men who slew all who came in their way and pillaged and burned every building within their reach. A parade through the streets of New York of all the murderers, highwaymen and other criminals contained in the jails and penitentiaries of America, armed with torches, clubs, knives, pistols and dynamite, would perhaps be a faint approach to the popular conception of the commune.

Time will not allow us to go much into details this evening. A scheming emperor, in order to divert the attention of the French workingmen from their own condition, sought and found an excuse for a war with Germany, in which war he was ingloriously defeated and compelled to sign a humiliating treaty. The people of Paris refused to submit to the treaty, abolished the monarchy, declared the establishment of a republic and set up what was known as "the government of national defense." This government proved itself to be a weak and vacillating body, and made no preparations for the defense of Paris, finally surrendering the city to the Germans.

The people were indignant, and the government, which was composed largely of men hating the working class, attempted to disarm the national guards, most of whom were workingmen. This led to open hostilities, and the workingmen, being victorious, compelled the leaders of the government to flee to Versailles, and on March 18, 1871, the commune was declared established, amid indescribable enthusiasm of the people.

It was a government by the working class, the despised toilers whose labor had produced all the comforts and luxuries of the world. This class of men, who had hitherto been considered incapable of doing anything but the bidding of their masters, had asserted itself and announced its intention of using the powers of government for the benefit of the masses.

The capitalistic government at Versailles was astounded. It sent its agents throughout the rural districts of France, denouncing the "incendiarism, murder

and robbery of the mob in Paris," and the press of the entire civilized world was filled with horrible stories of the "mob rule."

And what are the facts? I can do no better than quote the statements of an eye-witness, Mr. Frank M. Pixley, a prominent journalist of the Pacific coast. Says Mr. Pixley:

"I was present in the city of Paris during the entire period that the commune held sway. I saw that great city of central Europe held for five weeks by the artisans and laborers, who for the first time in seventeen years had had the opportunity to bear arms. There was the Bank of France, with its hoarded wealth of coin, the house of Rothschilds, the bank of Hopes of Amsterdam; there were the great magazines and storehouses filled with costly fabrics; shops with jewels of untold value; palaces with costliest gems of art; pictures and marbles of inestimable value. There was a vast population which had for months endured privation, hunger and distress. The gendarmerie had been driven out, and there was no other government than that of the commune.

"And yet during the five weeks—weeks of menace from without and suffering within—I saw and heard of no single act of pillage and murder. During five weeks I saw no act of vandalism, I saw no plunder. I saw organization and order."

Such is the testimony of an eye-witness, corroborated by many writers and admitted to be true by many enemies of the commune. Paris under a government of workingmen was more orderly in time of war than under an emperor in time of peace, with 12,000 police for his special protection. A member of the commune said: "We hear no longer of assassination, theft and personal assault; it seems, indeed, as if the police had dragged along with it to Versailles all its conservative friends."

Now let us turn to subsequent events and see how the conduct of the self-styled "representatives of law and order" compares with that of the commune administration.

During the last week of May, 1871, the Versailles troops entered Paris, and though the workingmen, who were inexperienced in warfare, exhibited unparalleled bravery in defense of the city, the commune government was overthrown. Then followed the greatest exhibition of brutality that has ever been recorded. It is useless for me to attempt to convey any adequate idea of its horror, and I must content myself with repeating the report of Gen. Thiers, who commanded the troops opposing the commune. Here it is. Grasp its terrible meaning if you can:

"Number of insurgents arrested from May 28, 1871, to Jan. 1, 1872, 35,578; died, 967; acquitted, 3,147; condemned to prison, 10,131; handed over to the civil courts, 212; dismissed, 1,090; shot, 23,121."

May 28, please note, was the last day of the war. All these 23,000 proletarians were shot after the commune had been completely conquered.

Comrades, it is well that we study the history of the commune. It is well that we know how these thousands of martyrs died, inspired with a glimpse of the future. It is well that we know why they died. How they died is illustrated by these words of Vermorel at the burial of the commune's general, Dambrowski, three days before the end of the struggle: "I say unto you that this precious martyr's blood holds the seeds of the morning. I tell you that those who shall weep are the poor, the toilers, the slaves. I tell you that, weeping for us, they shall wake to finish what we have begun! What think ye they will find most precious—the gold of capital or the martyr's blood that stains it? Let us not weep, my brethren; we have now naught else to do but die."

Thus they died—40,000 of them—died like true martyrs, knowing that they were right, confident that you and I and others of the proletariat would not suffer their sacrifices to be in vain. Comrades, shall it be said that the cause for which they perished thirty years ago shall fail today for lack of martyrs? Circumstances do not demand of us that we die for the cause today; but are there not among us enough men who will sacrifice their time, their energies, their ambition, their all to insure its triumph—to complete the emancipation of labor? I believe that there are, and that within the lifetime of nearly all that are present the sun of the co-operative commonwealth will rise grandly, gloriously above the political horizon.

But we must not rest on prophecy or confine ourselves to expectations. In the history of the past are to be found the guiding stars for the future. We must know how the proletariat has lived and died in order to discover how it may triumph. In the history of the Paris commune we find many lessons. We learn from it that workingmen are capable of managing the affairs of government in a peaceful and orderly manner. We learn that when the proletariat is once aroused no death, however terrible, can deter it. We learn from this bloody page of history that capitalism, when opportunity is offered, will stop at nothing to perpetuate its reign. We discover in the wage-working class a feeling of humanity and fraternity, a sense of justice and a love of liberty. We per-

LOCAL BRANCHES

Notices of Branch Meetings Inserted for 25 Cents per Month

CALIFORNIA

Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evening, commencing at 8 o'clock. Admission free. Educational meetings (for members) every Tuesday evening. Sociology, Economics, Public Speaking, etc. Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening, with advantage of Educational Course and Social Democratic Herald free to each member, 25 cents per month. Apply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk street.

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock at Woodmen's Hall, 1234 Spring St. J. Franco, 700 Dayton Ave., Secretary.

CONNECTICUT

The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at Turn Hall, Rockville. I. Schiav, Secretary.

Branch No. 2, New Haven, meets every Tuesday evening at 8 o'clock at 8 p. m. Cornelius Mahoney, Secretary, 105 Frank St.

Branch No. 4, Rockville, Conn., meets first and third Thursdays at Turn Hall meeting room, Village street. Secretary, Richard Niederwerfer, Box 760.

ILLINOIS

Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 62 Dearborn St.

Branch No. 1, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening, Thomas Kirwin, Secretary, 2504 Wentworth Ave.

Branch No. 2 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays at 8 p. m. at Nagli's Hall, 535 Blue Island Ave. Vacav Jelinek, Secretary, 606 Blue Island Ave.

Branch No. 3 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Mondays at 8 p. m. in Dunder's place, 1080 W. 15th place. Joseph Dunder, Secretary.

Branch No. 5, Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays of each month at 8 o'clock at 8 p. m. 40 String St. Paul Chlapacka, Secretary, 304 Noble St.

Branch No. 6 (German), Chicago, meets every first Saturday each month at 8 o'clock at Nagli's Hall, 535 Blue Island Ave. near 15th St. Albin Gelsier, Secretary, 725 W. 30th St.

Branch No. 9, Chicago, meets at 1145 W. 63rd st. first and third Sundays at 8 p. m. B. L. Westine, Secretary, 6245 Center Ave.

INDIANA

Branch No. 4, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichwein's Hall, corner Market and Noble Sts.

IOWA

Branch No. 2, Hileman, meets every fourth Friday in the month at opera house. B. B. Jamieson, chairman, James Fisher, organizer; Joseph Schollas, secretary.

KENTUCKY

Branch No. 2, Covington, meets first and third Wednesday evenings and second and fourth Sunday afternoons of each month. All agitation meetings except 3 p. m. meetings in month of Good speakers. Secretary, F. C. Stumpf, 201 8th street.

MARYLAND

Branch No. 1, Baltimore, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m. at Carpenter's Hall, 640 E. Baltimore St. Public invited.

Branch No. 3, Baltimore, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at Western Hotel, 222 W. Camden st. Good speakers. Public invited. Levin T. Jones, Secretary, 222 W. Harro st.

MASSACHUSETTS

The Massachusetts State Committee meets the first Saturday of each month at 724 Washington St., Boston. All dues and monies intended for the State Committee should be sent to the financial secretary, A. McDonald, 104 W. Springfield St., Boston. All other correspondence should be addressed to the Corresponding Secretary, Margaret Hall, 5 Glenwood St., Roxbury.

Branch No. 2, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Mondays of each month at Springfield Turner Hall. H. Schlichting, Organizer, 50 James St.

Branch No. 5, Lynn, permanent headquarters, 71 Monroe St. Business meeting every Monday night at 7:30. Open house. Public invited. Harry Goltimer, Sec., 42 Essex St.

Branch No. 9, Brockton, meets the second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at 8 p. m. for business at Socialist Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Center Sts. Every comrade is expected to attend one meeting a month. Frank S. Walsh, Secretary, 62 Crescent St.

Branch No. 15, East Boston, meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 50 Chelsea St. Miss Jenny Segal, Secretary, 42 Chelsea St.

Branch No. 18, Newburyport, meets the second Monday of each month at Laster's Hall, 1 State St. E. F. McLean, Secretary, 39 Winter St. G. H. Evans, Treasurer, Prince Place.

Branch No. 31, Chelsea, permanent headquarter

ceive in the capitalist class an utter lack of mercy, a spirit of brutality and an unlimited selfishness.

Let us take warning. With the growth of its power the characteristics of the capitalist class have only been intensified. Let the proletarians of America but give unmistakable evidence of their intention to secure control of the powers of government, no matter how peacefully, and you will witness scenes of cruelty on the part of the minions of wealth beside which events of the past will pale into insignificance.

In conclusion permit me to say that the Paris commune meant more to the proletarians of America than did the American revolution. The commune was a revolution of our class, and we owe more patriotism to our class—the wage-working class of the world—than we do to any institution or government founded on geographical lines. Let us remember its history. Let us mourn for its martyrs and profit by its lessons. Let us at all times refuse to make war upon our fellow-slaves of other countries. Let us pin our faith to international Socialism and never forget that "the workingmen of all countries are our friends and the despots of all countries our enemies."

Pacific Coast Socialists

Books on economic subjects can be ordered to your advantage from the Bureau of Socialist Literature, 23 Turk Street, San Francisco, Cal. Following is a partial list of the works of G. B. BENHAM, which we recommend: History of the Paris Commune of 1871, paper cover, 35 cents; full cloth, \$0.75. Gospel of Discontent (compilation).....15 Soap Shots at Capitalism (compilation).....15 Story of the Red Flag.....25 Crimes of Capitalism.....25

G. B. BENHAM

23 Turk Street San Francisco, Cal.

JOS. BARONDESS

FIRE AND LIFE INSURANCE

Life Insurance effected by mail in any part of the country. Fire Insurance attended to in Greater New York and New Jersey.

17 Nassau St., NEW YORK.

CLUBBING OFFERS

The Herald and Appeal to Reason.....70
" " " Public Ownership.....70
" " " Co-operator.....70

Order from THEODORE DEBS, 126 Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

ters, Room 2, Postoffice Building. Open every evening. Business meetings every Thursday at 8 p. m. Public invited.

MINNESOTA

Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Gesswein, on Main St. A. Kingsbury, Secretary.

MISSOURI

St. Louis headquarters, Room 7, 22 N. Fourth St. Address all communications to E. Val Putnam, Secretary. For information concerning Branches, inquire at the above address.

Branch No. 1, New York City, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1800 Union Ave. G. J. Stors, Secretary, 1230 W. 8th St.

MONTANA

Branch No. 2 meets first and third Sundays of each month at G. W. Wood's home, Chico, Mont.

NEW JERSEY

Branch No. 1, Secretary, Michael W. Schor, 57 Livingston st.

Branch No. 6 (German), Paterson, N. J., meets first and third Mondays at 8 p. m. at Helvetia Hall, 14-55 Van Houten St. Karl Linder, Secretary, 246 Edmund St.

NEW YORK

The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York and vicinity meets first and third Tuesdays of every month in Wills's Hall, 35 E. 4th St. Elizabeth H. Thomas, Secretary.

East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every first and third Thursday at 113 Clinton St. A. Guyer, Secretary, 125 Suffolk St.

Branch No. 3, 4th Assembly District, meets second and fourth Wednesdays of the month at 1099 Second Ave., at the "Central." Henry Lang, Secretary, 234 E. 60th St.

Branch No. 4, West Side Branch, New York, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of every month at headquarters, 129 W. 54th St. Elizabeth H. Thomas, Secretary.

Branch No. 10, 4th Assembly District, meets every first and third Wednesday of the month at the rooms of The Voice of Labor, 42 Grand St. Jacob Panken, Organizer, 120 Division St.

Branch No. 12, Brooklyn, headquarters, 231 Rutledge St. Meets every third Thursday at 7:15 sharp. All persons interested are invited to attend these meetings and co-operate in organizing local branches in every district in the city. Wm. Buischer, Secretary, 231 Rutledge St.

Branch No. 20, New York, 35th Assembly District, meets first and third Thursdays of each month at Faulhaber's Hall, 1551 Second Ave. R. Hoppe, Secretary, 232 E. 80th St.

OHIO

Branch No. 2, Cleveland, meets in Ohlsen's Hall, 65 York St., second and fourth Sundays at 8 p. m. Lectures, discussions, business meetings, first and third Fridays at 8 p. m.

Branch No. 3, Cleveland, meets first and third Sundays in each month at 8 p. m. in Ohlsen's Hall, 65 York St. Lectures and discussions.

Branch No. 4, Cincinnati, meets every Sunday at southeast corner 9th and Plum Sts., every Sunday at 2 p. m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. E. B. Brannan, Sec., 215 Vine St.

Branch No. 5, Dayton, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2:30 in room 34, Davies block, Fourth and Main streets. Every one interested in practical government is invited to be present. J. J. Schaeve, president; N. D. Duff, secretary.

Branch No. 1, Cincinnati, meets every second and fourth Saturday in Workingmen's Hall, 1333 Walnut St. F. Hamel, Secretary, 1804 Printz St.

Branch No. 11, Massillon, Columbus. Ed Greiner, Secretary, 205 Mohawk St.

PENNSYLVANIA

Branch No. 2, Erie, meets every Sunday, 3 p. m., at K. of L. Hall, 716 State St. Chairman, Joseph Stala, Secretary, J. K. Perry, 119 Sansassass St.

Branch No. 4, Pittsburgh, meets every Thursday evening at 7:30 at P. O. Building, 425 Jefferson and Josephine Sts. W. Bohn, President, 244 Addison St. J. H. Lewis, Secretary, 2318 Jane St.

Branch No. 5 (Jewish), Philadelphia, meets every first and third Thursday at 7:30. Discussion from 8 to 9. I. Garson, Secretary.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee Central Committee meets on the first Monday of each month at 8 p. m. sharp at 615 E. Water St. Eugene H. Rooney, Secretary. John Doerfer, Treasurer.

Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Tuesday evening of the month at the Ethical Society Building, 155 Jackson St. Visitors always welcome. Howard Tuttle, Chairman, Eugene H. Rooney, Secretary.

Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Friday in Geisler's Hall, corner Green Bay and Concordia Ave.

Branch No. 3, Sheboygan, meets every Thursday of the month at Gustav Burgard's Hall, corner Wisconsin Ave. R. Schoen, Secretary-Treasurer, 121 St.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday each month at Meier's Hall, corner 2d and Brown Sts. George Moerschel, Secretary, 891 25th St.

Branch No. 5, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at R. Sigel's Hall, southeast corner Orchard St. and 8th Ave. Fred Brockhausen, Secretary, 731 W. 12th Ave.

Branch No. 11, Milwaukee, meets the second Wednesday of each month at the office of the Wisconsin Vorwaerts, 614 State St.

Branch No. 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of each month at 7th Hall, 21 and Center St., at 8 p. m. John Koepfer, Secretary.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LIBRARY

Far Marx, Capital, Cloth.....02.00
F. W. Sprague—Socialism, from Genesis to Revolution, Cloth.....1.00
Ground—The Co-operative Commonwealth, Paper......30
August Bebel—Woman: Past, Present and Future.....1.00
Blatchford—Merrie England......15
Edwards—Looking Backward......15
Edward Bellamy—Equality, Cloth......1.25
Lissagay—History of the Commune of 1871.....1.00
Charles Vall—Modern Socialism......1.00
Augustine—Heterodox Socialism and Orthodox Profits......15
Henry D. Lloyd—Wealth Against Commonwealth.....1.00
Volney—The Ruins of Empires......15
The Future—The Rights of Man......15
Henry George—Social Problems......15
Osborne Ward—The Ancient Lowly......15
Adams—President John Smith......15
Richard T. Ely—Socialism and Socialism.....1.00
Bachner—Man in the Past, Present and Future.....1.00
Benham—A History of the Paris Commune 1871 (cloth 75c, paper cover)......25
Chas. E. Vall—Principles of Scientific Socialism......35
Herron—Between Jesus and Caesar......40
Fabian Essays......25
Rogers—Six Centuries of Work and Wages......25
Paine—Rights of Man......25
Donnelly—Caesar's Column......25

F. G. E. Gordon—Hard Times: Cause and Cure......05
Leonard D. Abbott—The Society of the Future......05
F. Lassalle—What Is Capital......05
H. M. Hyndman—Socialism and Slavery......05
F. Lassalle—The Workingman's Program......05
Chas. H. Vall—The Industrial Evolution......05

THE HERALD LEAFLETS

No. 1 Contains "A WORD WITH YOU, JOHN!" being an admirably prepared paper by "Warfare," based on a chapter in "Merrie England."
"THE REAL MASTERS"—pertinent questions addressed to workingmen.
"THE DECLARATION OF POLITICAL DEMANDS" of the Social Democratic Party of America.

No. 2 Contains "ABUSE, YE SLAVES!" a ringing address by E. V. Debs on Socialism and the Social Democratic Party, with a picture of the author.
"HOT SHOTS

THE PLATFORM

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness depend upon equal political and economic rights. In our economic development an industrial revolution has taken place, the individual tool of former years having become the social tool of the present. The individual tool was owned by the worker who employed himself and was master of his product. The social tool, the machine, is owned by the capitalist and the worker is dependent upon him for employment. The capitalist thus becomes the master of the worker and is able to appropriate to himself a large share of the product of his labor.

Capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people; but the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system will necessitate the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare.

The present system of social production and private ownership is rapidly converting society into two antagonistic classes—i. e., the capitalist class and the propertyless class. The middle class, once the most powerful of this great nation, is disappearing in the mill of competition. The issue is now between the two classes first named. Our political liberty is now of little value to the masses unless used to acquire economic liberty.

Independent political action and the trade union movement are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its political, the other its economic wing, and both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system.

Therefore the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be:

First—The organization of the working class into a political party to conquer the public powers now controlled by capitalists.

Second—The abolition of wage-slavery by the establishment of a national system of co-operative industry, based upon the social or common ownership of the means of production and distribution, to be administered by society in the common interest of all its members, and the complete emancipation of the socially useful classes from the domination of capitalism.

The working class and all those in sympathy with their historic mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America. The control of political power by the Social Democratic party will be tantamount to the abolition of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting the millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international Socialism, the brotherhood of man.

As steps in that direction, we make the following demands:

First—Revision of our federal constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to complete control of government by the people irrespective of sex.

Second—The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

Third—The public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones; all means of transportation, and communication; all water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

Fourth—The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal, and other mines, and all oil and gas wells.

Fifth—The reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

Sixth—The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

Seventh—Useful inventions to be free, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

Eighth—Labor legislation to be national, instead of local, and international when possible.

Ninth—National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.

Tenth—Equal civil and political rights, for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

Eleventh—The adoption of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

Twelfth—Abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

Adjourned.

Attitude Toward Trades Unions

In accordance with our declaration of principles we declare that the trades union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the wage-working class. We recommend to the members of the Social Democratic party the following general rules:

First—Join the union of your respective trade.

Second—Assist in building up and strengthening the trade union movement.

Third—Support the union labels of all crafts.

Fourth—Educate your fellow-unionists on the question of Socialism and the labor movement, on economic and political lines.

Fifth—It shall be your duty to work for the unity of the labor movement, thereby recognizing the fact that the emancipation of the working class can only be achieved by the united efforts of this class.

Sixth—Educate the members of the unions in the principles of Socialism and induce them, individually, to affiliate with the Social Democratic party.

Seventh—Trades unions are by historical necessity organized on neutral grounds, as far as political affiliation is concerned. The trades union is the arena where all wage-workers may be brought together for joint action to resist the encroachments of capitalism on the economic field and to participate in the class struggle of the proletariat which will finally develop into the political alignment of the forces of labor in the struggle for proletarian emancipation.

The Social Democratic

Red Book

ORDER IT

Edited by FREDERIC HEATH

PRICE 15 CENTS

Sent postpaid on receipt of price

DEBS PUBLISHING CO.

TERRE HAUTE, IND.

NATIONAL SECRETARY-TREASURER'S REPORT

HERALD

RECEIPTS	DISBURSEMENTS
June 16 to Dec. 31, 1898..... \$ 416.97	Printing..... \$ 922.08
Jan. 1 to Dec. 31, 1899..... 1,069.75	Stock and wrappers..... 96.71
Jan. 1 to Feb. 28, 1900..... 107.28	Postage..... 47.17
	A. S. Edwards..... 182.00
	Printing..... 2,359.07
Total printing..... \$3,934.91	Postage, wrappers and addressing..... 312.15
Total addressing, wrappers, postage and stock..... 524.44	A. S. Edwards..... 570.45
Salary Editor..... 1,059.70	Printing..... 653.76
	Postage, wrappers and addressing..... 69.41
	A. S. Edwards..... 307.25
	\$5,519.05

DISBURSEMENTS

	Herald	Literature	Office Expense	Salaries	Printing	Rent	Organizer's Fee	Loans and Interest	Labor	Total
June 16 1898	\$1,246.96	\$ 41.63	\$120.83	.....	\$ 63.25	\$ 64.50	\$ 2.50	.....	\$ 8.00	\$1,547.67
Dec. 31 1898	3,241.67	240.14	331.86	750.00	126.50	150.00	16.00	10.00	56.50	5,000.67
Jan. 1 1899	1,030.42	45.72	121.25	200.00	56.75	25.00	2.25	43.65		1,576.04
Feb. 28 1900				51.00						
	\$5,519.05	\$327.49	\$573.94	\$1,139.00	\$246.50	\$289.50	\$20.75	\$53.65	\$84.50	\$8,184.38
										Balance on hand March 1, 1900, 61.88
										\$8,246.26

RECAPITULATION

	Admission Fee	Quarterly Dues	Supplies	Soc. Dem. Herald	Contributions	Literature	Loans	Labor	Total
RECEIPTS									
Jun. 16 1898	\$ 102.00	\$ 478.50	\$ 1.10	\$ 416.97	\$ 339.40	\$ 60.75	\$235.00	\$13.20	\$1,638.92
Dec. 31 1898	740.50	2,156.25	75.56	1,069.75	668.89	276.82	50.00	47.05	5,072.82
Jan. 1 1899	221.50	779.75	21.53	157.28	307.55	48.39			1,536.00
Feb. 28 1900									
	\$1,064.00	\$3,414.50	\$98.19	\$1,634.00	\$1,313.84	\$385.93	\$275.00	\$60.25	\$8,245.74

ASSETS AND LIABILITIES

ASSETS	LIABILITIES
Jan. 1, 1899—	
Office furniture..... \$ 12.00	Eugene Dietzgen..... \$ 225.00
Stationery..... 15.00	A. S. Edwards..... 223.00
Cash on hand..... 89.25	Theo. Debs..... 497.50
	H. Schwarz..... 103.50
	Campbell Printers..... 9.25
	\$116.25
	Total Liabilities, \$ 932.00
Jan. 1, 1900—	
Office furniture..... \$100.00	Eugene Dietzgen..... \$ 225.00
Stationery..... 75.00	A. S. Edwards..... 245.30
Literature..... 50.00	Theo. Debs..... 597.50
Bills receivable..... 20.00	
Cash on hand..... 101.04	
	\$1,531.93
	Total Liabilities, \$1,185.89
March 1, 1900—	
Furniture and typewriter..... \$100.00	Eugene Dietzgen..... \$ 225.00
Stationery..... 75.00	A. S. Edwards..... 245.30
Literature..... 50.00	Theo. Debs..... 597.50
Bills receivable..... 20.00	
Cash on hand..... 61.88	
	\$1,057.80
	Total Liabilities, \$ 751.44

THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IN MASSACHUSETTS

Leonard B. Abbott in The Outlook

The most striking political phenomenon during recent months has been the unprecedented growth of socialism in the eastern section of Massachusetts. When, in December, 1898, John C. Chase, an avowed Socialist, was elected mayor of Haverhill as the candidate of the Social Democratic party, it was possible for men to say that he owed his victory to a political accident, for his opponents were divided, and he polled only 2,300 out of 7,000 votes. In December last, however, Republicans, Democrats, and Prohibitionists all joined hands to defeat him. They forgot their differences of opinion, and threw down the gauntlet on the basis of a straight contest between socialism and capitalism. As such the issue was frankly accepted by all concerned. No effort was spared to defeat the Socialists, and money flowed like water. The coalition candidate, a lawyer named Pingree, had not only the support of the one daily paper of the city, but also of all the machine politicians. On the other hand, the Social Democratic party, a new organization, with very slight financial resources or political experience, fought beneath the storm of prejudice that is always aroused by the word "Socialism." The money with which they conducted their campaign came from far and wide—hundreds of dollars from the Jewish Socialists of the East Side of New York, and contributions from sympathizers in almost every state of the Union. A little weekly paper, the "Haverhill Social Democrat," was started a few weeks before election as the organ of the Socialists. In spite of almost superhuman obstacles, the Social Democrats again elected their candidate, by a majority of 156, and with him three aldermen and three councilmen (out of a joint ballot of twenty-one), which gives the Socialists the same numerical strength in the city council that they had last year.

On the same night that Chase was re-elected there came news from the other side of Boston that Brockton also had elected a Socialist mayor, Charles H. Coulter, by a majority of over 1,500, together with two aldermen and a councilman, all of whom are on the Social

Democratic ticket. The following week Lynn and Newburyport each cast about 800 votes for a Socialist mayor, and at the last-named place the Social Democrats elected a member of both city council and school board. Haverhill and Rockland are represented in the state house at Boston by James F. Carey and the Rev. F. O. McCartney, the only two Socialists in any state legislature in this country. We thus see the extraordinary spectacle of socialism strongly entrenched today in Massachusetts, a Republican state, and one famous for its conservatism.

The Social Democratic party was formed at Chicago in June, 1898, being thus less than two years old. It grew out of a heterogeneous organization formed by Eugene V. Debs in 1897, and from the first day of its existence has stood uncompromisingly for clear-cut socialism. It declares its object to be "the establishment of a system of co-operative production and distribution through the restoration to the people of all the means of production and distribution, to be administered by organized society in the interest of the whole people, and the complete emancipation of society from the domination of capitalism." In principles and purpose the Social Democratic party is almost identical with the Socialist Labor party, and its formation was really a protest against conditions existing in that party. The Socialist Labor party, in the twenty years of its existence, has accomplished nothing that can be compared with the victories of the Social Democratic party in Massachusetts. Eugene V. Debs—the "Ferdinand Lassalle of American Socialism," as he has well been called—is national organizer of the Social Democratic party, and to his untiring efforts has been due no small measure of its success.

The Social Democratic movement in Massachusetts is a working-class movement, and its rank and file are recruited almost wholly from native-born Americans. Winfield P. Porter, twice the party's candidate for governor, often prefaces his addresses on socialism by saying: "My grandfather fought to throw off the yoke of English slavery; my father strove to break the chains from the limbs of the negro slaves; I today am fighting against the curse of wage-slavery." In view of such a declaration, it can hardly be said that "socialism is a

foreign importation"; and it is certainly very interesting to note that Massachusetts, the cradle of liberty in 1776, and the stumping-ground of the Abolitionists half a century later (Haverhill, by the way, being the birthplace of J. G. Whitier), is today the first to lead the way toward the "Co-operative Commonwealth" pictured by Socialists. Mayor Chase was born in New Hampshire, Representative Carey in Haverhill, and both of them worked in the shoe factories from earliest boyhood. Mayor Coulter is also an American, a journeyman plumber by trade. Representative McCartney, on the other hand, is a Unitarian minister. He left a prosperous church at Rockland to go into politics, and was previously assistant pastor of one of the wealthiest congregations in Boston. Haverhill, Brockton, Lynn, and Newburyport are all famous as centers of the shoemaking industry, and this fact has led the New York "Sun" to suggest that there must be some mysterious connection between shoes and socialism!

"There is something that all the money in the world is powerless to check," said one of the Haverhill Socialists, "and that is the onward march of a great moral principle." It is this very spirit in Massachusetts socialism which gives it its impregnable strength. The Social Democratic party is so fundamentally different from the other parties that the old-time politicians are totally at a loss as to its meaning. They cannot even begin to comprehend that the Socialists are working, not for political jobs and party triumph, but for principles and ideals. There is in the Social Democratic movement an almost religious enthusiasm. On the eve of victory in Haverhill, an Irish Socialist was on his deathbed. The good news was brought to him lying in pain, and his face brightened as with the light of sunshine. Almost his last words were, "And Brockton, too!" In one of the branch meetings of the party a new recruit to Socialist principles—a notorious drinker—stood on his feet to make confession of faith, and in his hand was the inevitable bottle. "Comrades," he said, "I am never going to disgrace our cause by taking another drop of that vile stuff!" He dashed the bottle to the ground, amidst applause.

Massachusetts cities have so little home rule that, even if Mayors Chase and Coulter had a majority in the city government, almost nothing could be accomplished in the direction of socialism. Both mayors realize that their chief function at present is that of agitators—apostles of a new idea. In their inaugural messages they declare triumphantly and unequivocally their belief in the fundamental principles of socialism, but state that the most that they, as individuals, can do is to move slowly forward in the direction of municipal ownership, and to use their influence wherever possible in the interests of the working class against the capitalists.

Probably Edward Bellamy's books, scattered so widely through these New England homes, have been largely responsible for the growth of the socialistic sentiment. Socialistic papers and pamphlets have been distributed here in thousands for many years, for the Socialist movement of today is clearly the logical development of an earlier and vaguer Populist movement. But more powerful than all other factors in the education of Massachusetts workmen has been the evolution of industry. The men of Haverhill and Brockton can remember the time when a shoemaker made a complete shoe upon his knee. Today the individual, working in concert with scores of others, and using complex machinery, makes a hundredth part of a shoe. A priori, one would suppose that such marvelous mechanical development would bring comfort and security to all. As a matter of fact, the Haverhill shoemakers are much worse off than their fathers. There is more poverty, more insecurity, and more unemployment. The invention of machinery and the concentration of industry have brought incalculable wealth to the capitalist class, but misery to the workers. It is to be wondered at that New England workmen now realize that the factory, already social in its nature, should also become social property, and be administered to promote the well-being of the whole community? Is it not natural that they should flock in ever-increasing numbers to the party which asserts its object to be the collective or public ownership of the means of production and distribution?

The Socialist victories at Haverhill and Brockton have aroused comment from Maine to California. The editors of our daily papers are still busy trying to explain away such a remarkable phenomenon, and both Republican and Democratic leaders in Massachusetts are discussing how many of the Socialist demands they can safely incorporate in their respective platforms. To those who are able to survey the matter from a wide standpoint, these victories simply appear as the local expression of a movement that is already world-wide, and that is surely destined sooner or later to become a great political factor in this nation.

PROPAGANDA FUND

"Appeal to Reason"..... Kansas..... \$2.00	
E. V. Debs..... Indiana..... .50	
A. J. Oeschger..... New York..... .50	
August Ruddy..... Ohio..... .10	
"Common Sense"..... Illinois..... .25	
"Comrade"..... New York..... 1.00	
A. K. Maynard..... New York..... 5.00	
Branch No. 9, Milwaukee..... Wisconsin..... .50	

NATIONAL FUND

The following is a list of comrades who have agreed, in response to the appeal of the National Executive Board, to contribute monthly for one year to the national fund. Other names will be added as they are received.

CONNECTICUT	NEW YORK
Finnell, N. H. Hartford	Fales, L. C. Beaconmont
Holman, J. B. Hartford	Butcher, W. D. New York
ILLINOIS	NEW JERSEY
Stodman, S. Chicago	Pankopf, Carl Jersey City
James Cox..... Chicago	Karl Lindner..... Paterson
P. A. Ayer..... Chicago	"Comrade"..... Newark
"A Friend"..... Chicago	
Dr. J. H. Greer..... Chicago	
Mrs. C. Brown..... Chicago	
"Friend"..... Chicago	
James Wright..... Chicago	
INDIANA	PENNSYLVANIA
E. V. Debs..... Terre Haute	Lewis, J. H. Pittsburg
MASSACHUSETTS	TENNESSEE
Flanders, P. B. Haverhill	Edgar, Dr. J. H. Nashville
Cohen, A. Boston	Hartman, W. A. Nashville
Parker, Levi W. Newton	Mahoney..... Nashville
Monette, G. C. Brockton	
Bosworth, W. E. Brockton	
Tate, Peter..... Everett	
Hitchcock, D. G. Warren	
Goldman, S. Haverhill	
Hough, E. W. Newton	
Chase, J. C. Haverhill	
Brown, J. W. Templeton	
Grieson, C. S. Amesbury	
Allen, John W. Lynn	
Keown, Dr. J. A. Lynn	
Carey, Jas. F. Haverhill	
MICHIGAN	TEXAS
Keller, S. Grand Rapids	Price, E. B. Houston
MINNESOTA	WISCONSIN
Gesswein, F. Red Lake Falls	Berger, V. L. Milwaukee
MISCELLANEOUS	Booney, E. H. Milwaukee
Pfecher, Wm. St. Louis	Ziegler, E. Milwaukee
Fellner, Henry St. Louis	Doerfer, John Milwaukee
Ruechke, Wm. St. Louis	Baumann, G. Milwaukee
MARYLAND	Arnold, L. Milwaukee
Jacobson, E. Baltimore	Meister, E. Milwaukee
NEW HAMPSHIRE	Herman, C. Milwaukee
Gordon, F. G. Manchester	Tuttle, H. C. Milwaukee
Howie, Geo. Manchester	Heath, F. Milwaukee
Mello, C. H. Somersworth	Branch 4 Milwaukee
"Somersworth Branch"	

Pocket Library of Socialism

- Woman and the Social Problem. By MAY WOOD SIMMONS. Shows that the emancipation of women will only come with the emancipation of man through socialism.
- The Evolution of the Class Struggle. By WILLIAM H. NOTES. A historical study showing how socialism is coming.
- Imprudent Marriages. By ROBERT BLATCHFORD. A masterly answer to the argument that "prudence" would help the laborer.
- Packingtons. By A. M. SIMMONS. A study of the Union Stock Yards, Chicago; how nature and man are alike scientifically exploited.
- Realism in Literature and Art. By CHARLES DABROW. Shows how the workers of modern art and literature are helping on the new social order.
- Single Tax vs. Socialism. By A. M. SIMMONS. Shows the inadequacy of the Single Tax as a remedy for the evils pointed out by Henry George.
- Wage-Labor and Capital. By KARL MARX. The essence of the great philosopher's theory, in his own words.
- The Man Under the Machine. By A. M. SIMMONS. Tells how wage slavery began, what it is today and how the workers are going to free themselves. A condensed handbook of socialism.
- The History of the Working Class. By REV. CHARLES H. VAIL, author of "Modern Socialism," etc.
- Morals and Socialism. By CHARLES H. KENN. Shows how popular ideas of morals are manipulated in the interest of the capitalist class.

Daily printed, five cents each, post-paid.

SPECIAL OFFER—For one dollar we will mail forty copies of the Pocket Library, all of one kind, as ordered.

SEND ORDERS TO

THEODORE DEBS, 126 Washington St., CHICAGO

The Book You Need

PRINCIPLES OF

Scientific Socialism

By Rev. Charles H. Vail

Author "Modern Socialism" and "National Ownership of Railways."

CONTENTS:

- The Industrial Revolution. The Analysis of Value. The Origin of Surplus Value.
- The Advantages of Socialism: Production, Distribution, Elimination of Useless Vocations, Prevention of the Elevation of Women Proper Care and Training of Children, Efficient Directors, Solution of the Monetary Question, Abolition of Taxation, Simplification of Government, Benefits to Capitalists, Benefits to Laborers.
- The Evidence of the Moral Strength of Socialism: Its Spirit and Aim; Abolition of Business Dishonesty; Restriction of Divorce; Prevention of Prostitution; Elimination of Crime; Prevention of Intemperance, Inequality, etc.
- Poverty—Its Cause and Cure. Wage Slavery vs. Chattel Slavery. Rent and Interest. The Law of Wages. The Law of Progress. Industrial Depression and Commercial Crisis. The Problem of Labor-Saving Machinery.
- Popular Economic Errors: That Value is Determined by Capitalist Cost of Production; that the Interests of Laborers and Capitalists are identical; that Labor is Better Off Today Than Ever Before; that Cheap Prices are Beneficial to Labor; that Foreign Markets are Beneficial to Labor; that Luxury is Beneficial to Labor; that Land Nationalization Would Solve the Social Question; that Wages are the Chief Cause of Economic Want; that Socialism Would Thwart Inventions and Improvements; that Socialism Would Destroy Individuality. Conclusion and Index.
- 12mo, 326 Pages; Paper, 35c; Cloth, \$1.00.

SEND ORDERS TO

THEODORE DEBS, 126 Washington St. CHICAGO

Headquarters for Literature.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC.

- Liberty. Debs. 5c.
- Merrill England. Blatchford. 10c.
- Municipal Socialism. Gordon. 5c.
- Prison Labor. 5c.
- Socialism and Slavery. Hyndman. 5c.
- Gov't Ownership of Railways. Gordon. 5c.
- Orations on Voltaire. Victor Hugo. 5c.
- Evolution of Industry. Watkins. 5c.
- Hard Times: Cause and Cure. Gordon. 5c.
- Women: Past, Present and Future. Rebal. 5c.
- The Red Light. Casan. 25c.
- The Fullman Strike. Cardin. 5c.
- Co-Operative Commonwealth. Groun. 10c.
- The New Economy. Groun. 10c.

MECHANICAL AND ENGINEERING.

- Progressive Examination of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen. Hill. 5c.
- Locomotive Running Repairs. Hitchcock. 5c.
- Simple Lessons in Drawing for the Shop. Reynolds. 5c.
- Air Brake Practice. Phelan. \$1.00.
- Ready Reference. Alexander. \$1.50.
- Locomotive Running and Management. Sinclair. \$2.00.
- Compound Locomotives. Woods. \$2.00.
- Twenty Years with the Indicator. Pray. \$2.50.
- Hand-Book of the Locomotive. Roper. \$2.50.
- New Catechism of the Locomotive. Foster. \$2.50.

Note.—Nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 in lots of 10 copies, 5c each; in lots of 100 copies, \$1.00. Nos. 9 and 10 in lots of 100 copies, \$2.50. Send orders to

DEBS PUBLISHING CO.,

TERRE HAUTE, IND.

MILWAUKEE

Social Democratic Herald

A weekly paper advocating the Collective Ownership of the Means of Production and Distribution. Supporting the Social Democratic Party. Official organ of the Party in Wisconsin. Yearly Subscription, One Dollar.

614 STATE STREET, MILWAUKEE, WIS.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

VOL. II. No. 41

CHICAGO, ILL., U.S.A., SATURDAY, MARCH 31, 1900.

Whole No. 91.

BREWSTER OF BROOKLYN JOINS SOCIAL DEMOCRATS

The following is the letter addressed by Eugene V. Brewster to Mr. Bryan, in which he declares for Debs and abandons all half-way measures for the program of the Social Democratic party:

"My Dear Mr. Bryan: I am constrained to inform you that I can no longer consistently support the Democratic party, nor yourself for the presidency so long as you and it retain the present well known position on public questions.

"You have long been aware of the differences between us, yet you were always aware that I have done my utmost, in my humble way, to effect a union of reform forces under your leadership.

"While I have differed with you I have always maintained that you are today the one great agitator and orator in the public eye and the one man who could relieve the country from the tyranny of the present administration by defeating the next republican nominee. I even wrote an article, which appears in a recent magazine, showing by facts and figures how you could and should be elected. But in the past few months strange and unforeseen conditions have been forcing me to alter my position, until I am driven to either continue in the democratic party, hated by myself for my hypocrisy and inconsistency, else openly leave that part and enjoy the luxury of absolute freedom.

"I admit that there are thousands of others holding opinions like unto mine who will remain with you till the end, and I know that they call themselves opportunists. They base their actions upon the doctrine of 'the lesser of two evils,' or, perhaps, upon the idea that the Chicago platform is a stepping stone to future reforms. But this no longer satisfies me. A compromise of this kind only retards and delays. I have no doubt that you could and would, if president, do much good and greatly alleviate the sufferings of the masses. An opiate will temporarily relieve the pain of a broken limb, but it will never cure; some time the bones must be set. Let the patient remain too long under the opiate without repairing the real injury and it is too late.

"The trust question, to which you are devoting most of your attention, involves the very greatest and really the only problem that the American people have to solve. Regretfully, you seem to see only one side of the case, and seeing only evil on that side, you would unhesitatingly destroy the trust. You do not seem to realize, dear Mr. Bryan, that the same arguments that you apply to the trust also apply equally well to improved machinery, and yet you would not destroy that. It seems very clear to me that the machine and the trust are given to us by an all-wise Creator to lighten and lessen our toil, and that only the stupid management of them has made them a curse rather than a blessing. The question is, then, How can we retain the good qualities of the trust and the machine and eliminate their bad qualities? There can only be one answer—public ownership and control. This may mean Socialism, but there is no other way out of it. It is a natural law of evolution. It is inevitable, be it for weal or for woe.

"I have carefully studied the conditions and the many remedies offered by various parties and factions, and it seems to me that co-operation—socialism—is the only possible remedy.

"Being convinced of this, and seeing the great party leader taking a stand diametrically opposite, and believing that the party is rapidly deteriorating from its '96 character, how can I consistently support the democratic party, that seeks to destroy one of man's greatest achievements—the magnificent organization of industries called trusts?

"Again, for several years I have been writing and speaking publicly on these questions, doing what little good I can, but now, many papers and magazines will not print my articles and many organizations will not permit me to address them, because of my known friendship and admiration for you and your party, fearing that I might acquire influence which I would use to injure the cause at the polls. Again, I am not sure that I am not doing you an injury while professing allegiance to you and at the same time teaching that you are wrong. Still again the public press persists in treating me as your representative, and you are therefore often misquoted and misrepresented.

"I can see no hope of ever obtaining any permanent reform through the democratic party, however radical be its platform. Both of the old parties are fast rotting away with corruption, and even after '96 I see the vast and beautiful organization of the democratic party controlled at almost every point by a human hyena grimly waiting for plunder. There must be a new party, and I am not sure that that party is not the one just formed by the two Socialistic factions and headed by Eugene V. Debs.

"While Mr. Debs cannot possibly win this year, and while I am nomination and the action of the populists make the election of Mr. McKinley almost certain, I feel that I could not help you much, even were I to remain in the party, because you certainly cannot carry this state and my vote, and my support would therefore be worthless.

"But, on the other hand, my vote and the votes of many who feel as I do, if cast for Debs, would add much to the cause of true reform because of the moral influence of a large vote.

"Finally, I am no longer content to waste time in fighting half-way reforms and compromises, and believe that the best and the quickest results come by strict adherence to one's principles. If half the magnificent energy and divine devotion displayed in our churches, our prohibition parties, our anti-saloon leagues, our charity organizations, our anti-vice crusades, etc., were spent in a cause that strikes first at the root of all these evils, in a cause that seeks first to set right our economic conditions, how soon would we see the end of poverty, vice and plenty walking hand in hand!

"Believe me, Mr. Bryan, I have the deepest respect and admiration for you personally, as have nearly all men, but I do hope that you will some time see the situation and the only true remedy as clearly as we do who have, as we think, gone more deeply into economics. With all your brilliancy and marvelous oratorical and rhetorical powers, you could soon bring the world to your feet.

"Trusting that you will receive this in the kindly and sincere spirit in which it is given, and that you will see the necessity of my giving publicity to my position, I beg leave, my dear Mr. Bryan, to remain yours with deep respect and esteem,
Eugene V. Brewster."

Composition of the Convention

As secretary of the committee on credentials at the national convention of the Social Democratic party held in Indianapolis, Ind., March 6, 7, 8 and 9, 1900, I prepared a record from which are obtained the following facts:

Seventeen states were represented by sixty-seven delegates with credentials for 2,120 votes. This was less than half of the membership in good standing, the scattered branches not being represented.

An analysis of delegates' occupations shows sixteen to be of the professional class, eleven of the business class, and forty of the wage-working class.

The oldest delegate was 65 years of age, and the youngest 22. The average age was a little less than 38.

The following callings and occupations were represented:

Artist and illustrator,	Manufacturer,
Blacksmith,	Meat cutter,
Cabinetmaker,	Merchant,
Miner,	Carrage painter,
Minister,	Office clerk,
Cigarmaker,	Pattern maker,
Coach painter,	Printer,
Commercial traveler,	Printing pressman,
Editor,	Proof-reader,
Farmer,	Publisher,
Housewife,	Real estate broker,
Insurance agent,	Salesman,
Iron worker,	Secretary,
Jeweler,	Shoemaker,
Journalist,	Student,
Laborer,	Stenographer,
Lawyer,	Tailor,
Lecturer,	
Machinist,	

Tiffin, Ohio. Chas. R. Martin.

LEONARD D. ABBOTT SPEAKS ON THE TRUSTS

Comrade Leonard D. Abbott spoke at the home of E. V. Brewster, Brooklyn, March 15, before the Brooklyn Co-operation club. There was present an enthusiastic audience and great interest was shown in the presentation of the Social Democratic view of trusts. Mr. Abbott said, in part:

"I believe the time is not far distant when the competitive system, with all its bitterness and misery, will be succeeded by co-operative commonwealth, the motto of which will be, 'An injury to one is an injury to all.' Our 'Democracy' today is a sham. Our government is simply plutocracy. A few capitalists have in their hands power never dreamed of by the worst monarchies of Europe. Fifty men can demoralize industry. We are slaves in a slavery such as the world has never seen. There is only one remedy, co-operation, and only two ways to attain it—first, by voluntary action; second, by political action. The first has been proved a will-o'-the-wisp. The founding of little Utopias in different parts of this country has resulted in nothing but failure. Their founders have gone back upon industrial experience, and gone back upon progress. We must progress with the world. The latest evolution of industry, the trust, is the very climax of co-operation. The Standard Oil trust is the most magnificent example of co-operation. But it is for the capitalists. Yet don't cry it.

My only objection to the trust is that it does not take us all in. It seems to me as sensible a thing to say, 'Go throw back the waters of the Mississippi on its source,' as 'Go destroy the trust.' It seems to me as ridiculous a thing to plead for a return to the stage coach as to plead for a return to the small store and the individual capitalist. Why, the trust is the greatest product of individual intellect. We want a trust for all, owned by all. People are fond of saying there are no classes in America. What about your 'Four Hundred'? What about your 'East Side'? There are three classes—the capitalist, the middle class, and the laboring man, and each so well defined that it may be said each has its separate party. The first is represented by McKinley, the second by Bryan. But the tendency today is to crush out the middle class, and for one of the middle class that go up into the plutocracy, ninety and nine go down. It is a dying party. The last party which is now but coming into existence is the party that shall yet control the destinies of America—the Socialist party, and Debs is its standard-bearer. Massachusetts, which led in the revolt against English tyranny and led in the emancipation of the slaves, is now leading the new great movement, and what has been done there in Haverhill may be and will be done elsewhere in America." (Applause.)

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN FUND

The spirit of consecration and hard work which lies at the very heart of every successful movement, is permeating the Social Democratic party for the mighty campaign of 1900. We are in the field with candidates whose fitness to lead a great working class movement to the polls everybody concedes. The party is based upon the solid rock of uncompromising Socialism. No fusion is anywhere thought of; no compromise with the forces of middle-class reform or reactionary politics is possible. We are moving straight along the middle of the people's highway to the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Looking over the field from the vantage point of the editor's chair, we can see along the line an organization stimulated by a splendid hope and courage. Everywhere is the answering recognition to the call of duty. This much is settled already, whatever besides may remain unsettled: There is to be union among Socialists this year for a political strike at the ballot box. And this is enough to inspire every Socialist to renewed and active service in the cause.

Now let us ask you what in your opinion our cause needs most just at this time? Is it not organization? If yes, then what form should organization take? Remember the record of the branches where the party has entered the political field in the past. Is it at all probable that a more effective form of organization can be devised for the campaign? Through the local branches we have made a record of progress that has never been equaled. With the branch organization and its possibilities as a center of agitation and education, the membership is now familiar. It has been tried and not found wanting. Let us adhere to it where it is established and plant it where it is unknown.

Now everyone will admit that the basis of all successful organization is an idea. You can only organize and persist and accomplish things if your organization stands for a principle—an idea. Next to the idea comes literature. First, you must have an idea; then reach the people through literature—the Socialist newspaper and book—and organization follows as a matter of course.

How many of you have yet done any figuring on the expenses of this campaign we are about to undertake? Do you realize that it will be necessary for

everyone of us to tackle this matter of the national campaign fund? The Herald sees that there is not a day to be lost in exchanging ideas and formulating plans. We want the co-operation of every Socialist publisher in the country. We are going to ask each of them to give this important question the greatest prominence in their columns. We must reach a million men and women in the country who are willing to contribute to the national campaign fund according to ability, and we here and now urge our comrades of the Socialist press to call upon their readers for subscriptions to a national fund to be used for campaign purposes—that is, for supporting speakers and organizers in the field, printing and furnishing literature, etc.—the same to be expended under the supervision of a national campaign committee.

The sooner this work is begun the more satisfactory will be the results reached next November.

Suppose in attempting to reach a million individual subscribers to the national campaign fund we begin among ourselves and all do our duty within the organization? All right. How much money can we raise, beginning May 1 and ending November 1? The answer to that question must necessarily depend upon the readiness with which every Social Democrat responds with his individual subscription. If every one, beginning May 1 and continuing to November 1, gives 50 cents a month, the national committee would have a fund of \$15,000 at least—and that is the least the committee should have to make the effective campaign which everybody contemplates from Debs and Harrison to "Jonas Harrison" of Puckerbrush. The editor of The Herald is even quite sure that \$25,000 is none too much to properly finance the campaign ahead of us. More than that, the editor is willing without consultation to venture the assertion that the practical way to raise an adequate campaign fund of \$25,000 is for each member of the Social Democratic party to pledge himself for 50 cents per month, starting May 1. If the members of the party will hustle and get in their pledges to the national secretary-treasurer for 50 cents each for seven months, the moral and psychological influence of such a superb beginning will have the effect of securing pledges for \$10,000 more within sixty days from May 1. Let the

membership show their faith by their works, and the non-affiliated Socialists of the country will come to their assistance in this fight against the class and the system that pauperizes labor and debases humanity.

It should be remembered, too, that we will have three funds: National campaign fund, to be used, as stated above; voluntary monthly fund, to defray expenses at headquarters, enlarge and improve the paper, and build up the national organization; the propaganda fund for organizers, lecturers and to circulate papers, tracts, etc.

In this connection we desire to say that Comrade Eugene V. Debs has fully and unalterably made up his mind under no circumstances to take one dollar of any fund raised or proposed to be raised on his personal account. He appreciates most thoroughly the motive of those comrades at Indianapolis who proposed to relieve him of the old obligations connected with the struggle of 1894, but he writes: "Under no circumstances will I take one dollar. I am going to fill my lecture engagements, and this will put me out of debt. I don't want the money raised, and if it is raised I shall refuse it." It is above all else the wish of Comrade Debs that the national committee, when chosen, shall have at its disposal a campaign fund equal to the demands and responsibilities which will be made and devolve upon it.

There will be found among our membership many who can contribute more than 50 cents per month and any in excess of that sum will make good the inability of a few to give their full quota. Now, let the month of April be a season of preparation for the campaign, so that the national campaign committee, which will be organized by May 1, shall come to its great task knowing that it will be able to accomplish substantial results because it has the united and enthusiastic support of the members of the organization. With that support it can make an appeal to others, not organically associated but in full sympathy with us, that will be heard and receive hearty response.

The order of the day and the month for April, then, is individual pledges of Socialists to the national campaign fund.

CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED.

Joseph Flinn, Chicago.....\$50.00
Eugene V. Debs.....5.00
J. H. Hirt, Great Falls, Mont. 1.00

AMONG THE PHILISTINES

St. Paul Dispatch: "There is much popular misapprehension as to the character, antecedents and ultimate purposes of the so-called Social Democracy which has just nominated Eugene V. Debs for president of the United States. But the misapprehension is vanishing rapidly wherever the 'ultimate purposes' are understood.

New York Sun: "According to the Hon. John C. Chase, Socialist and mayor of Haverhill, Mass., 'the condition of the American people is worse today than at any other time in the world's history,' and the workingman is not so free as the southern slaves were. In the interests of science we should like to have a peep at the inside of Mr. Chase's head, and to know what his usual temperature is."

The Sun editor would be surprised to know how many prominent men in the country not ordinarily credited with having wheels in their heads fully agree with the mayor of Haverhill—that is, he would be surprised were he capable of learning anything about the condition and interests of the common people.

Baltimore Herald: "After a somewhat protracted period of obscurity, Eugene V. Debs, leader of the disastrous Chicago railroad strike and oracle of radical and reactionary elements, steps once more into the light of publicity. He has been nominated for president by the national convention of the Social Democratic party, and will be heard from at frequent intervals between now and next November."

"Reactionary elements" is very good, coming from a mouthpiece of that sophistical and idealess party whose political mausoleum is to be built at Lincoln, Neb.

Chicago Journal: "As a matter of fact, Mr. Debs is quite a mild-mannered man, who holds some extreme opinions upon public questions and who believes that he has discovered the correct solution of most of them. His attempt in 1894 to settle the labor question by a general strike ended in failure."

Yes, and not the least interesting feature of the Journal during the past twelve months has been the editorial endorsement of many of these "extreme opinions" and "correct solutions." The Journal has had views upon "public questions." What is to become of them now? Are they to go out of view?

Minneapolis Times: "At their national convention in Indianapolis the Social Democrats nominated Eugene V.

Debs for president and Job Harrison for vice president. Mr. Debs has demonstrated his ability as an organizer and leader, and his nomination by the united Social Democrat and Socialist Labor forces is by no means illogical. He is one of the ablest and certainly one of the most enthusiastic advocates of the principles laid down in the platform of the combined Socialist parties."

Next fall the Times editor will have an opportunity to say that Debs has demonstrated his ability as a vote-getter. We quite agree with his present view

that the nomination was a logical one for Socialists to make, and the idea of November will bring the capitalist penmen something really good to write about.

Providence Journal: "If what has generally been told about the man (Debs) is not wholly incorrect, he is much too well-informed and shrewd to think for a moment that he and his party can secure enough votes to cut any noticeable figure in the returns next November."

We are a people with a very unique variety of discontent, coupled with a very

ures will be required to officially record our numbers next November. We think about 1,000,000 will be a good strong conviction that about seven fig-starter, whether it will be a "noticeable" matter for the Journal or not.

The Union Label

on everything you buy is a guarantee that the producers thereof receive a fair rate of wages for its production

Insist on having the label

Social Democratic Herald

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board Chairman
JESSE COX, Secretary
SEYMOUR STEEDMAN,
EUGENE V. DEBS, VICTOR L. BERGER
FREDERICK HEATH

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, 80 cents. Six months, 45 cents. No papers sent to any one on credit. If, without having subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and no bill will follow. Foreign subscriptions \$1.00.

Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

A. S. EDWARDS, Editor
THEODORE DEBS, National Sec'y-Treas.
196 Washington St., Chicago.

91

is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 91 your subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, MAR. 31, 1900.

TO SOCIALIST PUBLISHERS

Elsewhere in this number The Herald outlines a plan for raising the national campaign fund to be used by the national campaign committee. It is there suggested that all publishers of Socialist newspapers in the country co-operate with The Herald in raising the fund. This they can do by opening their columns to subscriptions, acknowledging the same every week and remitting to National Secretary Debs, who will be custodian of the fund until the national committee is organized and a treasurer elected.

The Herald invites the earnest co-operation of its contemporaries in this highly important work. The national committee should be in a position to finance that part of the work allotted to it as soon as organized. None are in a position to render the movement at this time more effective service than the editors and publishers. Let us hear from them through their columns.

OUR THREE FUNDS

On the first page this week attention is called to a matter which should receive the earliest attention possible of the local branches throughout the country. Reference is made to the national campaign fund. For some months, as Herald readers know, a list of contributors to the voluntary monthly fund has been printed, also every week a report of small contributions to the propaganda fund. Both will be continued. The first is used in defraying expenses of headquarters and ultimately, whenever the national board feel warranted in so doing, in enlarging and improving the paper. Each contributor to this fund gives \$1 or more per month for one year. The propaganda fund is used for organizers and to circulate sample papers, tracts, etc.

Now that the campaign is near and the national committee will need funds for the specific work incident thereto, it becomes necessary for every member of the organization to interest himself in devising the best method for raising money. The Herald, as a suggestion that seems practical and appeals direct first to the membership, outlines a plan in the first-page article. We trust that no time will be lost in giving most thorough attention to this matter. It is of primary importance and if the plan suggested meets with approval, it should be put into operation at once.

WOMEN AND SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

The supercilious editors of capitalist newspapers, with the usual flippancy that marks their discussion of all public questions, are treating as a joke the declaration of the Social Democratic platform in favor of the emancipation of women. This sort of thing suits us exactly. Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad or foolish. We are proud to stand before the country as the only party committed unequivocally to the cause of womankind. Before the campaign is over this attitude of the party will be understood by influential women in every section of the country and the puny efforts of the penny-a-liners will be silenced.

The Herald commends to the women of the United States the example of Miss H. Augusta Howard, of Columbus, Ga., who sends in the first contribution of \$5 to the national campaign fund. Miss Howard is a well-known leader among women conspicuous in the south in the cause of human freedom. Her example is one altogether worthy of being followed, and with full confidence that it will be, The Herald opens its columns to subscriptions to the national campaign fund from women, with Miss Howard at the head of the list.

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN FUND—WOMAN'S LIST
H. Augusta Howard, Columbus, Ga. \$5.00

Open Letter to Dr. Harper

Dear Doctor: I noticed by the daily papers that you have lately experienced a sweaty time raising a large bundle of money for Chicago University. This surprised me, because we have been paying 2 cents a gallon more for coal oil than previously, and I supposed we would hear that it was in your interest. John D. must have temporarily forgot-

ten you in the hustle and confusion incidental to raising the late large dividend for the stockholders in that beneficent institution, the Standard Oil graft.

I am too busy to see John, so when you next call him up just tell him I will bet him a cookie that eight years hence he will not be able to persuade the workmen to vote against Socialist candidates by promising to spend \$50,000 improving his villa.

The "dog-day" season must begin earlier this year, for I notice that you have muzzled your professors so that they cannot talk about Standard Oil educational news. Keep up your lick!

Your class-conscious friend,

Chicago. JACK POTTS.

NOTES AND COMMENT

Many of the capitalist newspapers of the country seem to take special delight in pointing out that the Social Democratic party is in favor of the right of suffrage regardless of sex. The Philistines are doing us a real service and one that we fully appreciate. It is true that the Social Democratic party is the only one in the country committed unequivocally to the emancipation of women, and before the campaign is over the apologists for everything that is vile and unjust in the existing order of things will throw up their hands in astonishment at the interest of the women of the land in what it pleases them to call the "Debsonian" party.

The Rochester (N. Y.) Post-Express considers the platform of the Social Democratic party "the most extraordinary declaration of political principles ever put before the American people." And so it is. We are no ordinary people. If you want something very ordinary—and useless—go to the party supported by the Post-Express. The American people are coming to see that an extraordinary economic condition—growing out of a capitalistic revolution in industry—requires an extraordinary declaration. We propose to supply what increasing numbers of people want.

Social Democracy demands that production and distribution shall become a function of society, the state to be used as an instrument of administration of industry. What is known as democracy (with its anti-trust nonsense) is the negation of progress. A true democracy is impossible where the means of life are controlled by a class. Something more than the right to vote is necessary to a democracy; the right to live, for example. Social Democracy means the right to life, liberty and the enjoyment of the fruits of one's labor. Compare that with Bryan democracy.

Mr. Elbert Hubbard, editor of The Philistine, in a lecture at Providence recently, told his audience that there are forty-seven kinds of Socialism, more or less. An eastern newspaper, taking this as a text, makes the ridiculous statement that "it might be thought that Mr. Bryan is enough of a Socialist to suit the most exacting." Many kinds of Socialism there may be, according to the mental confusion anywhere prevailing; but there will this year be only one party with a definite Socialist program. That will be the Social Democratic party.

Social Democrats oppose neither the law of gravity nor the movements of the planets in their appointed courses—because it isn't worth while. For the same reason, not being worth while, they do not oppose the formation of trusts. They seek to make the trusts serve the general good of society. The realized program of Social Democracy means the general good.

Speaking last week in New York on the social reform movement in the west, W. D. P. Bliss made it clear that he no longer believes the step-at-a-time Bryan democracy has any future and that Bryan will be defeated. But Mr. Bliss did not make quite clear the point as to what may be expected from men, like himself, who have contended so strongly for the step-at-a-time policy.

The Indianapolis News says that the successes of the Social Democratic party have not been so much conquests of principle as office-seeking ventures, and in the same article admits that its principal successes have been achieved against combinations of both the old parties to defeat Socialism.

The Nashville Banner (Rep.) thinks the Social Democracy will draw away a radical element that voted for Bryan in 1896. The Banner is right for, once, But the S. D. will also draw away thousands of working men who were coerced into voting for McKinley in 1896. Stick a pin there.

Comrade Chas. H. Vail, author of "Principles of Scientific Socialism," writes us as follows: "Have received The Herald—double number. It is a splendid number. You are to be congratulated. I am more than pleased with the work of the convention. We shall make great progress in the next year."

The New York Mail and Express naively informs its readers that "there is

a Social Democrat party and a Social Democratic party in this country." The simplicity of many of our great metropolitan editors is equaled only by their ignorance.

The Nebraska platform as the last word of the Bryan brand of statesmanship is a lame and impotent conclusion. More than ever before the country is coming to understand that Mr. Bryan does not understand the economic questions of the day.

The Haverhill Gazette thinks the constitution will be revised about the time Mr. Debs is elected president on a Socialist ticket. We are inclined to agree with it. We'll revise a whole lot of things besides the constitution when we elect a president.

True, the Social Democratic party demands revision of our antiquated Federal constitution. But the McKinley party, to suit the convenience of its capitalist masters, favors its gradual obliteration.

The old parties may not be exactly shaking in their shoes, but many who represent the old parties are already howling so vigorously that one naturally thinks they have been in the cucumber patch.

BOOK NOTICES

Socialism: Utopian and Scientific. By Frederick Engels. Translated by Edward Aveling. Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago; price, 10 cents.

Two distinct characteristics recommend this particular edition of the notable work by Engels: First, it is not abridged, but is an exact reproduction of the English edition in every respect; second, it is not mutilated in translation, but conveys faithfully the virile thought and comprehensive ideas of the author. It is undoubtedly the best reproduction of one of Engels' masterpieces yet issued from the American press. The work itself is given a special interest by the author's brilliant introduction. To understand the historical conditions which have been productive of the science of Socialism, every workingman should read one or more of the works of those writers who have contributed to the intellectual exposition of that science, and among them all, few, if any, are clearer or more profoundly interesting than Engels. The work has been widely read in Europe, and, being one of the classics in radical and searching authorship, we hope it will find a million readers this year in the United States.

Vote Will be a Surprise

The nomination by the Social Democratic Party of Eugene V. Debs of Indiana and Job Harriman of California as candidates for President and Vice-President, marks a stage of distinct advance in the great reform movement now going on in this country. Very few men in the United States are better known than Mr. Debs, and among labor organizations of all kinds, and the common people generally, no man is more fully trusted for sincere devotion to their just interests, nor more thoroughly esteemed and loved than he.

They believe, and not without good reason, that neither Rockefeller nor Mark Hanna, nor both combined, with all their millions, could buy Eugene V. Debs away from the cause of justice, which to him is the cause of the laboring world today. Mr. Harriman, whose home is in Los Angeles, is also widely and favorably known. These candidates, standing for the principles they stand for, will of a certainty be sustained at the next election by a large vote, and it is quite likely to be a surprisingly large vote.—Civic and Social Problems.

Machine-Made Bread

That tedious process which every housewife, as well as every baker, dreads—kneading bread—is now done by a machine.

It has been evolved from the fertile brain of Peter Bryce of Indianapolis. This apparently simple combination of cogs and wheels, pans and linked chains, can do the work of eight expert bakers, and do better work. The object of its construction, primarily, is to knead and shape the dough into loaves, and the lightning rapidity with which the sticky, shapeless mass is transformed into smooth, round loaves is marvelous.

Sixty loaves a minute—12,000 loaves a day—is its record, and its inventor claims that the end is not yet.

Misshapen lumps of dough are placed in pans fastened on an endless linked chain, which dumps their contents into the maw of the contrivance. They are quickly sucked between rapidly moving rollers, becoming smaller and smaller until, nearly perfect, they are thrown, one at a time, into a canvas cradle, which deftly rolls them and in turn dumps them into pans, whence they are taken to the oven to be baked.

Only two of these machines are in existence—one is in Indianapolis and the other is in Chicago—but it is expected that a small machine for household use will soon be made.

Subscribers will find their expiration number on wrapper. Prompt renewal is requested.

MERLIN'S MIXTURE

The Right to Marry

"No, workingman has a right to marry," is the remarkable statement made this week by George Morley, president of the Morley Bros. Saddlery Company of Chicago. More remarkable still is the report that many other employers of labor warmly indorsed Morley's views.

In the course of an interview with a delegation of harness makers, President Morley is said to have questioned the right of toilers to wed and bring up children amid the conditions prevailing in the industrial world of today.

This statement shows the high-water mark of injustice. It shows how the tidal wave of industrial oppression is undermining the very foundations of the American home, and now threatens to overturn it entirely.

After all, it is not so remarkable. It is but the open expression of one capitalist of what all other capitalists are silently seeking to accomplish. The fancy of this capitalist is simply the fact of capitalism. The capitalistic system daily denies, in ways more potent than speech, the right of labor to home and happiness.

Without considering the question as to whether laboring men have a right to marry, certain it is that only a very brave man or a very foolish one would dare to do so, as conditions are today.

The Right to Mar

This is one side. There is another. Even if it be true that laboring men have no right to marry "under these industrial conditions," is it not true that capitalists have no right to so change industrial conditions in their greed that marriage becomes a suicidal crime? If labor should not marry, capital should not marry.

Our working class is being sacrificed on the altars of mammon in order that the rich might propitiate the god of fortune. We are being robbed of our hovels that the rich may have yet larger palaces.

Do these harness makers in Morley's employ not see that they are creating harness for their own backs? And wearing it, does Morley's remark not remind them that a horse has no "right to turn its head stablewards until its master directs?"

Have not they—have not all of us—learned by this time that the wage system is wage slavery, that a private employer is a slave's master, that so long as we sell ourselves to capitalists for our wage and their profit we must submit to whatever restrictions they may choose to put upon us?

For years every old-party workingman voter has been a harness maker on election day. And on the three hundred and sixty-four days following he has vainly kicked at the traces and impatiently gnashed his bit.

Appeal to Your Reason

Emerson said: "Fear, craft and avarice cannot rear a state." But these forces can overthrow a nation. Under the present competition plan of running a state,

"Trade and the streets ensnare us,
Our bodies are weak and worn;
We plot and corrupt each other,
And we despoil the unborn."

"Things refuse to be mismanaged long."
The Socialist thinks they have been mismanaged long enough and therefore refuses to vote for old-party candidates who
"Being for seeming bravely barter
And die to Fame a 'blessed martyr'."

"The farmer imagines power and place are fine things. But the President has paid dear for his White House. It has commonly cost him all his peace and the best of his manly attributes. To preserve for a short time so conspicuous an appearance before the world he is content to eat dust before the real masters who stand erect behind the throne." If Emerson were now living he could not write a better description of national affairs. No thinker can deny that ours is a government for, of and by trusts and monopolies. "Nature hates monopolies and exceptions. The waves of the sea do not more speedily seek a level from their loftiest tossing than the varieties of conditions tend to equalize themselves. There is always some leveling circumstance that puts down the overbearing, the strong, the rich, the fortunate, substantially on the same ground with all others." Therefore the socialist is perfectly in line with the cosmic law when he comes with the slogan of "Equal opportunities for all, special privileges for none."

Reader, are you a Christian, and do you want His will done "on earth as it is in heaven?" Are you a Theosophist desirous of making "good karma?" Then why not for the first time cast a vote for real law and order? Could you lose anything? What have you gained thus far by voting otherwise? Do you know the fundamental principle of Socialism? It is simple: Co-operation! Get some easy Socialist literature and study it without prejudice. Do not allow

Let every workingman next November be a harness-breaker instead, and then labor will not only have the right, but the might to marry.

Harper's Harplings

The industrial conditions of today prevent more than the working class from marriage and parentage. Every class, except the exclusively rich, is being bound in bachelor bondage.

President Harper, of the University of Chicago, in a recent baccalaureate sermon, painted a pessimistic picture of the life that awaits the young men of today. He spoke of one profession after another, and showed how that in choosing any of them young men faced almost insurmountable obstacles.

Such a sermon sounds strangely coming from the head of an institution of which Rockefeller is proprietor and boss. The university is professedly preparing young men for a successful career in life, while the power that sustains the institution is in reality preparing industrial conditions so as to make a successful career impossible.

Capitalism is like a huge giant, that mercifully saves men by its charitable hands, and afterwards crushes them to death beneath its industrial feet.

What a cursed mockery is this! Institutions are founded for the education of youth. The higher aspiration for nobler things are awakened and developed. And then, as the young man, full of hope and ambition and enthusiasm, stands on the threshold of business life, he finds before him the pit of failure that the grasping hands of capitalism have dug for him! And into it, with blasted hopes and smothered ambitions, he falls!

Have you a vote? Have you a heart? Have you a boy?

Socialism and the Home

An old and threadbare charge against socialism has been that it would destroy and obliterate the home. Probably every fool in the universe has voiced this insane objection.

Out of the mouths of Morley and Harper comes the refutation of the charge. The one claims that workingmen have no right to marry and have a home, while the other shows that even professional men could not support a home, if they had it.

If these conditions continue as they are, it is doubtful if there will be any homes for socialism to destroy when it is inaugurated. The home is now being steadily and surely destroyed by a system which deprives the home provider of the opportunity to work, and thereby maintain the home.

Too many of us know, by sad experience, how hollow is the name of home. We have gone to the hovels that custom calls homes, after a day's weary march up street and stair, seeking a chance to sell our labor for a fraction of its value. With that heavy heart and foot we have approached the door, and greeted the wife's dumb inquiry with a silence more blasting than a curse!

And so long as we are refused work or allowed to work only for the profit of a private employer, we may expect to find our home a hell and our happiness a myth.

MERLIN.

unwise talk or actions of some Socialist to divert you; there are likely to be such, for there are many foolish persons in the ranks of the old parties, and as the Social Democracy is recruiting constantly from the "orthodox" people, they may possibly join us. But at least credit them with knowing a good thing when they see it!

The present wrongs are so great, the prospect of future greater iniquity is so portentous, that I wish the signs of the times might be written on the sky in letters of fire, so men could not sleep o' nights. It is a time for serious thought by all who believe in God, or, not believing thus, who yet recognize justice.

F. S. G.

Breaks the Record

The "Appeal to Reason," Girard, Kansas, U. S. A., as it is now known all over the world among socialists and non-socialists as well, broke the record for a week recently.

In addition to the usual average of 2,200 new subscribers, 821 names came in from Painters and Decorators of America Local Union No. 147, Chicago; 425 from Union No. 194, and 1,003 from that well known socialist, W. R. McBride of Melbourne, Australia, who ordered the Appeal sent to every editor in Australasia. The extra postage makes every copy cost 50 cents.

The Appeal is working for half a million subscribers during the coming 12 months. It is enjoying a veritable boom in all parts of America, as this weekly increase of over 4,400 attests. "The little paper out in Kansas" is going a pace that means Socialism is taking deep hold upon the people.

The Union Label

on everything you buy is a guarantee that the producers thereof receive a fair rate of wages for its production

Insist on having the label

ORGANIZATION

To Texas Socialists

For purpose of State organization, the Bonham Social Democratic Branch requests that every Socialist in Texas who reads this notice, will please send name and address to the undersigned. Please attend to this at once. W. E. Farmer, Bonham, Texas.

Our Connecticut Readers

All unattached Socialists in the state of Connecticut are requested to write Louis Schlaf, 26 Spring street, Rockville, for information concerning the organization of branches.

Southern California, Attention

All Socialists in the seven southern counties of Southern California should now get to work and so far as possible form branches in every voting precinct. To further this end communicate at once with James T. VanRensselaer, 1618 Tabor street, Los Angeles, Cal.

To Our Washington Readers

Comrade D. Burgess of New Whatcom, Wash., has been selected as organizer for the state and is prepared to assist the Socialists of Washington in organizing branches of the S. D. P. Correspondence addressed to him will receive prompt attention.

Oregon Socialists, Attention

You are requested to communicate with J. D. Stevens, Box 204, Portland, organizer for the S. D. P., with a view to instituting branches of the party in your community. Lend a hand and get your state thoroughly organized.

Arizona Socialists

In every community should correspond with M. J. Casper, Box 178, Globe, Tucson, Ariz. We have plans for keeping organizers in the field to organize branches in every town in Arizona before November; 500 Socialists pledging 25 cents per month each will do it. Don't miss it—write at once.

NEW BRANCHES

Chicago, Ill.

Chairman, Corinne Brown; secretary, Irene Stedman; treasurer, Joseph Finn.

Van Horn, Iowa

Chairman, Dr. C. Wirth; vice-chairman, D. M. Turnbull; secretary-treasurer, H. C. Fintel.

Charlestown, Mass.

Chairman, Henry Powne; vice-chairman, John T. Galvin; secretary, Stephen O'Leary; treasurer, Jeremiah Ryan; organizer, John Magoon.

Sherwood, Tenn.

Branch organized but officers' names not reported.

Spokane, Wash.

Chairman, E. L. Reinert; vice-chairman, Henry Wieck; secretary, J. W. Coffin; treasurer, M. T. Mackey; organizer, J. G. Smart.

Kiel, Wis.

Chairman, Chas. F. Allinger; vice-chairman, J. H. Rich; secretary, Max Goeres; treasurer, John Boege; organizer, Henry Goeres, Sr.

No Let-Up to It

At Amesbury, Mass., on March 5, Comrade Jason Spofford was re-elected selectman. Last year he received 522 votes and this he received 881, a gain of 359 votes. Last year he defeated his opponent by 17 votes, and received the smallest vote of the three who were elected; while this year he was highest on the list.

He was defeated last year for the office of overseer of the poor by five votes, while this year he was elected to that office, in addition to being elected selectman.

Dr. John Quincy Adams, the S. D. P. candidate last year for member of the board of health, was defeated by 43 votes, but this year he was elected by a plurality of 273 votes.

At Georgetown, Mass., on March 5, one of the largest votes ever cast in the town was polled, the total number being 591. Notwithstanding this our candidate for selectman received 132 votes, being defeated by only 37 votes.

The S. D. P. candidates for selectmen last year received 90, 35 and 32 votes each. The Social Democrats claim a victory, having elected George E. Dawkins as overseer of the poor by a plurality of 11 votes.

At Merrimack, Mass., on March 5, Everett M. Heath was elected as a Social Democratic constable by a plurality of 23 votes. The constable whom he defeated was chief of police the past year by appointment of the selectmen.

The two old parties united into a "citizens' party" in an effort to defeat the Amesbury Social Democrats, but didn't meet much success.

Mayor Chase at Home

"The convention of the Social Democratic party just closed in Indianapolis has been very successful, and probably it will be the historic convention of the Socialist movement in this country," said Mayor Chase this morning. "It marks the real beginning of the movement in America, and Socialism now marches forward with giant strides. The union of the Social Democratic party and the Socialist Labor party was practically formed, which means that a united front will be presented in the coming campaign. Strong and powerful candidates, who will arouse enthusiasm and support throughout the country, have been nominated, and the working classes will rally for their support. Debs' well-known record in the labor movement will make him an ideal candidate. Harriman is known to be strong throughout the west and will add great strength to the ticket. I believe that with the united movement we have and with two such strong candidates the party will poll 1,000,000 votes."

—Haverhill Gazette.

Social Democratic Convention

The Social Democratic party has just concluded its first annual convention at Indianapolis, Ind. The convention was called to order on March 6th, at Reichwein's hall, in that city. Delegates to the number of sixty-seven, representing seventeen different states, were present. The space at our disposal forbids us giving a detailed account of the proceedings, which can be found in the Social Democratic Herald of March 17th, which appeared on that date as an eight-page newspaper, as a special convention number. The convention was in every sense a complete success, and the spirit of earnestness and socialist unity prevailing amongst the delegates left nothing to be desired. The most important part of the proceedings were the nomination of Debs and Harriman for president and vice-president, and the appointing of a committee of nine to meet a similar committee of the S. L. P. in order to find if possible a basis of amalgamation of both parties. It will be apparent to all that the "one thing needful" at present is unity of all socialist forces for the coming presidential conflict, and taking into consideration the fact that the necessity of such union has strongly impressed itself upon the vast majority of members of both parties, we are justified in believing that there are no insuperable obstacles to such union.—Workers' Call, Chicago.

Boston Comrades, Attention

The joint committees appointed by the S. D. P. and S. L. P. of Boston, respectively, voted to hold a joint meeting of the members of both parties, Sunday, April 1, at 3 p. m. at Phoenix hall, 724 Washington street, to discuss the features of the United Socialist party.

Delegates to the Indianapolis convention will report; there will also be given a report of the meeting of the conference committees appointed at the Rochester and Indianapolis conventions.

A banquet is arranged after the close of the meeting.

All members of both parties are invited and urged to attend.

Squire E. Putney.

John Weaver Sherman,

Dr. M. J. Konikow,

of the S. D. P.,

M. Kaplan,

S. O'Shaughnessy,

J. Epstein

of the S. L. P.

Important Notice

To the members of the branches in the Twelfth congressional district of Massachusetts: The next meeting of the district committee will be held at Social Democratic headquarters, Rockland, on Sunday, April 1, at 11 o'clock a. m., to be followed by a meeting of the district organization which will meet at same place at 3 o'clock p. m. The district organization is composed of all the members in the district, and every member is urged to attend as the time is ripe for organization, and if we expect to do anything this fall we should commence as soon as possible. The district committee have organized one new branch since last meeting, "Stoughton," and there is room for more if every member will try and assist this committee. Remember, every member who reads this notice is invited to attend this meeting.

Chas. E. Lowell,

Sec. Cong. Com.

CLUBBING OFFERS

The Herald and Appeal to Reason .70
" " " Public Ownership .70
" " " Co-operator .70

(From Theodore Debs, 126 Washington St., Chicago, Ill.)

NOTES FROM THE FIELD

David Rousseau of New York is one of the recent valuable acquisitions to the party.

F. G. Strickland addressed meetings of the organized bricklayers and piano-makers of Chicago last week.

Seymour Stedman and Frederic Heath left Chicago for New York last Friday to attend the conference committee meetings.

The Brooklyn Co-operation club is a recently organized body of active workers whose heart is with the Social Democratic party.

There is remarkable enthusiasm shown everywhere among the branches east and west. Branch 45, Boston, has secured a large hall for permanent headquarters and is full of ginger.

For the heinous offense of speaking at a mass-meeting in favor of municipal ownership of the gas plant at Manitowoc, Wis., Comrade Fred M. Althen, organizer of the local branch, was discharged from his work.

The Indianapolis comrades manifested their devotion to the cause by defraying the entire expenses connected with the convention, amounting to \$52. They also arranged for a "smoker" which was much enjoyed by all the comrades who were able to attend.

A large and successful meeting in the interest of the candidacy of Theo. Williams for alderman of the Thirteenth ward on the Socialist ticket, was held last Sunday afternoon at Chicago avenue and Robey street, with Thos. J. Morgan as speaker. There was a good attendance of Social Democrats.

At a joint meeting of the Jewish branches controlling the paper Vorwärts, at New York, Comrade Wm. Sanger, treasurer of the state committee, introduced a resolution calling upon the managing board to assist the state committee financially to the extent of 10 per cent of the profits on all benefits which that paper may have in the future. The resolution was carried and Comrade Sanger already acknowledges receipt of \$25.

The Kentucky delegates to the convention have succeeded in imparting the good feeling and enthusiasm of that occasion to the comrades and sympathizers in that state. New members have been enrolled in the Louisville branch. The attitude of the party on trades unionism meets with general approval, and the most friendly relations exist between the S. D. P. and organized labor in Louisville, where a notable increase of strength will be seen.

To Our Socialist Boy Friends

Boys, you may have heard of the formation of an organization in the city of Haverhill called the "Boy's Social Democratic Club."

This club in the last two months has grown from its eight charter members to thirty-five. Many of these came into the club for the purpose of having a good time and playing different games in our rooms. But now they are changed. Instead of having fun they are working like beavers for the cause of Socialism, and can also put up a good argument in favor of it. In fact they have already had a good many talks with the republican boys, and have always come out on top. They are willing to debate with any of the boys of the two old parties. This is one of the results of the club.

The object of the club is to distribute Socialist literature throughout the city in preparation for the next campaign.

Boys, you should follow the example set by us, and form clubs in your respective cities, as you all know that in a short time we will be voters and have to bear the brunt of the battle.

We think our way is the only way we can do it, and beat the enemies of the laboring class.

If any of the boys would like information on the subject of clubs, please write to "The Boys' Social Democratic Club," No. 25 Washington street, Haverhill, Mass. We close with Three Cheers for Debs and Harriman. I. G. F. O'S.

Public Opinion Has Changed

The Moline Evening News of March 20 has the following reference to E. V. Debs and his recent lecture at that place: "The splendid audience at the Wagner Monday night and the rapt attention paid to Mr. Debs was a splendid tribute to that much-maligned gentleman. We do not know whether Mr. Debs was misquoted at the time of the agitation which resulted in his being thrown into Woodstock jail; probably he was. It would not be strange if he were, for most radical reformers are misjudged and misquoted, especially in troublous times. Unquestionably either Mr. Debs or public opinion has changed since then, and we more than half suspect it may not be Mr. Debs who has changed. Only a few years ago the word Socialism suggested to most ears the startling buzz of a rattlesnake in the grass at one's feet. Monday night, in Moline, a great audience—including many ministers of the gospel and even the mayor of Moline—applauded vigorously when Mr. Debs eloquently advocated government ownership of railroads and other public utilities. But that is Socialism—nothing else."

LOCAL BRANCHES

Notices of Branch Meetings Inserted for 25 Cents per Month

CALIFORNIA

Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evenings, commencing at 8 o'clock. Admission free. Educational meetings (for members) every Tuesday evening. Sociology, Economics, Public Speaking, etc. Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening. Membership, with advantage of Educational Course and Social Democratic Herald free to each member, 25 cents per month. Apply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk street.

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday at 8 o'clock at Woodmen's Hall, 1234 Spring St. J. Frank, 90 Dayton Ave., Secretary.

COLORADO

Branch No. 1, Denver, meets every Sunday at 8:30 p. m. at 1240 Lawrence St. Chairman, Dr. J. H. Marrow.

CONNECTICUT

The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at Turn Hall, Rockville. L. Scholz, Secretary.

Branch No. 3, New Haven, meets every Tuesday evening, at 108 State St. at 8 p. m. Cornelius Mahoney, Secretary, 165 Frodo Ave., New Haven.

Branch No. 4, Rocky Hill, Conn., meets first and third Tuesdays at Turn Hall meeting room, Village street. Secretary, Richard Niederwieser, Box 760.

ILLINOIS

Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 53 Dearborn St.

Branch No. 1, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening. Thomas Kirwin, Secretary, 2604 Wentworth Ave.

Branch No. 2 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays at 3 p. m. at Nagel's Hall, 636 Blue Island Ave. Vaclav Jelinek, Secretary, 608 Blue Island Ave.

Branch No. 3 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Mondays at 8 p. m. in Dunder's place, 1080 W. 18th place. Joseph Dunder, Secretary.

Branch No. 4, Chicago, meets second and fourth Saturdays each month at 8 o'clock at Nagel's Hall, 636 Blue Island Ave. near 18th St. Albin Gieseler, Secretary, 728 W. 20th St.

Branch No. 9, Chicago, meets at 1145 W. 63rd st., first and third Sundays at 3 p. m. S. L. Westine, Secretary, 9245 Center Ave.

INDIANA

Branch No. 4, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichwein's Hall, corner Market and Noble Sts.

IOWA

Branch No. 2, Hittman, meets every fourth Friday in the month at opera house. S. B. Jamieson, chairman. James Fisher, organizer; Joseph Scholastic, secretary.

KENTUCKY

Branch No. 2, Covington, meets first and third Wednesday evenings and second and fourth Sunday afternoons of each month. All agitation meetings except third meetings in month. Good speakers. Secretary, F. C. Stumpf, 201 8th street.

MARYLAND

Branch No. 1, Baltimore, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m. at Carpenter's Hall, 569 E. Baltimore St. No. 2, Baltimore, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at Wenzel's Hotel, 329 W. Camden st. Good speakers. Public invited. Levin T. Jones, Secretary, 202 W. Barre st.

MASSACHUSETTS

The Massachusetts State Committee meets the first Monday of each month at 74 Washington St., Boston. All dues and money intended for the State Committee should be sent to the financial secretary, A. McDonald, 104 W. Springfield St., Boston. All other correspondence should be addressed to the Corresponding Secretary, Margaret Halle, 5 Glenwood St., Roxbury.

Branch No. 2, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Mondays of each month at Springfield Turner Hall. H. Schlichting, Organizer 587, Somer St.

Branch No. 3, Lynn, permanent headquarters, 71 Main St. Boston. Meetings every Monday night at 10:00. Open house. Public invited. Harry Gottinger, Sec., 423 Essex St.

Branch No. 4, Brockton, meets the second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at Lester's bar business a. Socialist Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Center Sts. Every comrade is expected to attend one meeting a month. Frank S. Walsh, Secretary, 62 Crescent St.

Branch No. 15, East Boston, meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 39 Chelsea St. Miss Jenny Segal, Secretary, 39 Chelsea St.

Branch No. 16, Newburyport, meets the second Monday of each month at Lester's bar business a. State St. R. F. McLean, Secretary, 29 Winter St. G. H. Evans, Treasurer, Prince Place.

Branch No. 21, Chelsea, permanent headquarters, Room 3, Postoffice Building. Open every evening. Business meetings every Thursday at 8 p. m. Public invited.

Notice

No more orders for the double number, March 17, can be filled. The type has been distributed and it is impossible for us to furnish any more copies of that issue. Friends will please be guided accordingly; any remittances for that number will have to be returned.

New York Mail and Express: "The platform upon which it is proposed to run Debs is distinctly worthy of the candidate and will doubtless nerve him to sublime deeds. It is to resolve in favor of a 'co-operative commonwealth,' meaning by that the 'collective ownership' of all means of production and distribution."

It is this happy union of platform and candidate, with the amalgamation of the forces that believe in both, that worries 'em. Evidently we have made an excellent beginning. The Philistines are very unhappy.

Pacific Coast Socialists

Books on economic subjects can be ordered to your advantage from the Bureau of Socialist Literature, 38 Turk Street, San Francisco, Cal.

Following is a partial list of the works of G. B. BENHAM, which we recommend:

History of the Paris Commune of 1861, paper cover. 25 cents; full cloth. \$0.75
Gospel of Discontent (compilation). .15
Snap Shots at Capitalism (compilation). .15
Bury of the Red Flag. .15
Crimes of Capitalism. .25

G. B. BENHAM

38 Turk Street San Francisco, Cal.

JOS. BARONDESS FIRE AND LIFE INSURANCE

Life Insurance effected by mail in any part of the country. Fire Insurance attended to in Greater New York and New Jersey.

4 Rutgers St., NEW YORK.

MINNESOTA

Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Gesswein, on Main St. A. Kinbary, Secretary.

MISSOURI

St. Louis headquarters, Room 1, 23 N. Fourth St. Address all communications to E. Val Putnam, Secretary. For information concerning ward branches, inquire at the above address.

Branch No. 7, Kansas City, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1200 Union Ave. G. J. Storr, Secretary, 1200 W. 9th St.

MONTANA

Branch No. 2 meets first and third Sundays of each month at G. W. Wood's home, Chico, Mont.

NEW JERSEY

Branch No. 1, Secretary, Michael W. Schor, 51 Livingston St.

Branch No. 6 (German), Paterson, N. J., meets first and third Mondays at 8 p. m. at Helvetia Hall, 54-56 Van Houten St. Karl Linder, Secretary, 246 Madison St.

NEW YORK

The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York and vicinity meets first and third Tuesdays of every month in Willis's Hall, 36 E. 4th St. Elizabeth H. Thomas, Secretary.

Branch No. 1, New York, meets every first and third Thursdays at 111 Clinton St. A. Guyer, Secretary, 163 Suffolk St.

Branch No. 2, 34th Assembly District, meets second and fourth Wednesdays of the month at 1056 Second Ave. at "Central." Henry Lang, Secretary, 324 E. 60th St.

Branch No. 4, West Side Branch, New York, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of every month at headquarters, 128 W. 94th St. Elizabeth H. Thomas, Secretary.

Branch No. 5, Brooklyn, New York, meets every Saturday at 8 p. m. at 56 Moore St. Visitors welcome. Comrade second and fourth Tuesdays of the month attend these meetings and co-operate in organizing local branches in every district in the city. Wm. Butcher, Secretary, 361 Rutledge St.

Branch No. 20, regular meetings are held first and third Fridays of the month at Webster Hall, 140th St. and Third Ave. Secretariat of the Bronx, E. Springer, Secretary, 317 E. 140th St. All persons interested in Socialism and the S. D. P. are invited to attend.

OHIO

Branch No. 2, Cleveland, meets in Ohlsen's Hall, 65 York St., second and fourth Sundays at 3 p. m. Lectures, discussions, business meetings, first and third Fridays at 8 p. m.

Branch No. 3, Cleveland, meets first and third Saturdays in each month at 8 p. m. in Ohlsen's Hall, 65 York St. Lectures and discussions.

Branch No. 4, Cincinnati, meets at Richelieu Hall southeast corner 9th and Plum Sts., every Sunday at 2 p. m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. R. H. H. Sec. 215 Vinton St.

Branch No. 5, Dayton, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2:30 in room 34, Davies block, Fourth and Main streets. Every one interested in Socialism and the S. D. P. is invited to be present. J. C. Schaw, president, N. Dulle.

Branch No. 6, Cincinnati, meets every second and fourth Saturdays in Workingmen's Hall, 1115 Walnut St. F. Hamel, Secretary, 1844 Frantz St.

Branch No. 11, Germantown, Columbus, Ed Greiner, Secretary, 306 Mohawk St.

PENNSYLVANIA

Branch No. 2, Erie, meets every Sunday, 3 p. m., at K. of L. Hall, 718 State St. Chairman, Joseph Stettin, Secretary, J. E. Perry, 119 Sansassass St.

Branch No. 4, Pittsburgh, meets every Thursday evening at 7:30 in Pank Hall, 8. 34th and Josephine Sts. W. Bohn, President, 34 Addison St. J. H. Lewis, Secretary, 2215 Jane St.

Branch No. 5 (Jewish), Philadelphia, meets every Friday at 8 p. m. at 7:30. Discussion from 8 to 9 p. m. J. Gerson, Secretary.

WINNIPES

Milwaukee Central Committee meets on the first Monday of each month at 8 p. m. sharp at 618 E. Water St. Eugene H. Roonsy, Secretary. John Doerfer, Treasurer.

Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Tuesday evening of the month at the Ethical Society Building, 52 Jefferson St. Visitors always welcome. Howard Tuttle, Chairman, Eugene H. Roonsy, Secretary.

Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Friday in Geeske's Hall, corner Green Bay and Concordia Ave.

Branch No. 3, Sheboygan, meets every fourth Thursday of the month at Gustav Burgard's Hall, Pennsylvania Ave. R. Schoen, Secretary-Treasurer, 811 25th St.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday each month at Meller's Hall, corner 2d and Brown Sts. George Moerschel, Secretary, 251 25th St.

Branch No. 5, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at R. Sigel's Hall, southeast corner Orchard St. and 9th Ave. Fred Brockhausen, Secretary, 73 Windlake Ave.

Branch No. 11, Milwaukee, meets the second Wednesday of each month at the office of the Wisconsin Vorwaerts, 614 State St.

Branch No. 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of each month at 1000 State St. and Center St., at 8 p. m. John Koepfer, Secretary.

Branch No. 13, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Saturday of each month at 1000 State St. and Center St., at 8 p. m. John Koepfer, Secretary.

Branch No. 14, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Sunday of each month at 1000 State St. and Center St., at 8 p. m. John Koepfer, Secretary.

Branch No. 15, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Monday of each month at 1000 State St. and Center St., at 8 p. m. John Koepfer, Secretary.

Branch No. 16, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Tuesday of each month at 1000 State St. and Center St., at 8 p. m. John Koepfer, Secretary.

Branch No. 17, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Wednesday of each month at 1000 State St. and Center St., at 8 p. m. John Koepfer, Secretary.

Branch No. 18, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of each month at 1000 State St. and Center St., at 8 p. m. John Koepfer, Secretary.

Branch No. 19, Milwaukee,

PRINCIPLES AND PERSONS

ANOTHER SERMON

If our parsons are going to quit sermonizing and take to politics, some of us will have to quit politics and take to sermonizing, just to preserve the balance of power. I don't threaten to do it myself, because I am not at all certain that I have had a "call"; but as my first attempt has already brought forth some good fruit, I shall try at least one more.

In that first sermon I pointed out the danger of making too much of personalities and not enough of principles. My meaning would have been better conveyed had I used the word "persons" instead of "personalities." As a matter of fact, my belief is that we can scarcely exaggerate the importance of personality, the influence of individual character, in a movement like ours, but it is indeed very easy to attach too much importance to persons engaged in it. We must not so belittle this great race movement in which we are each taking our own small part, as to imagine that its success depends upon or is brought about by any particular individual or set of individuals. If the earth had opened her jaws on the forenoon of March 9, 1900, and swallowed Reidewein's hall, Indianapolis, entire, with all the assembled wisdom and eloquence of the Social Democratic party therein, the co-operative commonwealth would yet arrive on time. So little does nature, in her grand, eternal process of evolution, care for the individual. The economic forces would carry the nation forward on their swift current until it met the inevitable necessity for Socialism. The principles of justice, love, equality, liberty and brotherhood exist, always have existed, and always will exist, and are ever clamoring for expression, even as the full-fledged idea in the brain clamors for expression in speech. They cannot be silenced. They cannot be put down. They will be heard. They will always find means of making themselves manifest more and more clearly, until they are recognized, adopted and at last enthroned in the hearts of men and in the life of the race.

And yet these economic and moral forces must work through individuals, as the grand harmonies in the soul of the master musician must remain forever silent and unknown without the musical instrument upon which to express them. Are not persons therefore all-important? Yes, persons, individuals are important, are absolutely necessary—as instruments. But this world is full of persons. The power behind evolution will not lack interpreters, will not want for mediums through which to act. The power that makes for progress, that has carried the race ever onward and upward through all the dim ages of the past, towards that far-off divine event toward which the whole creation moves, does not find you, nor me, my comrade, indispensable to its purpose, however able we may be.

"You are needed in your place, For the growing of the race, But the growing does not all depend on you."

So, though no individual is essential to the movement—it could get along without any one of us—yet the personality, the character of those who do take part in it, is vitally important.

Though the fundamental principles in which we believe are the same the world over, their expression or presentation will differ according to the character of the one who expresses them, as the rays of the sun, falling through a stained-glass window, take on the varied colors of the glass through which they fall. According to the breadth, height and depth of a man's own nature will be his conception of the movement. The egotist, even in a movement which takes in the whole race, will see himself only. The man whose nature has become warped and embittered, sees only class-hatred and destruction. The bigot will persecute and attack those who differ from him, as bitterly as ever did any religious bigot in the dark ages.

The fact that a man has grasped the theory of surplus value does not involve the possession by him of all those qualities with which we are wont to endow the future citizens of the co-operative commonwealth. The recognition of the class struggle does not necessarily make a man honest, honorable, moral and brave, although it ought to. In fact, Socialists are pretty much as other men are. After seven years in the Socialist movement, (alas for my early ideals!) I have come slowly and painfully to the conclusion that the glorious ideal commonwealth to which we look forward is not to come down, like the Holy City, from God out of heaven, but has to be built, by our own grimy hands, out of common, every-day, ordinary clay—very common, ordinary clay indeed! "Even as you and I."

And yet, if we are not better than the unregenerate capitalist world around us, we ought to be. The ideal state of society which we keep before our eyes, ought to creep into and ennoble our own lives. Our desire for economic justice to all men ought to make us just to each other. Our struggle for economic equality ought to preclude strife within our own ranks for position or power.

The fact that we are a small body, only 5,000 among seventy hostile or indifferent millions, banded together to accomplish a seemingly impossible task, ought to give us enough to do to fight the enemy and seek by every means to keep our own forces intact. The effort to bring about a state of society in which each individual shall find his own highest good in the good of the whole ought to bring home to us the futility of seeking greatness by rising above the heads of our fellow-workers, and that we as individuals can only be great as the rest of our kind become great. Our ideal of human brotherhood should make us strive to be worthy of being brothers to the noblest souls God ever planned.

In short, we ought to try to be Socialists now, without waiting for the dawning of that far-off brighter day. We should try to live the principles we profess. Let some of the love, the justice, the equality, the brotherhood we talk about, creep down from our lips into our hearts, and thence out into our lives. Thus the movement will have its effect in ennobling and elevating our characters, and we in turn will give a loftier and purer tone to the general movement. Heaven knows it has unpopularity enough of its own to bear and to overcome, without having to overcome, in addition, the unpopularity of its exponents. A man who is known in his community for truth, honor and integrity, will get a hearing for any cause he may espouse; but if his fellow-citizens have no respect for him, they cannot be blamed if they accord scant courtesy to the cause he represents, however worthy it may be.

If we love the cause, let us be worthy of it. If we believe in Socialism, let us be Socialists now, not merely by giving intellectual assent to its doctrines, but by incorporating as many of its principles as we possibly can into our relations with each other, and into the working of our organization. Margaret Hailo. Boston.

HERE'S A STICKER, FOR YOU

The following from the Washington (D. C.) Times (gold democrat) is immensely significant. It is one of the first signs that the democrats are "getting onto" the real meaning of Debs' candidacy. And if they are beginning so early, what will become of 'em after a while when we get going good and strong?

"If Debs runs over the million mark it is safe to assert that fully three-fourths of them will come from the elements that would support Bryan were Debs out of the field." A million votes lured from the Bryan column will, it is thought, mean the defeat of the Nebraskan by a larger popular majority than was cast against him in '96. Debs' support will come mainly from New York, New Jersey, Illinois and Indiana—states which the Bryan managers at this juncture are quite hopeful of carrying. Without at least one of them—New York—it is conceded that the democrats will stand a very poor show. Though New York was carried by McKinley in the last campaign by the unprecedented plurality of more than two hundred thousand, yet the issue which then gave that state to the republicans is now removed from politics and the signs at present seem plainly to indicate a strong democratic revival in the Empire state. However, the Debs candidacy will so confuse the issues in the minds of a large element of New York voters that unless something is done to sidetrack him it is feared the real democratic growth will not be strong enough to carry the democratic ticket through. What is true of New York in this particular is true of the other states named. Especially can this be stated of Illinois, which has in Chicago an element of Debsites almost as numerous as New York city possesses. The question, then, of interest to democrats is as to how to eliminate Debs from the problem. He cannot be influenced by argument. No reward of office can be offered him, as was offered to Powderly by Hanna in the last campaign for his support of McKinley. Debs' record as a wild agitator precludes consideration of his name for any place of importance in the public service. If, therefore, the Hannaites are wise—and they have been called nearly everything else but fools—they will see to it that Debs stays on the track, even if it costs them more money than they had to spend in Illinois in '96."

THE TWO CLASSES

Our society is divided into two distinct classes, rich and poor, workers and parasites. The rich, privileged by fortune, are mounted upon the backs of the poor whom they crush, and yet compel to carry them, saying that they have but one desire, to improve their condition by every possible means, and this while resting on their backs.

To best serve their ends, the rich establish governments to hide from the poor the means of freeing themselves, besides using armed forces to maintain the existing order of things. To reconcile the poor to their misery and slavery, the rich and strong establish laws founded upon religious superstitions, appeals to patriotism, etc., all based upon violence.

All laws, even those palmed off as divine laws, were made by men, and as men are not infallible, no matter with

what external authority they may clothe themselves, they cannot become infallible by the fact that they organize themselves into an assembly to which they give the name of senate or other analogy.

If the workers have no land, if they are deprived of their most natural right, that of obtaining from the soil the sustenance of themselves and families, it is not because the workers wish it to be so, but because a certain class have organized things to suit themselves. And this unnatural order of things is maintained by the army. If the immense accumulations of wealth obtained from labor are treated not as belonging to all the people, but to a privileged few, it is because a few men have the right of making laws to which the rest must submit, and have their lives and labors spoliated. This does not exist because the people desire it, but because the government and ruling classes desire it for their profit and impose it by violence.—From Count Tolstoi.

THE SOCIALIST PRESS

The following is an incomplete list of the weekly newspapers in the United States giving an entire or partial support to the Social Democratic party:

Social Democratic Herald. A. S. Edwards, editor, room 56, 126 Washington street, Chicago. Price 50 cents a year.

Appeal to Reason. J. A. Wayland, editor, Girard, Kan. Price 50 cents per year.

Haverhill Social Democrat. Wm. Mailly, editor, Haverhill, Mass. Price 50 cents per year.

Social Democrat. 614 State street, Milwaukee. Price 50 cents per year.

Journal. Warren, Mass.

Public Ownership. Erie, Pa.

The Toiler. Ed. Evinger, editor, Terre Haute, Ind.

Coming Nation. Duke, Georgia. Price 50 cents per year.

Vorwarts, 8 pages (German). Victor L. Berger, editor, 614 State street, Milwaukee. Price \$2 per year.

Die Wahrheit, 8 pages (German). Victor L. Berger, editor, 614 State street, Milwaukee. Price \$2 per year.

Volks-Anwalt (German). Gustav A. Hoehn, 22 North Fourth street, Room 7, St. Louis. Price \$1.50 per year.

New Light. E. E. Vail, editor, Port Angeles, Wash. Price 50 cents per year.

The Farmers' Review. W. E. Farmer, editor, Bonham, Texas. Per year, 50 cents.

Sheboygan Volksblatt (German). Oscar Loebel, editor, Sheboygan, Wis. Per year, \$1.50.

People's Press. A. D. Hale, editor, Albany, Ore. Price \$1.25 per year.

Spravedlinest (Bohemian). Chicago.

The People, 184 Williams St., New York. Weekly, 50 cents. A. N. Lee, editor.

Cleveland Citizen, 183 Champlain St., Cleveland, Ohio. Weekly, \$1.00. Max S. Hayes, editor.

Class Struggle, 117 Turk St., San Francisco, Cal. Weekly, 50 cents. G. B. Benham, editor.

Workers' Call, 38 N. Clark St., Chicago, Ill. Weekly, 50 cents. J. Waupole, editor.

Proletarian, Springfield, Mass. Weekly, 50 cents.

Volks-Zeitung (German), New York.

The Sixth Annual Issue of

The Labour Annual

Is now ready, edited and published by Joseph Edwards, Wallasey, Cheshire, England

The "American Section" (edited by Leonard D. Abbott) contains the following: "A Year's Work as Socialist Mayor," by John C. Chase; "A Year as Socialist Legislator," by James F. Carey; "Socialism in America During 1899," etc. There are full lists of American reformers, organizations and books. In all, there are over 60 original articles, and 46 portraits, including Carey, Gronlund, Herron, Mayr Jones and John Swinton. Cloth 60 cts.; Paper 35 cts.

Send orders to LEONARD D. ABBOTT, 335 W. 11st Street, New York



Social Democratic Party Button

5 CENTS EACH

This is the only button in the field at present that stands for the party in its full name, according to our General Constitution. Remember, the entire profits from the sale of these buttons goes to the National Propaganda Fund. All orders promptly filled.

For Sale by JOHN H. GRADY,

90 Winthrop St., Brockton, Mass.

Now Ready! — 135 Pages!

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

RED BOOK

EDITED BY FREDERIC HEATH

Printed on Plate Paper. Handsomely Illustrated. This is an annual publication for Social Democrats who will find it indispensable for reference purposes. This first issue is of special value because of the historical character of its contents. Among the features are:

- A HISTORY OF SOCIALISM IN AMERICA. Covering 75 pages, with portraits of Robert Owen, Etienne Cabet, Wilhelm Weitling, etc., etc.
 - ALBERT BRISWANE. The first American agitator, with portrait.
 - A TRIP TO GIBRALTAR. By Wayfarer, with view of Appeal to Reason office.
 - KARL MARX ON THE SINGLE TAX.
 - MACHINE vs. HAND LABOR. Compiled from government reports by Isador Ledoff.
 - SHORTER PIECES. Labor Conflicts in 1899. Gronlund. Grant Allen. Chronology for 1899. Directory of Social Democrats. Socialist Controversies of 1899. The "Golden Rule" Mayor. Prof. Herron's Case. Social Democratic Platform, Etc.
 - BIOGRAPHIES OF WELL-KNOWN SOCIAL DEMOCRATS. Twenty in all.
 - ELECTION STATISTICS. Covering the Socialist movement down to the present year. A valuable reference.
 - A SOCIALIST PORTRAIT GALLERY. Comprising seventeen likenesses of leading workers in the movement, distributed through the book.
- Send postpaid on receipt of price, 15 CENTS.
- DEBS PUBLISHING CO. TERRE HAUTE, IND.

THE PLATFORM

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness depend upon equal political and economic rights.

In our economic development an industrial revolution has taken place, the individual tool of former years having become the social tool of the present. The individual tool was owned by the worker who employed himself and was master of his product. The social tool, the machine, is owned by the capitalist and the worker is dependent upon him for employment. The capitalist thus becomes the master of the worker and is able to appropriate to himself a large share of the product of his labor.

Capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people; but the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system will necessitate the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare.

The present system of social production and private ownership is rapidly converting society into two antagonistic classes—i. e., the capitalist class and the propertyless class. The middle class, once the most powerful of this great nation, is disappearing in the mill of competition. The issue is now between the two classes first named. Our political liberty is now of little value to the masses unless used to acquire economic liberty.

Independent political action and the trade union movement are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its political, the other its economic wing, and both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system.

Therefore the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be:

First—The organization of the working class into a political party to conquer the public powers now controlled by capitalists.

Second—The abolition of wage-slavery by the establishment of a national system of co-operative industry, based upon the social or common ownership of the means of production and distribution, to be administered by society in the common interest of all its members, and the complete emancipation of the socially useful classes from the domination of capitalism.

The working class and all those in sympathy with their historic mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America. The control of political power by the Social Democratic party will be tantamount to the abolition of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting the millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international Socialism, the brotherhood of man.

As steps in that direction, we make the following demands:

First—Revision of our federal constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to complete control of government by the people irrespective of sex.

Second—The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

Third—The public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones; all means of transportation, and communication; all water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

Fourth—The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal, and other mines, and all oil and gas wells.

Fifth—The reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

Sixth—The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

Seventh—Useful inventions to be free, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

Eighth—Labor legislation to be national, instead of local, and international when possible.

Ninth—National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.

Tenth—Equal civil and political rights, for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

Eleventh—The adoption of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

Twelfth—Abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

Adjournd.

Attitude Toward Trades Unions

In accordance with our declaration of principles we declare that the trades union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the wage-working class. We recommend to the members of the Social Democratic party the following general rules:

First—Join the union of your respective trade.

Second—Assist in building up and strengthening the trade union movement.

Third—Support the union labels of all crafts.

Fourth—Educate your fellow-unionists on the question of Socialism and the labor movement, on economic and political lines.

Fifth—It shall be your duty to work for the unity of the labor movement, thereby recognizing the fact that the emancipation of the working class can only be achieved by the united efforts of this class.

Sixth—Educate the members of the unions in the principles of Socialism and induce them, individually, to affiliate with the Social Democratic party.

Seventh—Trades unions are by historical necessity organized on neutral grounds, as far as political affiliation is concerned. The trades union is the arena where all wage-workers may be brought together for joint action to resist the encroachments of capitalism on the economic field and to participate in the class struggle of the proletariat which will finally develop into the political alignment of the forces of labor in the struggle for proletarian emancipation.

The Social Democratic

Red Book

ORDER IT

Edited by FREDERIC HEATH

PRICE 15 CENTS

Send postpaid on receipt of price

DEBS PUBLISHING CO.

TERRE HAUTE, IND.

NATIONAL FUND

The following is a list of comrades who have agreed, in response to the appeal of the National Executive Board, to contribute monthly for one year to the national fund. Other names will be added as they are received.

- | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|--|--|---|---|---|--|--|---|-----------------------------------|--|
| CONNECTICUT
Finley, N.H. Hartford
Holman, E. Hartford | ILLINOIS
Stedman, B. Chicago
Jones, C. Chicago
P. P. Ayer. Chicago
"A Friend" Chicago
Dr. J. H. Grues. Chicago
Mrs. C. Brown. Chicago
"Friend" Chicago
James Wright. Chicago | INDIANA
E. V. Debs. Terre Haute | MASSACHUSETTS
Flaender, P. B. Haverhill
Cohen, A. Boston
Parker, Levi. W. Newton
Monette, G. U. Brockton
Bowditch, W. P. Brockton
Late, Peter. Everett
Hitchcock, D. G. Warren
Goldman, S. Haverhill
Hough, E. W. Newton
Chase, J. C. Amesbury
Grove, C. W. Wareham
Grievance, C. S. Amesbury
Allen, Helen N. Lynn
Kosow, Dr. J. A. Lynn
Carey, Jas. E. Haverhill | MICHIGAN
Kaliher, S. Grand Rapids | MINNESOTA
Goswein, F. Red Lake Falls | MISSOURI
Fischer, Wm. St. Louis
Faller, Henry. St. Louis
Eusebe, Wm. St. Louis | MARYLAND
Jacobson, E. Baltimore | NEW HAMPSHIRE
Gordon, F. G. Manchester
Howie, Geo. Manchester
Mellen, C. H. Somersworth
"Somersworth Branch" | NEW JERSEY
Pankopf, Carl. Jersey City
Karl Lindner. Paterson
"Comrade" Newark | OHIO
Boevay, Jos. Cleveland
Lorn, Julia. Cleveland
Braun, F. Cincinnati
Altshuler, C. Cleveland | PENNSYLVANIA
Lewis, J. H. Pittsburgh
F. W. Hirt. Erie | TENNESSEE
Enloe, Dr. R. E. Nashville
Hamilton, W. A. Nashville
Mahoney, Wm. Nashville | TEXAS
Price, R. Houston | WISCONSIN
Berger, V. L. Milwaukee
Rooney, E. H. Milwaukee
Ziegler, E. Milwaukee
Lewer, John. Milwaukee
Barnum, G. Milwaukee
Arnold, L. Milwaukee
Meister, R. Milwaukee
Jennings, J. Milwaukee
Heath, F. Milwaukee
Branch. Milwaukee |
|--|---|---|---|---|--|--|---|---|---|--|--|---|-----------------------------------|--|

Pocket Library of Socialism

- Woman and the Social Problem. By May Wood. Shows that the emancipation of woman will only come with the emancipation of man through socialism.
 - The Evolution of the Class Struggle. By Wm. L. E. North. A historical study showing how socialism is coming.
 - Imprudent Marriage. By ROBERT BLATCHFORD. A masterly answer to the argument that "poor people" should help themselves.
 - Packaging Town. By A. M. SIKES. A study of the Union Stock Yards, Chicago; how nature and man are alike scientifically exploited.
 - Capitalism in Literature and Art. By CLARENCE DAWSON. Shows how the workers of modern art and literature are helping on the new social order.
 - Single Tax vs. Socialism. By A. M. SIKES. Shows the inadequacy of the Single Tax as a remedy for the evils pointed out by Henry George.
 - Wage-Labor and Capital. By KARL MARX. The essence of the great philosopher's theory, in his own words.
 - The Man Under the Machine. By A. M. SIKES. Tells how wage slavery began, what it is today and how the workers are going to free themselves. A condensed history of socialism.
 - The History of the Working Class. By REV. CHARLES H. VAIL, author of "Modern Socialism."
 - Morals and Socialism. By CHARLES H. KERN. Shows how popular ideas of morals are manipulated in the interest of the capitalist class.
- Daintily printed, five cents each, post-paid.
- SPECIAL OFFER—For one dollar we will mail forty copies of the Pocket Library, all of one kind, as preferred.

SEND ORDERS TO

THEODORE DEBS
126 Washington St., CHICAGO

The Book You Need

PRINCIPLES OF

Scientific Socialism

By Rev. Charles H. Vail

Author "Modern Socialism" and "National Ownership of Railways."

CONTENTS:

- The Industrial Revolution. The Analysis of Value. The Origin of Surplus Value.
 - The Advantages of Socialism: Production, Distribution, Elimination of Useless Vocations, Prevention of Waste, Elevation of Woman, Proper Care and Training of Children, Efficient and Disinterested Service of the Community, Abolition of Taxation, Simplification of Government, Benefits to Capitalists, Benefits to Laborers.
 - The Evidence of the Moral Strength of Socialism: Its spirit and Aim. Abolition of Social Inequality; Restriction of Divorce; Prevention of Prostitution; Elimination of Crime; Prevention of Intemperance, Inanity, etc.
 - Poverty—Its Cause and Cure. Wage Slavery vs. Chattel Slavery. Rent and Interest. The Law of Wages. The Law of Progress. Industrial Depression and Commercial Crisis. The Problem of Labor-saving Machinery.
 - Popular Economic Errors: That Value is Determined by Capitalist Cost of Production; that the Interests of Laborers and Capitalists are identical; that Labor is Better Off To-day Than Ever Before; that Cheap Prices are to Labor; that Foreign Markets are Beneficial to Labor; that Luxury is Beneficial to Labor; that Land Nationalization would Solve the Social Question; that Extravagance is the Cause of Economic Want; that Socialism would Thwart Inventions and Improvements; that Socialism would Destroy Individuality. Conclusion and Index.
- 11mo, 238 Pages; Paper, 35c; Cloth, \$1.00.

SEND ORDERS TO

THEODORE DEBS, 126 Washington St. CHICAGO

Headquarters for Literature.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC.

- Liberty. Debs. 5c.
- Merrie England. Blatchford. 10c.
- Municipal Socialism. Gordon. 5c.
- Prison Labor. Debs. 10c.
- Socialism and Democracy. Hyndman. 5c.
- Gov't Ownership of Railways. Gordon. 5c.
- Orations on Voltaire. Victor Hugo. 5c.
- Evolution of Industry. Watkins. 5c.
- Harvest Times: Cause and Cure. Gordon. 5c.
- Women: Past and Future. Bold. 5c.
- The Red Light. Camon. 25c.
- The Pullman Strike. Garvandine. 5c.
- Co-operative Commonwealth. Gronlund. 5c.
- The New Economy. Gronlund. 5c.

- MECHANICAL AND ENGINEERING.
- Progressive Examination of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen. Hill. 5c.
- Locomotive Running Repairs. Hitchcock. 5c.
- Simple Lessons in Drawing for the Shop. Reynolds. 5c.
- Air Brake Practice. Phelps. \$1.00.
- Ready Reference. Alexander. \$1.00.
- Locomotive Running and Management. Sinclair. \$2.00.
- Compound Locomotives. Woods. \$2.50.
- Twenty Years with the Indicator. Phipps. \$2.50.
- Hand-Book of the Locomotive. Rogers. \$2.50.
- New Catechism of the Locomotive. Phipps. \$2.50.

Note.—Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 in lots of 10 copies, 50 cents; in lots of 100 copies, \$1.50. No. 2 in lots of 50 copies, 50 cents; in lots of 100 copies, \$1.50. Send orders to

DEBS PUBLISHING CO.

TERRE HAUTE, IND.

MILWAUKEE

Social Democratic Herald

A Weekly paper advocating the Collective Ownership of the Means of Production and Distribution, and Supporting the Social Democratic Party. Official organ of the Party in Wisconsin. Yearly Subscription, One Dollar.

614 STATE STREET, MILWAUKEE, WIS.

Purbach in file

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

VOL. II. No. 42

CHICAGO, ILL., U. S. A., SATURDAY, APRIL 7, 1900.

Whole No. 92.

MANIFESTO

The National Executive Board to the Members of the Social Democratic Party

Comrades: Certain facts having come to the knowledge of your national committee concerning the New York conference through the reports to the board on the part of three of their members representing our party, and through a perusal of the press of the Socialist Labor party, we deem it our duty at this time in behalf of the cause of Socialism to issue to you a statement regarding the actions of the New York conference and to give to you a review of the facts relating to the union of the two Socialist forces.

Before taking up such a review, however, it should be stated that the official paper of the party, The Herald, was for many months prior to the convention open to discussion of the subject of union. During that time not less than twenty-three communications were published, thirteen being in favor of union, three qualifiedly favorable and seven opposed. It should also be stated here, since attempts have been made to create the impression that the national officers of the organization were opposed to union, that said officers went to Indianapolis favorable to an honorable union, with perhaps a single exception.

The committee of eighteen in New York failed of performing its true work in two salient and vital points, viz.:

First—As regards name, involving the violation of pledges given to you. Comrades at Indianapolis by members of the committee of the Socialist Labor party, Messrs. Harriman, Hillquit, Hayes and Benham;

Second—As regards the referendum vote, involving the question of whether there should be a majority vote of each party voting separately or of both parties voting as one.

Now, we desire to discuss with you, first, the question of the name. It has been recognized all through this discussion of unity that our stand for the name Social Democratic party has not been based upon a blind allegiance to a symbol. We have stood by the name Social Democratic because of the history which it symbolizes, the spirit of our movement and the methods which have been used in building up the party, which have given it a standing among the political movements of our time; and further, because of its international significance and the splendid achievements accomplished under it during the twenty months of our existence as a party.

The Compact Made

It cannot be denied that the overwhelming majority of the members of the Social Democratic party was and is in favor of retaining the present name. This was clearly manifest in the Indianapolis convention. The convention, it must be remembered, was essentially a mass convention, over 2,100 individual credentials having been handed in. The only thing which apparently stood in the way of the definite perfecting of union at Indianapolis was this very question of name. The difficulties in the way in this respect were apparently removed by a solemn compact entered into by Messrs. Harriman, Hillquit and Hayes, and members of our party at a conference held in the Occidental hotel, Indianapolis, on the evening of Thursday, March 9.

As regards Mr. G. B. Benham's attitude concerning name, comrades present at the conference of March 9 will agree that he pledged himself to unequivocally and aggressively support the name Social Democratic on the condition that Harriman and Hayes were accepted by our party as candidates. Mr. Benham distinguished himself at New York by presenting a labored argument against the name.

Mr. Job Harriman also stated plainly to Comrade Stedman that he would support the name. Stedman announced on the floor of the convention that he changed his vote from the majority to the minority report because Harriman and Hayes had given him their promise to support the name.

We incorporate herein two statements regarding this compact by Comrades F. G. R. Gordon and A. S. Edwards:

Edwards' Statement and Affidavit

"On the evening of March 8 at the New Occidental hotel, Indianapolis, a meeting was held for the purpose, if possible, of arriving at an agreement. There were present as representatives of the Socialist Labor party Morris Hillquit, Job Harriman and G. B. Benham, and F. G. R. Gordon, Wm. Mailly, C. R. Martin, A. S. Edwards, J. C. Chase, J. F. Carey, V. L. Berger. Gordon stated that since E. V. Debs declined to accept the nomination, it had been deemed advisable to hold a meeting of a few members of the S. D. P. and the S. L. P. delegates to see if an agreement honorable to both parties could not be made. He said the delegates to the convention were willing to accept Harriman and Hayes as the candidates, and that was done he thought the delegates of the S. L. P. should be asked to give some assurance that the name Social Democratic would be accepted.

"Morris Hillquit was the first to respond. He said, in substance, that if the convention on the following day nominated Harriman and Hayes there would be no difficulty about the name; that he would give his personal pledge (which he then and there did) that so far as he was concerned the name Social Democratic would be the only one submitted by the joint conference committee; further, he said, that he would give those present the moral assurance that the name Social Democratic would be accepted by the committee of nine representing the S. L. P.

"The next to speak was G. B. Benham. He said that he agreed fully with Mr. Hillquit, that the name was an acceptable one and that such an arrangement as was proposed would be satisfactory and settle the question of name. He gave his personal pledge.

"Job Harriman followed with the explicit and unqualified statement that he was in full accord with Hillquit, gave his personal pledge and added that he would write to the sections of the S. L. P. urging acceptance of the name Social Democratic party.

"Then Victor L. Berger said, in substance: 'If Debs can be induced to accept and the ticket nominated is Debs and Harriman, will you then stand by the name and will your pledges be good? I have some personal influence with Debs and am willing to make another effort. I do not know that I can succeed, but I will try, and if he does accept will you recommend only the name Social Democratic party?'

"To this Hillquit was first to reply. This he did in precise terms, declaring, as on the first proposition, that he would stand for the one name, Social Democratic party.

"Benham declined to commit himself as he had done on the Harriman-Hayes proposition.

"Harriman expressly declared that he accepted the proposition and would stand by the agreement on the name if the ticket were Debs and Harriman.

"Hayes being absent, the question was asked whether he would approve and accept the action of the meeting. Both Hillquit and Harriman stated that Hayes' indorsement and pledge could be relied upon and any agreement made there would be sanctioned by him.

"To the foregoing I wish to add that no other conditions or provisions whatever were suggested or agreed upon; that the members of the S. D. P. on their part accepted the conclusion arrived at in good faith, and that it was the distinct understanding when the meeting adjourned that if the convention nominated Debs and Harriman no other name than that of Social Democratic party would be submitted by the joint conference.

"A. S. Edwards."

Subscribed and sworn to before me, this third day of April, A. D. 1900.

Chas. H. Soelke,

Notary Public.

Gordon's Statement and Affidavit

"I believe it to be in the interest of truth and justice that a statement be made in reference to the peace conference held on Thursday, March 8, at the Occidental Hotel. The convention had adjourned in confusion and considerable bad feeling. Comrade Mailly requested me to talk to certain comrades who were 'pretty hot under the collar.' On the way to the hotel I suggested to Comrades Hillquit and Mailly that we get a half-dozen of the warring comrades into a room and see if we could not effect some kind of peace that would be honorable to all. This was agreed to, and I lost no time in bringing it about. I sought Victor L. Berger who had been especially anxious to retain the name and spirit of the Social Democratic Party and asked him to attend. He at first flatly refused, stating he was afraid of trickery, but, finally consented after much urging upon the part of Comrade Mailly and myself and also upon an invitation of Comrade Carey. Comrade Berger had been invited to attend a conference of the oldest friends of Comrade E. V. Debs for the purpose of prevailing upon Debs to accept the nomination, but upon the urgent demands and appeals of Comrades Mailly, Carey and Gordon he consented to attend the peace conference instead. I made the proposition at the peace conference that in case Debs would not accept the nomination the S. D. P. nominate Harriman and Hayes for the standard bearers of the united party and that the S. L. P. on their part pledge themselves to accept and work

for the name Social Democratic Party as the official name of the united party. Comrades Hillquit and Harriman both agreed to this. Comrade Harriman pledging himself to write to all S. L. P. sections, appealing to them to vote for the name Social Democratic party.

"Comrade Berger then put this question: 'How would it be about the name then in case Debs will run, do you still agree in that case to the name Social Democratic Party?' After some discussion, the point was made by Comrade Mailly, that Debs was the choice of all, that we, the S. D. P. were to accept Harriman and the S. L. P. on their part accept the name of the S. D. P. This was agreed to by both Harriman and Hillquit. Comrade Benham did not agree to this.

"The peace conference adjourned to meet at 11:30 p. m. In the meantime the other conference had succeeded in gaining Debs' consent to accept the nomination; he (Debs) giving his consent at almost the very minute that the peace conference adjourned. Things having been settled to the satisfaction of all, the 11:30 conference was not called simply because Debs' acceptance had settled everything.

F. G. R. Gordon.

Milwaukee, Wis., April 2, 1900.

STATE OF WISCONSIN ss.

Milwaukee County ss.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 3d day of April, 1900.

James A. Sheridan,

Notary Public,

Wisconsin.

Mr. Morris Hillquit in his first address to the convention on Wednesday, March 7, declared that the Rochester convention had purposely refrained from adopting a name in order that they might be free to adopt any name that might be agreed upon.

Friday afternoon, at a meeting of the joint committee, in support of the plan to hold the conference at New York, and in support of his wish to have the conference put off two weeks in order that he might win over his people to the acceptance of the name, Mr. Hillquit again indirectly but nevertheless clearly reavowed his allegiance to the name.

Mr. Max Hayes, on the floor of the convention Thursday afternoon, announced his personal choice of the name Social Democratic and in strong terms pledged himself and his paper, the Cleveland Citizen, to the name.

The Compact Broken

We now come to the painful part of our statement—a record of broken promises. However hard or repugnant it may be, we hereby make the charge that in the New York conference the compact described above was ruthlessly violated by Hillquit, Harriman and Hayes, all of whom opposed the name Social Democratic party.

For one whole day the name was discussed and they stated when charged with a violation of their pledges that they did not feel bound to keep their word because Eugene V. Debs had accepted the nomination before the pledges were given. The personal pledge of Harriman to Stedman the former evaded by stating that he did make the promise but "with concessions." This latter statement Stedman positively denied. No other conditions were asked for or agreed upon save those contained in the sworn statements of Comrades Gordon and Edwards given above. Harriman in committee never mentioned that qualification until charged with a breach of faith. We call your special attention to the fact, as stated in Comrade Edwards' affidavit, that while the agreement at Indianapolis was that only one name would be submitted to the referendum of the parties, the entire committee representing the S. L. P. (excepting Hayes who did not vote) went direct and solidly against the name and voted for the submission of two names.

It must be noted also that while Mr. Max Hayes, as heretofore described, had pledged himself to work for the name, nevertheless he evaded the responsibility by absenting himself from the conference while the question of name was under discussion. He promised Comrade Leonard D. Abbott in New York that he would attend a session and speak in favor of the name. This he failed to do.

A most significant fact connected with this New York conference is that on motion of Sieverman (S. L. P.), seconded by Stone (S. L. P.) the joint committee prohibited any minority report

except by permission of a majority of either committee. Sieverman said in this connection that they (the minority) can get their report to the members in the best way they know how, but any action by a minority should be no part of these proceedings.

It was said by the members of the committee of the S. L. P. in the New York conference that inasmuch as Comrade Berger was not instrumental in gaining Comrade Debs' acceptance of the nomination they were absolved from their pledges. It is also charged that Comrade Berger knew of Debs' acceptance at the time he was treating with them in the "peace conference." Comrade Debs has affirmed to us that when Comrade Berger left him to attend what Gordon calls the "peace conference" he could not have known at that time of his acceptance, for the good and sufficient reason that he (Debs) had not decided to accept.

Convention Instructions Disregarded

We come now to our second point regarding the referendum vote. One of the most important considerations in deciding on the name by the two parties was the character of the referendum.

Your convention decided that the referendum vote should be taken by each party voting separately.

Notwithstanding these definite instructions, the joint committee by a majority vote deliberately violated the specific directions of your convention, which it must be remembered was the sovereign power creating the committee which swept aside the wishes of the convention. They did this by deciding to submit a contrary proposition to the parties, as follows: "In case the party name voted for by you fails to obtain the concurrent majority of both parties, shall the name receiving the majority of the total vote of both parties be adopted?"

It must not be overlooked that our party has an enrolled and paid-up membership in charge of a national secretary. On the contrary, the S. L. P. does not know its membership and has studiously evaded giving any definite information concerning it. With these facts confronting us, it will be seen that their vote would depend upon the returns made by the secretaries of local sections. Under such conditions, while we do not claim that the returns would be fictitious, yet we contend that said returns might be so in the case of the S. L. P. Hence a majority of both parties, voting as one, might be a fictitious majority so far as the S. L. P. is concerned.

It will be noticed that Comrade E. V. Debs' name is not affixed to this statement, although he is a member of the national executive board. His attitude, however, upon the information herein contained, is in entire accord with the rest of the board. He was present at our conference and heard this read. The purpose of the board to preserve the Social Democratic party has his unqualified approval. From the fact that he is a candidate and has received a telegram in behalf of the majority of the committee asking him to suspend judgment until he sees the majority report, his name is withheld.

We submit to you, comrades, that union with a knowledge of the foregoing facts can not be honorably consummated.

Is Union Possible?

It may be asked why has the national executive taken immediate action and before reading the official majority report? In reply we say that promptness on our part will alone save disintegration and disastrous disaffection. Prompt action is demanded by the exigencies of the case and because the spirit of revolt is already thundering at our doors.

Comrades, the Social Democratic movement has been built upon the altar of sacrifice. Toil and hardship, poverty and privation, have been the lot of its pioneers. Shall months and years of arduous service to establish a revolutionary working class party in this country come to naught? United in spirit, agreed as to methods, harmoniously we have gone forth to the achievement of victories. Shall these results, this normal growth, be turned to defeat and dissolution? Political unity formed upon diplomacy, tainted with bad faith and double-dealing, can never stand. The enduring Socialist movement must be founded upon unsullied honor and integrity. It must be a movement, not a

sect. Union in which all the essential elements of unity are lacking is impossible. A united Socialist party can not be built upon a basis of broken pledges.

You, comrades, are the arbiters. This momentous question must be by you decided. Loyalty to the cause of Socialism in this crisis calls for fidelity and unflinching support of the Social Democratic party.

Referendum

In view of the facts above stated the national executive board submits the following to the members for a referendum vote:

"Is union between the Social Democratic party and the Socialist Labor party faction desirable?"

VOTE YES OR NO.

Jesse Cox,
Victor L. Berger,
Frederic Heath,
Seymour Stedman.

Chicago, Ill., April 2, 1900.

COMRADES, TAKE NOTICE

Members are requested to at once take up the Referendum submitted by the Executive Board, canvass the whole question and return their votes through Branch Secretaries to the National Secretary not later than May 7.

ELECTION NEWS

Hurrah for International Socialism and the Social Democratic Party

Socialism Goes with the Name and Both are Acceptable to the American People

The first Social Democratic ticket at Battle Creek, Mich., at the election last Monday, proved an eye-opener, the candidate for mayor receiving 600 votes. For a beginning this is a noteworthy result. It means a big vote in the fall for the Social Democratic party. Let the cheer go round—Hurrah for International Socialism!

The vote cast for Mayor, Recorder, Treasurer and Justice shows a remarkable solidarity and indicates the beginning of a powerful movement in Battle Creek. It was a vote for a principle and the party:

Higgins (Mayor)598
Rogers (Recorder)583
Cronk (Treasurer)524
Krebs (Justice)554

Milwaukee polled 2,600 votes for the Social Democratic party—a good gain over that of a year ago.

Sheboygan comrades elected an alderman to the city council.

THE TRUTH PENETRATING

Deseret Evening News: The nomination at Indianapolis by the Social Democratic party of Eugene V. Debs for the presidency of the United States has called attention to that party and its principles.

It is generally understood that Socialism aims at the complete reconstruction of society, by a more equal distribution of the products of labor through the public ownership of land and capital, and the collective management of industries. But it is not commonly understood that the supposition that Socialism would do away with private property is an error. Recent writers on this subject seem to be anxious to correct the impression. They say that under the new system all property for the production of more wealth would be common, while all non-productive property would remain private. True, it would be impossible for any one to accumulate vast sums at the rate now existing. There would be no millionaires, but there would be no poverty either, the Socialists say. Each worker would retain the right of keeping and enjoying the full value of his labor. That would be his private property, and he would have plenty of it to enjoy.

It need hardly be said that Eugene V. Debs has not the slightest chance of general recognition at the polls. Yet, it is true that many of the ideas advocated by Socialists are penetrating modern society.

The Union Label

on everything you buy is a guarantee that the producers thereof receive a fair rate of wages for its production

Insist on having the label

Social Democratic Herald

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board
JESSE COX, Chairman
SEYMOUR STEDMAN, Secretary
EUGENE V. DEBS, Vice-President
FREDERIC HEATH

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, \$1.00. Six months, 50 cents. No papers sent to any one on credit. If, without having subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and no bill will follow. Foreign subscriptions \$1.00.

Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

A. S. EDWARDS, Editor
THEODORE DEBS, National Sec'y-Treas.
136 Washington St., Chicago.

92 is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 92 your subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, APR. 7, 1900.

ECONOMIC CHANGES AND SOME OF THE CAUSES

The title of David A. Wells' ablest contribution to economic literature is "Recent Economic Changes." It is a work of great value as a record of some of the causes which have produced the economic changes of the past thirty years. Read by a Socialist, it serves to confirm his convictions. Put into the hands of a non-Socialist investigator, it will undermine his confidence in a continuance of the capitalistic system. From this work are compiled the following:

1. The most noteworthy peculiarity of the great commercial and industrial depression which first manifested itself in 1873 has been its universality. War or peace, free trade or protection, stable currency or unstable, old countries or new—whatever local conditions have been, none of the nations have escaped the calamity.

2. The maximum of economic disturbance has been experienced in those countries in which the employment of machinery, the efficiency of labor, the cost and the standard of living, and the extent of popular education are the greatest.

3. The depression and disturbance of industry, which commenced in 1873, is regarded by many writers on the subject as having terminated in 1878-79; but a full consideration of the larger evidence leads to the conclusion that there has been no termination, but only an occasional "interruption," due to extraordinary causes, varying locally, and by no means universal.

4. State commissions for the purpose of determining the cause for the phenomena under consideration, instituted by Great Britain, the United States, France, Italy, and the Dominion of Canada, have reported voluminously on the subject. Opinions and conclusions have been widely and curiously different. The potential causes assigned were "over-production," "scarcity and appreciation of gold," "demonetization of silver," "restrictions of the free course of commerce," "excessive competition," "excessive war expenditures," "failure of crops," "strikes and interruption of production," "concentration of capital in few hands," "excessive expenditures for alcoholic beverages," "general improvidence of the working classes," and finally a Dutch committee, in 1886, found an important cause in "the low price of German vinegar."

5. After consideration of the causes assigned, the author is forced to the conclusion that all the reports greatly magnify the influence of purely local causes, and that all must be regarded as secondary and not primary agencies.

6. As to "over-production" the author says: "No term has been used more loosely in the discussion of this subject of trade depression than that of 'over-production.' The idea that there can be such a thing as a general production of useful or desirable commodities in excess of what is wanted is an absurdity."

7. Seeking for primary and universal cause, the author finds it in new conditions of production and distribution. The average saving in time and labor in the world's work of production and distribution has, in some departments, amounted to 70 or 80 per cent; in not a few to more than 80 per cent.

8. The gain in the power of production in some of the leading industries of the United States, during the fifteen or twenty years preceding 1886, as measured by the muscular labor formerly employed to effect a given result has been as follows: In the manufacture of agricultural implements, from 50 to 70 per cent; in the manufacture of shoes, 80 per cent; in the manufacture of carriages, 65 per cent; in the manufacture of machines and machinery, 40 per cent; in silk manufacture, 50 per cent, and so on.

9. In the year 1869 an event occurred which was probably productive of serious economic changes—industrial, commercial and financial. That was the opening of the Suez Canal. The immediate results were stupendous. The old transportation was done away with. An amount of tonnage, estimated as high as two million tons, was virtually destroyed. The voyage from London to Calcutta was reduced from six and eight

months to less than thirty days by steam. Within a decade thereafter improved steamers came into use fitted with triple-expansion engines, which effected a saving of nearly 50 per cent in the consumption of fuel.

10. During the ten years from 1870 to 1880, inclusive, the British mercantile marine increased its movement, in the matter of foreign entries and clearances alone, to the extent of 22,000,000 tons; and yet the number of men who were employed in doing so much more work had decreased in 1880, as compared with 1870, to the extent of about 3,000. This was done by the introduction of steam hoisting machines and grain elevators upon the wharves and docks and the employment of steam-power upon the vessels for steering, raising the sails and anchors, pumping and discharging the cargo; or, in other words, the ability, through the increased use of steam and improved machinery, to carry larger cargoes in a shorter time, with no increase—or, rather, an actual decrease—of the number of men employed in sailing or managing the vessels.

11. In 1870, the number of hands (exclusive of captains) employed to every one thousand tons' capacity, entered or cleared of the British steam-mercantile marine, is reported to have been 47, but in 1885 it was only 27.7, or seventy per cent more manual labor was required in 1870 than in 1885 to do the same work.

12. The power capable of being exerted by the steam engines of the world in existence and working in the year 1887 has been estimated by the Bureau of Statistics at Berlin as equivalent to that of 200,000,000 horses, representing approximately 1,000,000,000 men; or at least three times the working population of the earth, whose total number of inhabitants is probably about 1,460,000,000. And yet it is certain that four-fifths of the steam engines working in the world have been constructed since 1865.

13. Noting the revolution in the carrying trade on land; the author says the power to excavate earth, or to excavate and blast rock, is from five to ten times as great as it was when operations for the construction of the Suez Canal were commenced in 1859-60. The machinery sent to the Isthmus of Panama, for the excavation of the canal at that point, was completed by engineers as capable of performing the labor of half a million men.

14. The displacement of hand labor in some of the cotton mills of the United States, from 1880 to 1890, by improved machinery, was from 33 to 50 per cent, and the average work of one operative, working one year, would, in 1890, supply the annual wants of 1,600 fully clothed Chinese, or 3,000 partially clothed East Indians.

15. In 1840 an operative in the cotton mills of Rhode Island, working 13 to 14 hours a day, turned off 9,600 yards of standard sheeting in a year; in 1886 the operative in the same mill (with machinery) made about 30,000 yards, working ten hours a day. In 1840 the wages were \$176 a year; nearly half a century later, in 1886, the wages were \$285 a year.

16. In one large and long established shoe factory the proprietors testify that it would require 500 persons, working by hand processes, to make as many women's boots and shoes as a hundred persons now (1886) make with the aid of machinery—a displacement of 80 per cent.

17. In 1845 the boot and shoe makers of Massachusetts made an average production, under the then existing conditions of manufacturing, of 1.52 pairs of boots for each working day. In 1885 each employee in the state made on an average 4.2 pairs daily, while at the present time (1888) in Lynn and Haverhill the daily average of each person is seven pairs per day, "showing an increase in the power of production in forty years of 400 per cent," said Mr. F. W. Norcross, November, 1888, before the Boston Boot and Shoe Club.

18. Among what may be termed the minor industries, in the manufacture of jewelry, one skilled workman, paid at the rate of \$2.50 to \$3.00 per day, and working according to ante-machine methods in use a few years ago, could make up three dozen pairs of glove buttons per day. Now, one boy, paid \$5 per week, and working with modern machinery, can make up 9,000 pairs in a day.

19. In Adam Smith's day it was considered a wonderful achievement for ten men to make 48,000 pins in a day, but now three men can make 7,500,000 pins of a vastly superior character in the same time.

The author concludes that in the increased control which mankind has acquired over the forces of nature, and in the increased utilization of such control—"mainly through machinery"—for the work of production and distribution, is to be found "a cause sufficient to account for most if not all the economic disturbance which, since 1873, has been certainly universal in its influence over the domain of civilization; abnormal to the extent of justifying the claim of having been unprecedented in character, and which BIDS FAIR IN A GREATER OR LESS DEGREE TO INDEFINITELY CONTINUE."

With the writer's conclusion all Social Democrats will agree.

NOTICE

The columns of this paper will be open for a full discussion of the matters submitted by the Executive Board during the period ending with the issue for May 5. It is hoped that every Branch of the Social Democratic Party will give this important matter prompt and earnest attention, so that the vote may be announced in The Herald May 12. To Messrs. Hilquit, Harriman, Hayes and Benham is extended the privilege of making any reply they may choose during the same period.

NOTES AND COMMENT

A small merchant on West Madison street, Chicago, displays a large sign across the front of his store, reading as follows:

"Do you know who pays for all the big advertisements?"

Well, we ought to know. We have been paying for them long enough. But is that any argument for dealing with the small merchant who displays this sign? A dozen more signs should be placed on the same building. Here are a few suggestions:

Do you know who pays for all the delivery wagons owned by small merchants on this street?

Do you know who pays for all the store buildings, bookkeepers, fixtures and duplicate stocks of goods?

Do you know who pays for all the small advertisements and hand bills?

Do you know whether this butcher is a store-owner, or only a wage-agent for Armour, Swift, Libby and company?

Gabriel d'Annunzio, the Italian poet and novelist, has joined the Socialist movement. His reason for so doing is that, "as an intellectual man he proceeds toward life." Whereupon the Haverhill Gazette says:

"The fact that so many of the brainy men of the old world have similar inclinations should serve to convince American publicists that Socialism is not wholly composed of glittering generalities and half truths. Beneath it all is a widespread discontent with existing social conditions which must be frankly met and overcome by dealing with the people in a spirit of candor. Political quackery is about played out, as it should be."

A merchant of Chicago refused lately to advertise in a journal which he acknowledged was the best thing for his line of goods he had seen because "they've got us; those big stores will have us all in five years, and this street, now lined with store fronts, will be a fine residence boulevard lined with trees, half hiding the stone front homes on either side. No, sir; it's no use me advertising." Had he a vision of the future state?

With the fusion populists in Kansas and elsewhere wildly declaring that Bryan is a "good enough Socialist for them," and the democratic followers of Bryan vociferously denying the populist claims and declaring that Bryan is not Socialistic at all, the anything-for-office-reformers are in a real bad way. Genuine Socialists, looking on the unseemly spectacle, will know what course to pursue. Socialists will vote for Debs.

Comrade E. V. Debs received a message of hearty congratulations from H. D. Harrell, of Bevington, Iowa. Mr. Harrell is the old engineer our comrade used to fire for in the days when he stood before the open door of a blazing furnace. It is twenty-five years ago and more, but the fire of friendship kindled then has never gone out, the old love remains.

Comrades, do not think for a moment that any one to whom you have intrusted the welfare of your organization in a trying period desires to perpetuate himself in office. No such desire exists, and at the proper time, when we have weathered this little storm, as we shall, the future of the party and its officers will be wholly in your hands.

"The flopping from Bryan to Debs," says the Washington Post, "is becoming a rather serious matter. It may be necessary to coax Debs off the track." Imagine that old, decrepit, hag of a party led by Bryan coaxing a really progressive movement to halt or its candidate to leave the track! Let us all laugh!

Socialists will not wait for 1904 or 1908 to vote for Socialism. All over the country they see that their opportunity comes this year, that it is presented by the Social Democratic party and the candidacy of Eugene V. Debs.

Loyalty at the present juncture to the cause of Socialism demands fidelity to the spirit and purpose of the Social Democratic party.

Act well your part in the present, that the progress of Socialism may not be retarded or impaired.

How long would a "United" party based upon broken promises be united?

THE UNION CONFERENCE

The Committees of Nine, on union, elected by the S. D. P. and the S. L. P. conventions, respectively, met at the Labor Lyceum, New York, on Sunday morning, March 25, 1900.

There were present, of the S. L. P. Committee: Harriman and Benham, California; Hilquit, Stone and Sieverman, New York; Hayes, Ohio; White, Connecticut; Fenner, Massachusetts, and Barnes, Pennsylvania.

Of the S. D. P. Committee there were present: Heath, Wisconsin; Stedman, Illinois; Chase, Carey and Haile, Massachusetts; Lonergan, Connecticut; Hoehn, Missouri, and Butscher, New York. Berger of Wisconsin was absent.

Harriman was elected chairman and Chase vice-chairman of the conference. N. I. Stone was elected secretary of the S. L. P. Committee and Margaret Haile of the S. D. P. Committee, to act jointly as secretary of the conference.

A Press Committee was elected, consisting of Benham and Heath, to be subject to the orders of the conference.

It was voted to take up the following questions in their order: (1) Party name; (2) Constitution; (3) Press; (4) Candidates; (5) Platform.

It was voted that unless a party division is called for by one or more members, the committee vote as one body.

It was voted to discuss all of the points in the order already adopted, before a vote is taken—each proposition to come up as a separate vote, after all had been discussed.

A motion, by Hilquit, that all minority reports should be avoided where there is a division on party lines, and in all other cases only one recommendation under each head should be submitted, was lost. The S. D. P. Committee decided that while they hoped for unanimous reports, they recognized the right of every member of their committee to present a minority report if he saw fit.

Adjourned at 1 o'clock to meet at 2. The afternoon session opened on the question of party name. Discussion continued until 7 p. m., every member of the S. L. P. Committee arguing against the name S. D. P. and favoring the name United Socialist Party, with the exception of Max Hayes, who was not present during this discussion; while the Social Democrats urged the adoption of the name S. D. P. Neither side seemed able to convince the other, and the session adjourned, to take up the question in separate committee during the evening, with the hope of arriving at some basis of action to be submitted next morning.

The Monday morning session opened with a report by Chase on behalf of the Social Democrats, that the latter had decided to recommend that two names should be submitted to general vote—the name S. D. P. as the choice of the S. D. P. Committee, and one other name to be selected by the S. L. P. Committee. The latter thereupon recommended the submission of the name "United Socialist Party" as their choice.

The location of the seat of the National Executive Board was next taken up. Several nominations were made, in joint session, viz., New York, Chicago, New Haven, Cleveland, Springfield, Mass., and Boston. After party consultation, the S. D. P. delegates reported that they would recommend the submission of three names: Chicago, New York and Springfield. The S. L. P. delegates thereupon reported their willingness to submit only Springfield, provided the S. D. P. would agree to do the same. The latter, after again withdrawing for consultation, reported that five of their number were in favor of agreeing to this proposition, but that two would submit a minority report in favor of Chicago. The minority were Seymour Stedman and Margaret Haile. It was moved by Sieverman and seconded by Stone that no minority reports be permitted except by permission of a majority of either committee.

It was therefore resolved that Springfield, Mass., be recommended as the seat of the National Executive Board until the next national convention. On this point a minority report will be submitted recommending Chicago.

On the question of the composition and manner of electing the National Executive Board, a motion was made by the S. L. P. to have a provisional N. E. C. consisting of ten members, five from each party, two to be selected from New York, two from Massachusetts and one from Connecticut, respectively, by each party.

Stedman moved a substitute, providing for a National Council to be composed of one member elected by each state, which should meet in council at least once a year and consider the interests and the needs of the movement in every part of the country; and should nominate candidates for a National Executive Committee of nine members, who should be elected by referendum. Members of the National Council to be subject to recall by the membership of their respective states, and members of the N. E. C. to be subject to recall by the membership at large.

A roll call showed eight S. L. P.'s in favor of the former (the Eastern) plan, and two Social Democrats. Hoehn,

Butscher, Lonergan, Stedman and Haile favored the National Council plan. It was decided to bring in a minority report on this point also.

Adjourned to 7:30 p. m.

Tuesday morning's session opened with nomination of candidates for provisional National Executive Board. Five candidates are to be elected by each party, and it was decided that each committee should nominate ten names, in order to give the party membership a choice. The S. D. P. nominees were: From New York—Butscher, Phillips, Gordon and Guier.

From Massachusetts—Chase, McCarty, Jones of Springfield and Haile.

From Connecticut—W. P. Lonergan of Rockville and Geo. Sweetland of Bristol.

The S. L. P. nominees were: From New York—Sieverman of Rochester, Slobodin, Hilquit and Stone of New York.

From Massachusetts—Fenner of Worcester, Wrenn of Springfield, Oliver and Kaplan of Boston.

From Connecticut—White and Bartels of New Haven.

As to a permanent National Executive Board, it was moved by the S. L. P. that until the 1st of February, 1901, the affairs of the united parties should be conducted by the provisional committee, and that from and after that date the same committee should be continued as the permanent N. E. C.—any state so desiring, to have the right to send an additional member at its own expense.

At this point Seymour Stedman renewed his motion for a N. E. C. to be nominated by a National Council consisting of one member from each state, and elected by referendum. This time his motion carried, and that point was removed from the minority report.

The vote on this question, by roll call, showed S. D. P.—6 to 1 in favor, and S. L. P. 5 to 3.

As a method of providing for their successors, it was voted that during the month of January in each year the members in the respective states shall elect their respective members of the National Council.

On motion of Chase, the matter of Presidential Candidates was taken up, and promptly disposed of, Eugene V. Debs for President and Job Harriman for Vice-President being the unanimous choice.

The platform question was settled, without discussion, by the unanimous adoption of the S. L. P. declaration of principles, with the addition of the S. D. P. demands.

It was decided to recommend that the two parties unite upon Eugene Dietzgen, the nominee of the S. D. P., for delegate to the International Convention at Paris in 1900.

The constitution was next taken up, and the best points in each constitution adopted as far as practicable. But the time was so limited and the points of difference so numerous that the result could not be expected to be entirely satisfactory. Much more is this true of the important and difficult question of party press.

Benham offered a motion that "each member of the party shall designate which paper of a list to be furnished by the N. E. C. such member desires, and that each paper so ordered shall be paid for at the rate of 10 cents per quarter by the N. E. C.; this plan to take effect upon the consummation of union."

Harriman moved an amendment that on account of the different basis upon which the S. D. Herald was maintained, that paper be sent to the members of the party on the 12-cents-per-quarter arrangement for the first six months, and that the scheme proposed by Comrade Benham be thereafter applied. At this point the conference adjourned for supper, and when it reconvened the latter amendment was withdrawn. There were amendments and substitutes galore and a lot of unintelligible discussion. Carey had a plan for utilizing both the People and the S. D. Herald as official papers, one to be devoted more particularly to party news, discussions, etc., and the other to general propaganda work; but it met with no favor. The plan that was finally agreed to was a modification of a substitute offered by Hilquit, that the S. D. Herald may be sent to all the present members of the S. D. P. and to such new members of the united parties as may select it, for six months after the consummation of the union, the N. E. C. to pay for the same to the amount of \$60 per week. At the expiration of the six months all the papers are to be put on the same basis; each member to select which one he pleases, and to have it paid for by the N. E. C. out of his dues to that body, at the rate of 10 cents per quarter.

It was voted that the members of both parties in Chicago should elect a National Campaign Committee to serve during the coming national campaign.

The question of party name, the conference decided to submit in the following shape:

- (1) Are you in favor of the name Social Democratic Party?
 - (2) Are you in favor of the name United Socialist Party?
- (Vote for one only.)

The Socialist Club of Springfield, Mo., sixty strong, has decided to affiliate with the Social Democratic Party. We have the movement, comrades, and a name that in no way impedes it. On with the work of organization! Three cheers for Springfield and the Social Democratic Party.

(3) In case the party name voted for by you fails to obtain the concurrent majority of both parties, shall the name receive the majority of the total vote of both parties be adopted?

(Vote yes or no.)

On the question of referendum it was voted that a committee of two, consisting of one from each party, be elected to receive the votes of the various sections and branches from the secretaries of both parties, who shall first count and note the number of votes, and to publish a detailed account of the votes cast by each section and branch in the S. D. Herald and The People. The votes of those only who are in good standing on April 1st and present at the meeting to be counted. Butcher and Stone were elected such committee.

The two secretaries, N. I. Stone and Margaret Haile, together with Wm. Butcher, of Brooklyn, were instructed to put the proceedings of the conference into shape and prepare them for referendum vote, to be submitted not later than April 15th; all votes to be in the hands of the respective national secretaries by May 30th.

At 11:20 p. m., Tuesday, I left the hall, in order to catch the midnight train for Boston, leaving Comrades Hoehn, Butcher and Carey, together with the entire S. L. P. Committee, to arrange a few remaining details of the constitution.

Comrade Social Democrats: (My pen lingers over the name as I write it. It has grown to mean more to me, within the past six weeks, than it ever did before.)

In submitting the above report I want to say that in the seven years of my work in the Socialist movement I have served on innumerable committees, of more or less importance, and never in all my experience have I had to make a report of results which were so unsatisfactory to me. A work of such magnitude and complexity as the unification of two distinct and self-conscious organizations should never have been crowded into the short space of three days. It was utterly impossible to do justice to each important issue. Some trivial matters received more than their just share of time and attention, while other very important matters had to be rushed through without proper consideration. I refer more particularly now to the question of the party press. Though it was one of the most difficult and knottiest of all the problems before us, it was left to the last evening, coming up under the head of constitution. During the latter and most decisive part of the discussion only five Social Democrats were present, viz., Stedman, Hoehn, Carey, Butcher and myself. The others had gone home. The full committee of the S. L. P. was present to the last minute. The decision was arrived at at about 11 o'clock, and I had to take my train at 12 for Boston. Comrade Stedman had also to leave at 12 for Washington. We had been hard at work for three exciting days, under the most intense nervous strain, and were tired out, mentally and physically. Nevertheless, "the remnant that survived" put up the best fight it could, firmly believing that a national organ which goes into the hands of every member of the party is necessary for the solidarity of the party, and as well as to guarantee to the party a mouthpiece under all possible exigencies. We favored the plan proposed by Comrade Carey of retaining both The People and The Herald, the one to be devoted more particularly to party matters, and the other making a specialty of general propaganda, or of scientific Socialism put in popular form. But that plan was not considered for a moment by our S. L. P. conferees. When we finally submitted to the plan adopted, I, for one, did so with the strongest kind of a conviction that it would not be acceptable to our membership, and probably not to the majority of the S. L. P. either. I believe I know the intelligence and good sense of our Social Democrats sufficiently well to predict that the plan submitted will be voted down, and that another and more generally satisfactory, and more workable, plan will have to be devised. I am frank to confess that I think we made an awful botch of the Party Press question, and we deserve to be forced to get to work and formulate a better one.

Again, in regard to the location of the national headquarters at Springfield, Mass., I was not at all in accord with other members of our committee. In the first place, I do not believe in submitting only one name, and saying to our members, "You must choose Springfield, or nothing." I want that the members shall at least have a chance to say whether they wish to have the headquarters removed from Chicago. This line of action on other matters forced me to say, at the conference, that I believed our constituents had some

rights which even this joint committee was bound to respect, and one of the S. L. P. members took issue with me and scouted the idea, saying that our constituents had not entered into the consideration before, and it was rather late in the day to bring them up now; all of which may have been the case with them, but certainly was not with some of our committee. I had never heard any Social Democrat express any dissatisfaction with Chicago as the party's headquarters, nor with the way the affairs of the national party have been conducted. On the contrary, I had heard nothing but commendation and satisfaction with the wonderful progress of our party in its short existence of eighteen months, and the energy and ability of our national officers who have succeeded, with precious little help from the East, in getting organized in thirty-two different states already; and I could see no reason why any committee, joint or otherwise, should take it upon itself to say, without giving the members any choice in the matter, "The national headquarters of this movement must be removed from Chicago. They must be established in Springfield. You have no other choice."

And this is the reason, Comrades, why I, for one, desired to put in a minority report recommending Chicago, so that you might at least have a voice in the location of our national headquarters.

As to the reasons why the headquarters of a great national movement should be located somewhere near the center of the field which it is to cover, I shall have something to say another time. Harmony in the report of the conference committee is desirable—but we gave the two parties a choice in the matter of name. Why should you not also have a choice as to the location of the national headquarters?

Margaret Haile.

Boston, Mass.

NOTICE TO BRANCHES

The quarterly dues for the quarter ending June 30 are due at the headquarters, 126 Washington St., Chicago, Ill., on or before April 5. Prompt remittance is of the highest importance to insure the interests of the organization, and the branches are urged to provide for the collection, which should be begun at once.

NEW BRANCHES

Kansas City, Mo.

Chairman, E. L. Coleman; vice-secretary, G. W. Kuntz; treasurer, T. G. Tieman; organizer.

Milwaukee, Wis.

Chairman, Ples Baker; vice-chairman, Geo. A. Smith; secretary, R. D. Morrison; treasurer, A. A. Healy; organizer, J. W. Mooney.

Burns, Ore.

Chairman, Harry C. Smith; vice-chairman, John Dennis; secretary, W. O. White; treasurer, Geo. W. Waters; organizer, C. P. Rutherford.

Bay View, Wash.

Chairman, F. Weyrich; vice-chairman, A. S. Schmidt; secretary, J. R. Lester; treasurer, J. A. Kennedy; organizer, R. B. Dow.

Milwaukee, Wis.

Chairman, H. Rintellmann; secretary, A. A. Foreman; treasurer, W. Wetzel; organizer, A. Lang.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATS DANCE

"First annual reception, ball and card party, Branch 4 of the Thirteenth ward, Social Democratic Party of America, Central Park hall, Thursday, March 29, 1900. Music by Stewart's orchestra." These are the words that appeared on the program, and they convey the main points of the affair, except that Comrade James Wright of said Branch 4, was the originator and manager of the entertainment throughout, and to him all credit is due.

Notwithstanding the announcement that this was a Socialist's party, sixty-two business men placed their advertisements in the program, which latter also contained the party platform, dictionary definitions of Socialism, and mention of some Socialistic literature. One of the best dances in Chicago was engaged, and one gentleman present said he never saw a better gathering of people in the city. Many had procured tickets who could not attend, on account of the snowstorm that visited us that day and evening, while the financial side of the affair was not what it would have been had the great union strikes been settled.

However, when the grand march started up with seventy-five couples on the floor, among them republicans and democrats, the Socialists of the Thirteenth ward knew that they were present at a "function" long to be remembered. Nearly every gentleman bought his lady some roses at the door before tackling his neighbor on some point in economics, and all voted the party a great success.

Eighteen card tables were in use in an adjoining room for prizes in euche. Gorgeous gold-laced badges for committeemen were provided—Comrade Wright never does things half way. Long after midnight an intermission was allowed, during which the young folks had cream and refreshments at the restaurant below, and the older folks went home. The writer does not know just when the home waltz was danced, but by the time he reached home he was undecided whether to turn in or sit up for breakfast.

Great surprise was expressed by all at the large number of persons present, the good management, the number of inquiries about Socialism, and the demand for programs. In fact, those programs are now old, but still find a ready market among those who were prevented from attending this first annual party of Branch 4, Illinois.

TREMENDOUS DEMONSTRATION BY MINERS OF KANSAS

The meetings addressed by our candidate for president, Eugene V. Debs, in the mining districts of Kansas were unprecedented in numbers and enthusiasm. Everywhere there was a great outpouring of the people; at Pittsburg, Weir City and Scammon the occasion amounted to a tremendous popular demonstration. The capitalists were sweating and the old party politicians terror-stricken. The big papers instructed their correspondents to send in "no report of the Debs meetings," thus showing that so far as the capitalist press is concerned there is to be a conspiracy of silence. As a result, although the demonstrations are unprecedented and the greatest ever known in that section of the country, the purveyors of news are not chirping a syllable. There were parades, torchlight processions and brass bands at each point. Nowhere could half the people get into the biggest halls provided. They surged in the streets by hundreds trying to get near enough to catch even the applause.

At Weir City Comrade Clemens of Topeka, who has joined the party and is being roundly abused for it by the fusion press, joined Debs and delivered a stirring address.

At Pittsburg Comrade Debs was met by Comrade Wayland and the staff of the Appeal to Reason. The occasion had called together a number of active Social Democrats and a small convention was held with Wayland, Clemens, Lipscomb, Holcomb and others present. All agreed that Kansas would this fall give the old parties a red-hot chase for second if not first place.

Two meetings were held at Weir, afternoon and evening, and the workers were wild with enthusiasm. This is the district in which 2,000 miners are on strike and where Judge Williams imprisoned Reese for contempt. Williams was denounced and defied and the listening thousands cheered to the echo.

These demonstrations, it is universally admitted, will not only win the strike, but will bring the whole mass of the miners into the union and the Social Democratic party.

The old party managers are cracking their whips, but the miners of Kansas can't be stopped; they are rushing in our direction. The Cornflower state is being shaken from center to circumference. The glow of the social revolution is spreading everywhere.

TO KING MCKINLEY, THANKS

By Eugene V. Brewster

There seems to be several stages of economic progression in the minds of men. The child mind first sees real worthiness and hope in only one party—the republican party. It sees in that party the best, the worthiest and the most prosperous. Next, in the natural evolution of the mind it sees that the democratic party is more progressive and is not controlled so much by the money power. It sees a few bright and shining stars like Bryan, Altgeld, Williams and Lentz and it begins to see that there is not in it so much of the capitalistic and plundering class. Then next, it sees the beauties of the single-tax and Henry Georgeism and promptly concludes that it is a panacea. In the next stage of progression it sees the wondrous beauty of co-operation and collectivism and it flies to Socialism as a sure, safe and final harbor of economic rest. Then, however, it begins to read of Proudhon and Steven Pearl Andrews; it reads of Spencer's "Coming Slavery"; it begins to see that we never had any real competition and that there could be no monopoly if the ground were freed and if there were no special privileges; so then it concludes that the only proper remedy for all our ills is absolute individualism or philosophic anarchism. But this too soon proves insufficient and incompetent and the mind again returns to Socialism and there it remains. This

LOCAL BRANCHES

Notices of Branch Meetings Inserted for 25 Cents per Month

CALIFORNIA

Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evening, commencing at 8 o'clock. Admission free. Educational meetings (for members) every Tuesday evening. Sociology, Economics, Public Speaking, etc. Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening. Membership, with advantage of Educational Course and Social Democratic Herald free to each member, 25 cents per month. Apply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk street.

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2 o'clock at Woodmen's Hall, 1254 Spring St. J. Franco, 700 Dayton Ave., Secretary.

Branch No. 1, Denver, meets every Sunday at 2:30 p. m. at 1340 Lawrence St. Chairman, Dr. J. H. Marrow.

CONNECTICUT

The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at Turn Hall, Rockville. L. Schol, Secretary.

Branch No. 3, New Haven, meets every Tuesday evening, at 192 State St., at 8 p. m. Cornelius Maboney, Secretary, 155 Frank St.

Branch No. 4, Bridgeport, Conn., meets first and third Thursdays at Turn Hall meeting room, Village street. Secretary, Richard Niederwieser, Box 760.

ILLINOIS

Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly, second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 33 Dearborn St.

Branch No. 1, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening, Thomas Kirwin, Secretary, 2304 Wentworth Ave.

Branch No. 3 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays at 3 p. m. at Nag's Hall, 535 Blue Island Ave. Vacavac Jelinek, Secretary, 606 Blue Island Ave.

Branch No. 3 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Mondays at 8 o'clock at Dunder's place, 1037 W. 18th place. Joseph Dunder, Secretary.

Branch No. 4, Chicago, meets second and fourth Saturdays each month at 8 o'clock at Nag's Hall, 535 Blue Island Ave., near 18th St. Albin Giesler, Secretary, 725 W. 20th St.

Branch No. 5, Chicago, meets at 1145 W. 63rd st., first and third Sundays at 3 p. m. L. Westine, Secretary, 6248 Center Ave.

INDIANA

Branch No. 4, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon each month at Reichwein's Hall, corner Market and Noble Sts.

IOWA

Branch No. 2, Hiteams, meets every fourth Friday in the month at opera house. S. B. Jamieson, chairman. James Fisher, organizer; Joseph Scholl, secretary.

KENTUCKY

Branch No. 2, Covington, meets first and third Wednesday evenings and second and fourth Sunday afternoons at 8 o'clock at all agitation meetings except third meeting in month. Good speakers. Secretary, F. C. Stumpf, 261 5th street.

MARYLAND

Branch No. 1, Baltimore, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m. at Carpenter's Hall, 500 E. Baltimore St. Public invited. Secretary, J. H. Jones, 302 W. 3rd St.

Branch No. 2, Baltimore, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at Wagon's Hotel, 228 W. Camden St. Good speakers. Public invited. Levin T. Jones, Secretary, 302 W. 3rd St.

MASSACHUSETTS

The Massachusetts State Committee meets the first Saturday of each month at 724 Washington St., Boston. All dues and moneys intended for the State Committee should be sent to the financial secretary, A. McDonald, 104 W. Springfield St., Boston. All other correspondence should be addressed to the Corresponding Secretary, Margaret Haile, 5 Glenwood St., Roxbury.

Branch No. 2, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Mondays of each month at Springfield Turn Hall, 22 Elm Street, Holyoke, Mass.

Branch No. 3, Lynn, permanent headquarters, 71 Monroe St. Business meeting every Monday night at 7:30. Open house. Public invited. Harry Gotimer, Sec., 42 Essex St.

Branch No. 4, Brockton, meets the second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at 8 p. m. for business at Socialist Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Center Sts. Every second to attend one meeting a month. Frank S. Walsh, Secretary, 82 Crescent St.

Branch No. 15, East Boston, meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 58 Chelsea St. Miss Jenny Seay, Secretary, 50 Chelsea St.

Branch No. 11, Newburyport, meets the second Monday of each month at Lester's Hall, 1 State St. E. F. McLean, Secretary, 30 Winter St. G. H. Evans, Treasurer, Prince Place.

Branch No. 31, Chelsea, permanent headquarters, Room 2, Postoffice Building. Open every evening. Business meetings every Thursday at 8 p. m. Public invited.

Branch No. 1, Boston, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m. at Carpenter's Hall, 500 E. Baltimore St. Public invited. Secretary, J. H. Jones, 302 W. 3rd St.

Branch No. 2, Baltimore, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at Wagon's Hotel, 228 W. Camden St. Good speakers. Public invited. Levin T. Jones, Secretary, 302 W. 3rd St.

Branch No. 3, Brockton, meets the second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at 8 p. m. for business at Socialist Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Center Sts. Every second to attend one meeting a month. Frank S. Walsh, Secretary, 82 Crescent St.

Branch No. 15, East Boston, meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 58 Chelsea St. Miss Jenny Seay, Secretary, 50 Chelsea St.

Branch No. 11, Newburyport, meets the second Monday of each month at Lester's Hall, 1 State St. E. F. McLean, Secretary, 30 Winter St. G. H. Evans, Treasurer, Prince Place.

Branch No. 31, Chelsea, permanent headquarters, Room 2, Postoffice Building. Open every evening. Business meetings every Thursday at 8 p. m. Public invited.

Branch No. 1, Boston, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m. at Carpenter's Hall, 500 E. Baltimore St. Public invited. Secretary, J. H. Jones, 302 W. 3rd St.

Branch No. 2, Baltimore, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at Wagon's Hotel, 228 W. Camden St. Good speakers. Public invited. Levin T. Jones, Secretary, 302 W. 3rd St.

Branch No. 3, Brockton, meets the second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at 8 p. m. for business at Socialist Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Center Sts. Every second to attend one meeting a month. Frank S. Walsh, Secretary, 82 Crescent St.

Branch No. 15, East Boston, meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 58 Chelsea St. Miss Jenny Seay, Secretary, 50 Chelsea St.

Branch No. 11, Newburyport, meets the second Monday of each month at Lester's Hall, 1 State St. E. F. McLean, Secretary, 30 Winter St. G. H. Evans, Treasurer, Prince Place.

Branch No. 31, Chelsea, permanent headquarters, Room 2, Postoffice Building. Open every evening. Business meetings every Thursday at 8 p. m. Public invited.

Branch No. 1, Boston, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m. at Carpenter's Hall, 500 E. Baltimore St. Public invited. Secretary, J. H. Jones, 302 W. 3rd St.

Branch No. 2, Baltimore, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at Wagon's Hotel, 228 W. Camden St. Good speakers. Public invited. Levin T. Jones, Secretary, 302 W. 3rd St.

Branch No. 3, Brockton, meets the second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at 8 p. m. for business at Socialist Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Center Sts. Every second to attend one meeting a month. Frank S. Walsh, Secretary, 82 Crescent St.

Branch No. 15, East Boston, meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 58 Chelsea St. Miss Jenny Seay, Secretary, 50 Chelsea St.

Branch No. 11, Newburyport, meets the second Monday of each month at Lester's Hall, 1 State St. E. F. McLean, Secretary, 30 Winter St. G. H. Evans, Treasurer, Prince Place.

Branch No. 31, Chelsea, permanent headquarters, Room 2, Postoffice Building. Open every evening. Business meetings every Thursday at 8 p. m. Public invited.

Branch No. 1, Boston, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m. at Carpenter's Hall, 500 E. Baltimore St. Public invited. Secretary, J. H. Jones, 302 W. 3rd St.

Branch No. 2, Baltimore, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at Wagon's Hotel, 228 W. Camden St. Good speakers. Public invited. Levin T. Jones, Secretary, 302 W. 3rd St.

Branch No. 3, Brockton, meets the second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at 8 p. m. for business at Socialist Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Center Sts. Every second to attend one meeting a month. Frank S. Walsh, Secretary, 82 Crescent St.

Branch No. 15, East Boston, meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 58 Chelsea St. Miss Jenny Seay, Secretary, 50 Chelsea St.

Branch No. 11, Newburyport, meets the second Monday of each month at Lester's Hall, 1 State St. E. F. McLean, Secretary, 30 Winter St. G. H. Evans, Treasurer, Prince Place.

Branch No. 31, Chelsea, permanent headquarters, Room 2, Postoffice Building. Open every evening. Business meetings every Thursday at 8 p. m. Public invited.

Branch No. 1, Boston, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m. at Carpenter's Hall, 500 E. Baltimore St. Public invited. Secretary, J. H. Jones, 302 W. 3rd St.

Branch No. 2, Baltimore, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at Wagon's Hotel, 228 W. Camden St. Good speakers. Public invited. Levin T. Jones, Secretary, 302 W. 3rd St.

Branch No. 3, Brockton, meets the second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at 8 p. m. for business at Socialist Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Center Sts. Every second to attend one meeting a month. Frank S. Walsh, Secretary, 82 Crescent St.

Branch No. 15, East Boston, meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 58 Chelsea St. Miss Jenny Seay, Secretary, 50 Chelsea St.

Branch No. 11, Newburyport, meets the second Monday of each month at Lester's Hall, 1 State St. E. F. McLean, Secretary, 30 Winter St. G. H. Evans, Treasurer, Prince Place.

Branch No. 31, Chelsea, permanent headquarters, Room 2, Postoffice Building. Open every evening. Business meetings every Thursday at 8 p. m. Public invited.

Branch No. 1, Boston, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m. at Carpenter's Hall, 500 E. Baltimore St. Public invited. Secretary, J. H. Jones, 302 W. 3rd St.

Branch No. 2, Baltimore, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at Wagon's Hotel, 228 W. Camden St. Good speakers. Public invited. Levin T. Jones, Secretary, 302 W. 3rd St.

Branch No. 3, Brockton, meets the second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at 8 p. m. for business at Socialist Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Center Sts. Every second to attend one meeting a month. Frank S. Walsh, Secretary, 82 Crescent St.

Branch No. 15, East Boston, meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 58 Chelsea St. Miss Jenny Seay, Secretary, 50 Chelsea St.

Branch No. 11, Newburyport, meets the second Monday of each month at Lester's Hall, 1 State St. E. F. McLean, Secretary, 30 Winter St. G. H. Evans, Treasurer, Prince Place.

Branch No. 31, Chelsea, permanent headquarters, Room 2, Postoffice Building. Open every evening. Business meetings every Thursday at 8 p. m. Public invited.

Branch No. 1, Boston, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m. at Carpenter's Hall, 500 E. Baltimore St. Public invited. Secretary, J. H. Jones, 302 W. 3rd St.

Branch No. 2, Baltimore, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at Wagon's Hotel, 228 W. Camden St. Good speakers. Public invited. Levin T. Jones, Secretary, 302 W. 3rd St.

Branch No. 3, Brockton, meets the second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at 8 p. m. for business at Socialist Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Center Sts. Every second to attend one meeting a month. Frank S. Walsh, Secretary, 82 Crescent St.

Branch No. 15, East Boston, meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 58 Chelsea St. Miss Jenny Seay, Secretary, 50 Chelsea St.

Branch No. 11, Newburyport, meets the second Monday of each month at Lester's Hall, 1 State St. E. F. McLean, Secretary, 30 Winter St. G. H. Evans, Treasurer, Prince Place.

Branch No. 31, Chelsea, permanent headquarters, Room 2, Postoffice Building. Open every evening. Business meetings every Thursday at 8 p. m. Public invited.

Branch No. 1, Boston, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m. at Carpenter's Hall, 500 E. Baltimore St. Public invited. Secretary, J. H. Jones, 302 W. 3rd St.

Branch No. 2, Baltimore, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at Wagon's Hotel, 228 W. Camden St. Good speakers. Public invited. Levin T. Jones, Secretary, 302 W. 3rd St.

Branch No. 3, Brockton, meets the second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at 8 p. m. for business at Socialist Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Center Sts. Every second to attend one meeting a month. Frank S. Walsh, Secretary, 82 Crescent St.

Branch No. 15, East Boston, meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 58 Chelsea St. Miss Jenny Seay, Secretary, 50 Chelsea St.

Branch No. 11, Newburyport, meets the second Monday of each month at Lester's Hall, 1 State St. E. F. McLean, Secretary, 30 Winter St. G. H. Evans, Treasurer, Prince Place.

Branch No. 31, Chelsea, permanent headquarters, Room 2, Postoffice Building. Open every evening. Business meetings every Thursday at 8 p. m. Public invited.

Branch No. 1, Boston, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m. at Carpenter's Hall, 500 E. Baltimore St. Public invited. Secretary, J. H. Jones, 302 W. 3rd St.

Branch No. 2, Baltimore, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at Wagon's Hotel, 228 W. Camden St. Good speakers. Public invited. Levin T. Jones, Secretary, 302 W. 3rd St.

Branch No. 3, Brockton, meets the second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at 8 p. m. for business at Socialist Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Center Sts. Every second to attend one meeting a month. Frank S. Walsh, Secretary, 82 Crescent St.

Branch No. 15, East Boston, meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 58 Chelsea St. Miss Jenny Seay, Secretary, 50 Chelsea St.

Branch No. 11, Newburyport, meets the second Monday of each month at Lester's Hall, 1 State St. E. F. McLean, Secretary, 30 Winter St. G. H. Evans, Treasurer, Prince Place.

Branch No. 31, Chelsea, permanent headquarters, Room 2, Postoffice Building. Open every evening. Business meetings every Thursday at 8 p. m. Public invited.

Branch No. 1, Boston, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m. at Carpenter's Hall, 500 E. Baltimore St. Public invited. Secretary, J. H. Jones, 302 W. 3rd St.

Branch No. 2, Baltimore, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at Wagon's Hotel, 228 W. Camden St. Good speakers. Public invited. Levin T. Jones, Secretary, 302 W. 3rd St.

Branch No. 3, Brockton, meets the second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at 8 p. m. for business at Socialist Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Center Sts. Every second to attend one meeting a month. Frank S. Walsh, Secretary, 82 Crescent St.

Branch No. 15, East Boston, meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 58 Chelsea St. Miss Jenny Seay, Secretary, 50 Chelsea St.

Branch No. 11, Newburyport, meets the second Monday of each month at Lester's Hall, 1 State St. E. F. McLean, Secretary, 30 Winter St. G. H. Evans, Treasurer, Prince Place.

Branch No. 31, Chelsea, permanent headquarters, Room 2, Postoffice Building. Open every evening. Business meetings every Thursday at 8 p. m. Public invited.

Branch No. 1, Boston, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m. at Carpenter

OUR LETTER BOX

About the Party Name

Editor of The Herald: As the members of the S. D. P. and S. L. P. will have to pass a final and decisive vote upon all proceedings of the unity committee, it will be well for all our party papers to open their columns freely and widely for a thorough discussion of the principal points involved.

I would like the comrades of both parties to carefully consider two points, which in my mind are the most important ones—namely, the name and the press.

As to the name, the unity committee offers you a selection between the Social Democratic party and United Socialist party. Which shall it be?

Dropping aside all the petty jealousies and prejudices and having in view the good and welfare of the Socialist movement, let us consider coolly and calmly which of those two names shall have the preference. "United Socialist party" indicates the unification of forces, and for this very reason I am opposed to this name. A name that bears in itself a historical fact is entirely unsuitable for a name of a party that expects to live long.

Suppose in a year or two there should be a split in the United Socialist party. Who can assure me that this is impossible? Where, then, will this name come in? Or will you allow it to stand unchanged as a laughing stock for our enemies? And besides, United Socialist party indicates not only the union of forces, but also reminds one of the previous disunion, disharmony among Socialists. To approach strangers with the view to convert them to our cause, with a name that indicates our previous hatred, disunion, disharmony would be, if not suicidal, at least a very bad policy.

Now, let us see what are the objections to the name "Social Democratic party." As far as seen from Benham's report, they are as follows:

(1) The name is meaningless from the Socialist standpoint.

(2) The name is misleading and loses its significance when translated into English.

(3) The Socialist conventions in the United States in 1877 and 1884, although composed almost entirely of Germans, had discarded the name.

(4) The prospect of its being contested by the democratic party in any or all states.

(5) Does not indicate the unification of forces.

(6) A new name would gather new material and dissolve all prejudice that might exist.

Let us take up the objections one by one.

(1) To say the name "Social Democratic" is meaningless from the Socialist standpoint is the least that could be expected from a Socialist editor, as Comrade Benham is. Why, this name is used nearly all over Europe by millions of Socialist voters. This name has a history of nearly thirty years' of unceasing struggle for our ideals by our brave German comrades, many of whom have lost their lives in this struggle. Hundreds of years of prison life of our best comrades have made the name "Social Democrat" sufficiently meaningful to be dreaded and feared by the capitalist and ruling class, and to be respected by the exploited working man's class. This is the very reason why this name became an international name. It is a name any Socialist may be proud of.

(2) When I want to translate something into English, I consult in doubtful cases an authority. Webster, in his dictionary, tells me that "social" means pertaining to society; relating to men living in society; or to the public as an aggregate body, as social interests, social pleasures, social benefits, social happiness, social duties. Can Benham's second objection stand in view of this definition?

(3) Because the German Socialists in 1877 and 1884, in their despair of not seeing any progress of the movement among the English-speaking element, thought it best to drop the name "Social Democratic" and adopt instead "Socialist Labor," is absolutely no reason why we should do the same. And more, that history has proven the fallacy of it. The dropping of the name did not help much the growth of the party, while the enormous success of the young Social Democratic party has proven beyond doubt that its name does not stand in its way. By the way, I will correct Mr. Benham, that in 1877 the convention dropped the name of the "Workingmen's party," not of the "Social Democratic," and under this last name the Socialists in Chicago proceeded to elect in 1879 four candidates to the city council and three men to the Illinois legislature.

(4) This objection can be applied to the name "United Socialist party," where, instead of the democrats, the contesting party would be the De Leonites.

(5) This objection was discussed by me already in my argument against the name "United Socialist party."

(6) The name "Social Democratic

party," thanks to its wonderful achievements, has been freely advertised all over the country, and is, therefore, more than any other name capable of gathering new material.

Then again, a new name would dissolve all prejudices that might exist (Stone.) It looks to me as if this is the only real—not imaginary—objection which is behind the rest of the objections. But in the name of common sense, if there are still some prejudices against the Social Democratic party, then a union of forces must be out of place. But I hope there are none, and if a union of forces shall be, it shall be under the time-honored, international name, the "Social Democratic party."

As to the press, I will consider it at another time. M. J. Konikow, M. D. Boston.

"Horseshoe Joe" Bobs Up

The Boers never could have made a stand against Great Britain if their generals had been at outs with and distrusted each other. At the time of our own revolution the same was true. Yet some narrow-minded politicians in the Socialist parties would have us (force us?) to follow the leadership of men who can not, and ought not, to be trusted. Would-be statesmen whose promises are carried out in the same way that United States senators usually carry out those they make before election.

To give our members no choice as to the location of headquarters, but simply say they must be moved from the present central location to a small borough on the coast, and further try to clinch the matter by a motion that no member or members of the committee shall be allowed to make a minority report, is cowardly as well as tricky.

After making such a good propaganda under the international name of Social Democratic party it would be very unfortunate for Socialism in this country to make another change of name. With the name "United" Socialist party we would waste our lives away explaining to every new recruit that we were once "disunited," which would suggest itself to all who heard the name.

The name Social Democratic party will stand. Horseshoe Joe.

HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS WILL VOTE FOR DEBS

The New York correspondent of the Columbus (Ohio) Citizen writes interestingly on the political outlook as follows:

"Supremely confident that nothing can defeat him, and with six kinds of serpents coddled in his bosom, the Nebraska goeth up against trouble.

"The terror-stricken millionaires decided, as I said, in 1896 that they would never again be caught napping. Every dollar now spent effectively in regaining their old place is worth one hundred spent to fight a radical.

"But if by any chance their plans do fail, will Mr. Bryan be as strong as four years ago? Emphatically no. If McKinley had the practically unanimous support of the millionaires Bryan had as unanimous a support from the so-called revolutionary elements. But this year it is different.

"The populists declare they will not support him. But we won't say anything about them, for they are only a name. Either they have gone back to their old parties or become Socialists, anyway.

"Bryan's real opposition will come from Eugene V. Debs, who enthusiastically supported him in 1896. Mr. Debs is the most loved labor leader in this country. His personal following is in the hundreds of thousands. He has never been a candidate for office since years ago he served as a democratic member of the Indiana legislature. It was Debs who nominated the late Senator Voorhees, 'The Sycamore of the Wabash,' for the United States senate.

"That there is a growing Socialistic sentiment in this country every student of the situation knows. The movement has captured two Massachusetts cities and found a sort of expression in Jones' candidacy for governor of your state. But until this time Socialism in the United States has been controlled by the foreign element. Debs was nominated by a convention of American Socialists. His vast personal following has almost unanimously supported Bryan as the best man. That they will vote for Debs by the thousand and possibly the hundreds of thousands is certain.

"It means McKinley's re-election. But as Mr. Brewster, who led the 'dollar dinner' forces and who has deserted Bryan for Debs, says, the people no longer are content to choose the 'lesser of two evils' or to take 'a step in advance.' They are now advocating revolution. Bryan wants to 'smash the trusts.' Debs says the trusts are a natural growth and that the remedy lies in state ownership.

"It would seem that in some quarters some of Mr. Bryan's friends are beginning to smell the treason that is in their camp. Governor Stone of Missouri only Saturday sounded the note of warning. But it is too late I fear, Mr. Bryan. Disgusted by your lack of what Dr. Parkhurst calls 'crisis virtue' in your dealing with Croker and his thieves, your friends have begun to leave you. Had you remained defiant

and met defeat they would have fought to the last like the 'Old Guard.' But defeated, as you are almost certain to be, either in the convention or in the campaign that follows, they will remember you as the man whose ambition blocked his progress and caused his fall. "Bryan is not our Rienz. Who is that man? There are thousands who think his name is Eugene V. Debs."

SOCIAL DEMOCRATS AND BRYAN

St. Louis Globe-Democrat: Some of the democratic papers are beginning to intimate that the Socialist ticket is going to take a good many votes away from Bryan this year. The Socialists have just nominated Debs for president in a convention held in Indianapolis. Debs belongs to a so-called doubtful state, as he is attributed to Indiana.

The Bryanite papers' fears of Debs are not quite so ill founded as they may appear superficially to be. Almost every cranky and folly for which Debs stands is advocated by Bryan or by some of the leaders of his sect. Nearly every one of the imbecilities which Debs will urge during the canvass will probably have a place in the platform of the Bryanite party. Thus all the votes which Debs will poll will be taken from the elements which otherwise would rally around the democratic candidate. This is probably what the Bryanite papers had in mind when they intimated that the Socialist ticket would injure their own chances in some degree. In this way the ticket recently put up at Indianapolis will hit the ticket to be nominated a few weeks hence at Kansas City.

THE SOCIALIST PRESS

The following is an incomplete list of the weekly newspapers in the United States giving an entire or partial support to the Social Democratic party:

Social Democratic Herald. A. S. Edwards, editor, room 56, 126 Washington street, Chicago. Price 50 cents a year.

Appeal to Reason. J. A. Wayland, editor, Girard, Kan. Price 50 cents per year.

Haverhill Social Democrat. Wm. Mailly, editor, Haverhill, Mass. Price 50 cents per year.

Social Democrat. 614 State street, Milwaukee. Price 50 cents per year.

Journal. Warren, Mass.

Public Ownership. Erie, Pa.

The Toiler. Ed. Evinger, editor, Terre Haute, Ind.

Coming Nation. Duke, Georgia. Price 50 cents per year.

Vorwarts, 8 pages (German). Victor L. Berger, editor, 614 State street, Milwaukee. Price \$2 per year.

Die Wahrheit, 8 pages (German). Victor L. Berger, editor, 614 State street, Milwaukee. Price \$2 per year.

Volks-Anwalt (German). Gustav A. Hoehn, 22 North Fourth street, Room 7, St. Louis. Price \$1.50 per year.

New Light. E. E. Vail, editor, Port Angeles, Wash. Price 50 cents per year.

The Farmers' Review. W. E. Farmer, editor, Bonham, Texas. Per year, 50 cents.

Sheboygan Volksblatt (German). Oscar Loebel, editor, Sheboygan, Wis. Per year, \$1.50.

People's Press. A. D. Hale, editor, Albany, Ore. Price \$1.25 per year.

Spravedlinest (Bohemian). Chicago.

The People, 184 Williams St., New York. Weekly, 50 cents. A. N. Lee, editor.

Cleveland Citizen, 183 Champlain St., Cleveland, Ohio. Weekly, \$1.00. Max S. Hayes, editor.

Class Struggle, 117 Turk St., San Francisco, Cal. Weekly, 50 cents. G. B. Benham, editor.

Workers' Call, 38 N. Clark St., Chicago, Ill. Weekly, 50 cents. J. Wapope, editor.

Proletarian, Springfield, Mass. Weekly, 50 cents.

Volks-Zeitung (German), New York.

The Sixth Annual Issue of

The Labour Annual

is now ready, edited and published by Joseph Edwards, Wallasey, Cheshire, England

The "American Section" (edited by Leonard D. Abbott) contains the following: "A Year's Work as Socialist Mayor," by John C. Chase; "A Year as Socialist Legislator," by James F. Carey; "Socialism in America During 1899," etc. There are full lists of American reform organizations and books. In all, there are over 60 original articles, and 46 portraits, including Carey, Gronlund, Herron, Mayor Jones and John Swin.

Cloth 60 cts.; Paper 35 cts.

Send orders to LEONARD D. ABBOTT

336 W. 71st Street, New York

Now Ready!—128 Pages!

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

RED BOOK

EDITED BY FREDERIC HEATH

Printed on Plate Paper Handsomely Illustrated

This is an annual publication for Social Democrats who will find it indispensable for reference purposes. This first issue is of especial value because of the historical character of its contents. Among the features are:

A HISTORY OF SOCIALISM IN AMERICA

Covering 78 pages, with portraits of Robert Owen, Etienne Cabet, Wilhelm Weitling, etc., etc.

ALBERT BRINERANE

The first American agitator, with portrait.

A TRIP TO GIRARD

By Wayfarer, with view of Appeal to Reason

KARL MARX ON THE SINGLE TAX

MACHINE vs. HAND LABOR

Compiled from government reports by Isador Ladoff.

SHORTER FIVES

Labor Conflicts in 1899. Gronlund, Grant Allen. Chronology for 1899. Directory of Social Democrats. Socialist Controversies of 1899. The "Golden Rule" Mayor. Prof. Herron's Case. Social Democratic Platforms, Etc.

BIOGRAPHIES OF WELL KNOWN SOCIAL DEMOCRATS. Twenty in all.

ELECTION STATISTICS

Covering the Socialist movement down to the present year. A valuable reference.

A SOCIALIST PORTFOLIO GALLERY

Comprising seventeen likenesses of leading workers in the movement, distributed through the book.

Send postpaid on receipt of price, 15 CENTS.

DEBS PUBLISHING CO.

TERRE HAUTE, IND.

THE PLATFORM

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness depend upon equal political and economic rights.

In our economic development an industrial revolution has taken place, the individual tool of former years having become the social tool of the present. The individual tool was owned by the worker who employed himself and was master of his product. The social tool, the machine, is owned by the capitalist and the worker is dependent upon him for employment. The capitalist thus becomes the master of the worker and is able to appropriate to himself a large share of the product of his labor.

Capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people; but the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system will necessitate the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare.

The present system of social production and private ownership is rapidly converting society into two antagonistic classes—i. e., the capitalist class and the propertyless class. The middle class, once the most powerful of this great nation, is disappearing the mill of competition. The issue is now between the two classes first named. Our political liberty is now of little value to the masses unless used to acquire economic liberty.

Independent political action and the trade union movement are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its political, the other its economic wing, and both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system.

Therefore the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be:

First—The organization of the working class into a political party to conquer the public powers now controlled by capitalists.

Second—The abolition of wage-slavery by the establishment of a national system of co-operative industry, based upon the social or common ownership of the means of production and distribution, to be administered by society in the common interest of all its members, and the complete emancipation of the socially useful classes from the domination of capitalism.

The working class and all those in sympathy with their historic mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America. The control of political power by the Social Democratic party will be tantamount to the abolition of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting the millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international Socialism, the brotherhood of man.

As steps in that direction, we make the following demands:

First—Revision of our federal constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to complete control of government by the people irrespective of sex.

Second—The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

Third—The public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones; all means of transportation, and communication; all water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

Fourth—The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal, and other mines, and all oil and gas wells.

Fifth—The reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

Sixth—The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

Seventh—Useful inventions to be free, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

Eighth—Labor legislation to be national, instead of local, and international when possible.

Ninth—National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.

Tenth—Equal civil and political rights, for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

Eleventh—The adoption of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

Twelfth—Abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

Adjourned.

Attitude Toward Trades Unions

In accordance with our declaration of principles we declare that the trades union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the wage-working class. We recommend to the members of the Social Democratic party the following general rules:

First—Join the union of your respective trade.

Second—Assist in building up and strengthening the trade union movement.

Third—Support the union labels of all crafts.

Fourth—Educate your fellow-unionists on the question of Socialism and the labor movement, on economic and political lines.

Fifth—It shall be your duty to work for the unity of the labor movement, thereby recognizing the fact that the emancipation of the working class can only be achieved by the united efforts of this class.

Sixth—Educate the members of the unions in the principles of Socialism and induce them, individually, to affiliate with the Social Democratic party.

Seventh—Trades unions are by historical necessity organized on neutral grounds, as far as political affiliation is concerned. The trades union is the arena where all wage-workers may be brought together for joint action to resist the encroachments of capitalism on the economic field and to participate in the class struggle of the proletariat which will finally develop into the political alignment of the forces of labor in the struggle for proletarian emancipation.

The Social Democratic

Red Book

ORDER IT

Edited by FREDERIC HEATH

PRICE 15 CENTS

Sent postpaid on receipt of price

DEBS PUBLISHING CO.

TERRE HAUTE, IND.

NATIONAL FUND

The following is a list of comrades who have agreed, in response to the appeal of the National Executive Board, to contribute monthly for one year to the national fund. Other names will be added as they are received.

CONNECTICUT		NEW YORK	
Finckel, N. E.	Hartford	Fale, L. C.	Brooklyn
Holman, B. H.	Hartford	Butcher, W. M.	New York
ILLINOIS		Thomas, R. H.	New York
Stedman, S. C.	Chicago	Kahn, H. H.	New York
James, C. C.	Chicago	Hain, F. W.	New York
P. P. Ayer	Chicago	Loopylov, Jan.	New York
"A Friend"	Chicago	Panken, J. C.	New York
Dr. J. H. Greer	Chicago	Weyell, C. H.	New York
Mrs. C. Brown	Chicago	Mark, H. H.	New York
"Friend"	Chicago	Aaron N. Bodof	New York
James Wright	Chicago	Phillip Gruber	New York
INDIANA		Sanger, W. M.	New York
E. V. Debs	Terre Haute	Meade, T. C.	Brooklyn
MASSACHUSETTS		NEW JERSEY	
Flanders, F. B.	Haverhill	Pankopf, Carl	Jersey City
Cohen, A. C.	Boston	Karl Lindner	Paterson
Parker, Levi	New Boston	"Comrade"	Newark
Monette, G. F.	Brooklyn	OHIO	
Bosworth, W. P.	Brooklyn	Beaver, Joe	Cleveland
Tate, Peter	Everett	Zorn, Julius	Cleveland
Hitchcock, D. G.	Warren	Brann, F. W.	Cleveland
Goldman, S. C.	Haverhill	Altanberns	Cleveland
Hough, E. C.	New Boston	PENNSYLVANIA	
Chase, J. C.	Haverhill	Lewis, J. H.	Pittsburgh
Brown, J. W.	Templeton	F. W. Hirt	Allegheny
Grieve, G. S.	Amesbury	TENNESSEE	
Allen, Helen N.	Lynn	Enloe, Dr. R. H.	Nashville
Keown, Dr. J. A.	Lynn	Hamilton, W. A.	Nashville
Carry, Jas. F.	Haverhill	Manoney, Wm.	Nashville
MICHIGAN		TEXAS	
Kellier, B. Grand Rapids		Price, R. S.	Houston
MINNESOTA		WISCONSIN	
Geerwein, F. Red Lake Falls		Berger, T. L.	Milwaukee
MISSOURI		Rooney, E. H.	Milwaukee
Fischer, Wm.	St. Louis	Ziegler, E. C.	Milwaukee
Fellner, Henry	St. Louis	Doerfler, John	Milwaukee
Nesche, Wm.	St. Louis	Bauman, G.	Milwaukee
MARYLAND		Arnold, L. C.	Milwaukee
Jacobson, E.	Baltimore	Meister, E.	Milwaukee
NEW HAMPSHIRE		Hessman, C.	Milwaukee
Gordon, F. R.	Manchester	Trille, H.	Milwaukee
Bowie, Geo.	Manchester	Heath, F.	Milwaukee
Mallen, C. H.	Somersworth	Branch 4	Milwaukee
"Somersworth Branch"			

Pocket Library of Socialism

1. Woman and the Social Problem. By MAY WOOD SIMMONS. Shows the emancipation of woman will only come with the emancipation of man through socialism.
2. The Evolution of the Class Struggle. By WILLIAM H. NORTH. A historical study showing how socialism is coming.
3. Imprudent Marriages. By ROBERT BLATNER. A masterly answer to the argument that "pro-reform" would help the laborer.
4. Packingtown. By A. M. SIMMONS. A study of the Union Stock Yards, Chicago; how nature and man are alike scientifically exploited.
5. Realism in Literature. By CLARENCE H. DAWSON. Shows how the workers of modern art and literature are helping on the new social order.
6. Single Tax vs. Socialism. By A. M. SIMMONS. Shows the inadequacy of socialism as a remedy for the evils pointed out by Henry George.
7. Wage-Labor and Capital. By KARL MARX. The essence of the great philosopher's theory, in his own words.
8. The Man Under the Machine. By A. M. SIMMONS. Tells how wage slavery began, what it is today and how the workers are going to free themselves. A condensed handbook of socialism.
9. The Mission of the Working Class. By ERY CHARLES H. VAIL, author of "Modern Socialism," etc.
10. Socialism and Socialism. By CHARLES H. KERR. Shows how popular ideas of morals are manipulated in the interest of the capitalist class.

Daintily printed, five cents each, post-paid.

SPECIAL OFFER—For one dollar we will mail forty copies of the Pocket Library, all of one kind, as preferred.

SEND ORDERS TO

THEODORE DEBS

126 Washington St., CHICAGO

The Book You Need

PRINCIPLES OF

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

VOL. II. No. 43

CHICAGO, ILL., U. S. A., SATURDAY, APRIL 14, 1900.

Whole No. 93.

ELECTION NEWS

**Prejudice Dissolving at the Polls
Wherever Social Democracy
is Understood**

Alderman Elected at Liberal, Mo.

**Saginaw Social Democrats Cast an
Average of Eight Hundred Votes
for Three Candidates**

**Councilman Elected at Plattsmouth,
Nebraska**

**Social Democrats Gain Five Hun-
dred Per Cent in the Vote
at Pacific, Wis.**

Hurrah for a Movement that Moves

Liberal, Missouri

Branch No. 15, Social Democratic party, Liberal, Mo., put out a full city ticket to be voted at election April 3. Our convention was called and the opposition had their cappers on hand to run our convention, but when the chairman called for "roll call" and announced that all those whose names were read would have a vote and that vote would be by public ballot, the cappers were completely knocked out. When they failed in this a "mass convention" was called and one of their cappers who was handy with chalk wrote on the sidewalks, "Fusion convention tonight."

We have always had a most rock-ribbed democracy in this state, and an equally pronounced republican party. This town was founded by infidels, with the result that a rival town just across the railroad was laid out by Christians, and these two elements have been at daggers' points for fifteen years. But when a foe so dangerous as a "Socialist organization" came upon the ground, infidel and Christian, prohibitionist and whiskey men, democrats and republicans joined hearts and hands to fight us. One big hardware dealer went so far as to pull our ticket down from the polling place and stamp and spit on it. Another, a banker, tore our tickets down. The banker is an uncompromising (?) democrat; the other a republican. The branch may have these two parties arrested for a violation of the state law. However, there is a spirit among our boys that says: "Forgive them; they know not what they do."

Clark Brayden, a Christian preacher, debated here twenty days with one of the opposite faith and failed to convince them, but one of our comrades spoke thirty minutes on the street corner and every faith and creed went straightway to mass convention. We now feel that we can soon make all supporters of capitalism join heart and hand in this country.

We elected one alderman, Comrade George Mellor. The following is the vote:

Mayor—Jones (Fus.), 69; Lipscomb (S. D.), 39.
Marshal—Cramer (Fus.), 76; Blake (S. D.), 27.
Collector—Linglefelt (Fus.), 56; Wheeler (S. D.), 50.

Aldermen—First ward, P. Thompson (S. D.), 19; J. Betz (expelled S. D.), 33. Second ward, George Mellor (S. D.), 28; Lapp (Fus.), 19.

It will be seen that the fusion party put in nomination John Betz, a member of our branch. The branch gave him the option of refusing the fusion nomination or retiring from the branch and he retired. He was a new member and does not fully comprehend the class struggle or the tactics necessary to defeat the capitalist class. When he does, we feel that he will be with us.

Dr. D. F. Eskew has been nominated for congress in the Fourteenth congressional district and a full county ticket will be in the field. Poplar Bluff seeks the state convention. L.

Saginaw, Michigan

Social Democrats at Saginaw, Mich., have good reason to be satisfied with the result of their first local campaign. An average vote of over 800 cast for the three principal candidates on the ticket is a beginning that they may well be proud of. It is another demonstration, the force and significance of which considered as a whole, cannot be ignored, that the name of the party, with its principles and tactics, are becoming more acceptable every day to the American people. One of the really laughable incidents connected with the Saginaw campaign was the contention of the leading democratic paper there that the democratic party will give Socialists what they want; yet in the same paper the things that Socialists want are ridiculed. The democratic

party is a hypocritical aggregation of place-hunters that no honest man can trust. Following is the vote:

Mayor—Cooney (S. D.), 621.
Treasurer—Jones (S. D.), 636.
Police Justice—Clark (S. D.), 802.

Pacific, Wisconsin

The steadfast little band of Social Democrats at Pacific, Wis., which has stood firm for the principles of the party for nearly two years, was rewarded at the town election April 3 with a gain in the vote over last year of 500 per cent. The comrades emphatically declined an endorsement of their candidates, proffered by the republicans (mark it!), and went into the election alone, with the result stated. Two years ago Comrade H. J. Dunham, who is a farmer, was the only Socialist in the town of Pacific, and was then known as a "crank" and a "fool"; today he is recognized as the father of the Social Democratic party in his county and has congenial company around him.

Pana, Illinois

The comrades at Pana, Ill., with the co-operation of the members of the Social Labor party section, have reaffirmed the national platform, adopted a ringing municipal platform in favor of municipal electric plant, abolition of the contract system, eight hours' day, improved streets, the union label and union coal, and a free public library, and nominated Comrade John A. Bruell for alderman in the Fourth ward. The Herald hopes that Comrade Bruell will receive the support of every wage-worker in his ward at the election on the 17th inst. He deserves it, and if elected, as we expect he will be, they will have a faithful and fearless champion of their class in the council.

Battle Creek, Michigan

The Social Democratic party, as a result of the election reported last week, secures second place on the official ballot at the next election. This is in line with the record. Social Democrats, stand pat!

Plattsmouth, Nebraska

At Plattsmouth, Neb., there was a Social Democratic city ticket and the comrades succeeded in electing Frank Newman as councilman from the Fourth ward. This is the first success of the party in Bryan's home state and augurs well for the movement in the west. The Social Democratic party is a movement, not a sect. Comrades, keep your heads level and speed the work of organization everywhere.

Burlington, Iowa

The head of the Social Democratic party ticket at Burlington, Iowa, polled more than 3 per cent of the vote, giving the party official standing in municipal elections.

NEW BRANCHES

Lawson, Col.

Chairman, Henry Cadwalader; vice-chairman, M. O'Hagan; secretary, A. J. August; treasurer, Harry Boyer; organizer, Ben Currier.

Aurora, Mo.

Chairman, M. F. Scott; vice-chairman, R. B. Hufflime; secretary, H. L. Cottingham; treasurer, E. K. Kemper; organizer, L. N. Stockton.

Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Chairman, H. Bergner; vice-chairman, C. Neumann; secretary, W. Manzke; treasurer, C. Haack, Sr.; organizer, P. Grimmer.

Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Chairman Joseph Sommer; vice-chairman, J. H. Wurm; secretary, Wm. Hinz; treasurer, Sieling; organizer Thos. A. Panyard.

Attention, Iowa Socialists

All Socialists are requested to send their names and addresses to E. P. Hagerty, 214 Columbia street, Burlington, Ia., for the purpose of organizing a state union.

At the last meeting of Branch 4, Cincinnati, the following executive committee was elected: Hugh A. Crumley, chairman; Albert Corbin, vice chairman; Joseph Jasin, secretary; Robert J. Waite, treasurer; Walter R. Ingram, organizer.

Comrades living in New London, Conn., desiring to join the Social Democratic party should communicate with H. Dorkin, 3 Crouch street.

Hoxie, Kan., elected a Socialist mayor in the person of B. C. Decker at the recent municipal election.

THE MAJORITY REPORT

To the Members of the S. D. P. and S. L. P.

Comrades:

The respective national conventions of our parties, having instructed us to devise a basis for the union of our parties, we herewith submit for your approval the result of our deliberations.

In doing this we are well aware of the fact that the treaties submitted by us are not perfect in all respects and that many provisions of the same could be improved upon. But we beg the comrades to bear in mind how difficult it is to satisfy every member of both parties on all details in preparing a plan of organization and action involving so many propositions as the one before you.

The provisions, moreover, are but temporary in nature, and our parties, once united, will have ample opportunity to modify the same at the next national convention or in the manner provided by the proposed constitution, if a modification should at any time seem advisable.

The desire uppermost in the minds of your committees during their joint deliberations was to devise a plan in its principal features satisfactory to both parties and one by which we could, once formally united, start on the great work of propaganda and organization involved in the approaching national campaign, without further loss of time.

With this end in view we have proposed a provisional party administration to be elected while the vote is being taken on this treaty, and to be constituted as soon as the result of the vote is ascertained.

The only point on which two propositions have been submitted to the voters, is that of the party name. We have no recommendations to make on the subject, but leave this important matter entirely in the hands of the membership for such decision as they may think best.

The committee has submitted to you the question as to whether you will abide by the decision of the majority of both parties on a joint count with respect to the name, if such procedure becomes necessary. An affirmative vote on this question will secure union, a negative vote may become fatal to union. With these few explanations we leave the matter to the wisdom and good sense of the comrades. They will successfully accomplish the great work to which we have contributed to the best of our abilities.

Respectfully submitted for the conference on unity,

Wm. Butscher,
N. I. Stone.

QUESTION 1.

Are you in favor of the following constitution? Vote yes or no.

CONSTITUTION.

Section 1. The Social Democratic Party of the U. S. and the Socialist Labor Party of the U. S. hereby cease their separate existence and consolidate and merge in one party.

I. NAME.

This party shall be known as _____ Party.

II. ORGANIZATION.

The affairs of the party are conducted by the National Council, the National Executive Committee, the State Committees, the Locals, the National Conventions, and by the general vote.

III. NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION.

1. The National Council is composed of members elected from the various states, each state electing one member; such election to take place in the month of January each year.

2. The National Council shall nominate from the membership of the party residing in three states within the vicinity of the party's headquarters, not less than fifteen members; seven of whom receiving the highest number of votes cast by the party membership shall constitute the Executive Committee of said Council, to be known as the National Executive Committee.

3. The National Council shall meet at least once a year.

4. Members of the N. E. C. may be recalled by the general vote of the party and members of the National Council may be recalled by the respective states electing them.

5. It shall be the duty of the National Executive Committee:

a. To receive and submit to a general vote, without change or comment, propositions sent from any local if endorsed by at least five others located in at least three different states.

b. To canvass all general votes and publish the result within a week in tabulated form, indicating locals and votes cast in each.

c. To be represented at the National Convention by one of its members, who shall have no vote, but merely an advisory

voice in the proceedings, and shall bear no other credentials.

d. To carry out the resolutions of the National Convention and those adopted by a general vote.

e. To supervise the agitation throughout the country.

f. To establish proper relations and communication with the Socialist parties of other countries.

g. To make all necessary preparations for the National Convention, and make a full report to such convention on all party matters.

h. To issue to the locals semi-annually, and to the State Committees upon application and in a sufficient number of copies a report of the party's finances, lists of locals and names and addresses of the corresponding secretaries.

i. The National Executive Committee may make its own order of business.

j. The National Executive Committee may compensate its officers according to the labors performed by them from the treasury of the party.

k. The National Executive Committee shall issue application cards to State Committees or, in the absence of such, to the locals, bearing a plain exposition of the principles of the _____ party, and also of the duties required from the applicant for membership.

6. All vacancies on the N. E. C., however, occurring, shall be filled from the remaining nominees made by the National Council, who have received the next highest vote cast by the party membership.

7. The expenses of the members of the N. E. C. shall be borne by the party. The expenses of the members of the National Council shall be borne by their respective states.

8. a. The National Secretary shall be elected by the referendum vote from among candidates nominated by the N. E. C. No member of the N. E. C. shall hold office of National Secretary.

b. The National Secretary may be recalled by the N. E. C. subject to a referendum or at the initiation of the party membership.

IV. STATE COMMITTEES.

1. Whenever there are five locals in any one state, they shall form a state organization to be known as the state committee, which shall be governed in accordance with the laws of that state.

2. The State Committee shall send a regular semi-annual report to the National Executive Committee and submit monthly a financial report showing receipts and expenditures.

3. The state organization shall have power to make regulations governing their form of organization in accordance with the laws of their respective states, provided such regulations do not conflict with the party's national constitution and platform.

4. The State Committee shall receive and pass upon all applications for charters from locals and submit same to the National Executive Committee. Only the National Executive Committee to have the right to issue charters.

V. LOCALS.

1. The local shall be the unit of organization.

2. Any number of persons may form a Local provided they subscribe to the platform and principles of the _____ Party, and belong to no other political party.

3. They shall report their organization as a Local, giving a list of members and send the dues for the current month to the State Committee, or in the absence of such, to the National Executive Committee.

4. Each Local shall send every six months a report of its numerical and financial condition, also its progress and prospects, and shall report the names and addresses of members in good standing and otherwise to the State Committee, or in the absence of such, to the National Executive Committee. The National Executive Committee shall send out every six months printed blanks calling for information desired.

5. Locals shall adopt by-laws to govern their actions, but such by-laws shall not be in conflict with the National Constitution.

6. Every Local shall elect from its members such officers as it deems proper.

7. Should a protest be entered against the admission to a Local of any applicant for membership, a two-thirds vote by a referendum of the members of the Local shall be necessary to admit him or her.

8. Locals shall have jurisdiction over their own members.

9. Any person violating the laws or principles of the organization may be suspended or expelled by a two-thirds vote of the members in good standing of the local branch of which he is a member; provided that any charges against such member shall be preferred in writing, and the accused shall be entitled to a fair trial. The person so accused, if dissatisfied with the decision of the local branch, may appeal to the National Executive Committee. The action of the National Executive Committee shall be

final, unless appeal is made by the accused to referendum vote.

10. Each Local shall hold a regular business meeting at least once a month.

11. In any Local which is divided into two or more branches all business of the Local and dealings with the party's National and State Committees shall be carried on by a Central Committee, unless otherwise provided in its by-laws.

12. Not more than one charter shall be granted to any city or town.

13. Members who have withheld payment of their dues for more than three months shall be suspended from all rights until they have fulfilled their obligations.

14. On application to their Local sick or unemployed members will be excused from payment of dues.

15. Upon the election of new officers Locals shall immediately notify the National and State Committees giving the names and addresses of said officers.

16. Under no circumstances shall any Local or State organization co-operate with a capitalist political party and with no other political party without the consent of the National Executive Committee.

VI. CONVENTIONS.

1. A National Convention of the party shall be held every two years, but if five Locals in three different states so demand, a general vote shall be taken as to holding a special convention. A general vote shall decide as to the place, but the date of a convention shall be fixed by the National Executive Committee.

2. The Local shall be the basis of representation.

A Local shall be entitled to one delegate for every one hundred members or major fraction thereof. Two or more Locals may combine to send a delegate.

Each Local shall be entitled to at least one delegate.

Delegates must be members of the Local or one of the Locals electing them. Each delegate shall have only one vote.

3. The expenses of delegates shall be borne by the Locals sending them.

The expenses of the National Convention shall be paid by the party.

4. The National Convention shall frame the national platform, decide the form of organization, investigate and decide all difficulties within the party, and provide a mode of election of the National Executive Committee and the National Council.

5. All acts of the convention shall be submitted to the Locals for general vote.

VII. DUES.

1. The Locals shall levy upon each of their members a monthly tax of ten cents, to be paid monthly to the State Committee, or in the absence of such to the National Executive Committee.

2. The dues shall be receipted for by stamps to be furnished by the National Executive Committee to the State Committees at the rate of five cents each, and in the absence of such to the Locals at the rate of ten cents each.

3. In addition to the monthly stamps each member shall be required to pay for a quarterly stamp of the value of ten cents in the months of January, April, July and October; the money derived from this source to be applied by the National Executive Committee to the payment of the member's subscription to a party paper.

4. Every State Committee or Local shall receive a first quota of stamps on credit, to be measured by the size of membership; such quota to remain a standing indebtedness. All stamps received subsequently must be paid for in cash, and the Secretary of the National Executive Committee, as well as the secretaries of State Committees, shall not send out any stamps other than in compliance with this rule.

VIII. PARTY PRESS.

1. The papers may select one of the following papers which they may receive in consideration of the quarterly dues provided for in Article VII.; Section 3. The People, the Social Democratic Herald, the Class Struggle, the Workers' Call, Haverhill Social Democrat, Milwaukee Social Democrat, the Proletarian.

The National Council may from time to time alter the above list.

MISCELLANEOUS REGULATIONS.

1. This constitution may be amended by the National Convention or by a general vote. Within five weeks after the issuance of a call for a general vote relative to changing the constitution, amendments may be proposed by any Local to any proposition so laid before the party, and such amendments shall then also be submitted to be voted on together by the National Executive Committee within ten weeks after the first call was issued.

2. The National Executive Committee shall forthwith transmit to the Locals a tabulated statement of the vote cast by each Local.

3. All officers, boards or committees of the party shall be subject to removal by their constituents at their pleasure.

(Continued on Fourth page)

Social Democratic Herald

Published Every Saturday by the
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board
JESSE COX, Chairman
SEYMOUR STEDMAN, Secretary
EUGENE V. DEBS, VICTOR L. BERGER
FREDERIC HEATH

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, \$1.00. Six months, 50 cents. No papers sent to any one on credit. If, without having subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and no bill will follow. Foreign subscriptions \$1.00.

Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

A. S. EDWARDS, Editor
THEODORE DEBS, National Sec'y-Treas.
126 Washington St., Chicago.

93 is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 94 your subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, APR. 14, 1900.

WHAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN—THE ISSUE CLEARLY STATED

When the Indianapolis convention adjourned at three o'clock in the afternoon of March 9 and the comrades bade each other good-bye, probably not one of their number returned home with any other opinion or belief than that the work begun at Rochester, continued at Indianapolis and delegated to the joint committee of eighteen to be consummated at New York, would result in the unification of the Social Democratic party with the Socialist Labor party faction represented by Messrs. Harriman, Hillquit and Hayes. It was the hope of all, and that hope was backed by a resolution to do all that could be done to give it fruition. As hope enlarged, courage was exalted and every delegate who remained to witness the closing scene of the convention when comrades mingled their voices in a parting song, felt that a step of vast importance had been taken from which there was no going back. If the delegates from Rochester, fully empowered as we must believe them to have been to negotiate with us, had gone into the conference at New York and said: "Comrades, in order to effect union we agreed to accept the name Social Democratic, in case certain men were nominated at Indianapolis," the honorable thing would have been done and the way to a perfect union might have been clear at this time. Instead of that the delegates went to New York opposed to the name, although the condition on which they agreed to accept it and urge it upon the other members of their committee had been complied with, one of their number who was willing at Indianapolis to accept the name as a proper one (in case Harriman and Hayes were nominated!) repudiating it at New York as unsuited to the movement in this country!

It will be a difficult undertaking for any one, however skilled in sophistical and distorted statement, to convince any honest Social Democrat of the ingenuousness of an argument against a name for the Debs and Harriman ticket which was wholly acceptable for a ticket composed of Harriman and Hayes. Comrades will not overlook this in making up their conclusion upon the matter now before them for their votes. Either the man who said the name would be all right with the Harriman-Hayes ticket dissimulated, or his declaration to pledge himself to the name with Debs and Harriman for candidates was the inception of a trick which the committee, of which he was a member, developed and took the full benefit of at New York. Over and over again the member of the Rochester committee who finds himself in the unenviable position of resorting to dissimulation and trickery, declared that Debs and Harriman would be the ideal ticket; he eulogized Debs but would commit himself to the name, not with Debs as a candidate, but only on condition that our convention nominated Harriman and Hayes. It may now well be doubted whether in the event of the convention doing what he wished it to do, he would have done otherwise than just what he did in the New York conference. If this plain and truthful statement of the case as to that single member of their committee is the sort of tactics that the rank and file of the Socialist Labor party endorse, then union has at no time been desirable.

It is suggested that the members of the Rochester committee exceeded their powers at Indianapolis. If that is true none know it better than the members of that committee themselves. Attention is called to the fact that two of that committee were nominees of the Rochester convention for president and vice-president: Are we to believe that these men came to our convention on a mission of unity, deliberately in behalf of unity pledged themselves upon a question of importance, that is the name, and then with perfect unanimity violated their pledges at New York? If yes, then the logic of the case compels us to one conclusion: We were tricked. If the visiting delegates exceeded their powers they were conscious of it at the time, knew the pledges could not be kept, never had any serious intention of "writing to the S. L. P. sections to urge the acceptance of the name," and instead of being at Indianapolis for union they were

there to wreck the Social Democratic Party.

It may be argued that the pressure brought to bear upon the S. L. P. committee in New York was too great for them to withstand. If that is the case, then the rank and file of both parties, and especially of the Socialist Labor Party, are confronted by this situation, that an honorable understanding arrived at in Indianapolis was utterly disregarded at New York and that to New York influence is attributable the failure of the movement for union. Members of the S. L. P. delegation at Indianapolis, before the agreement had been made, assured us that within twenty-four hours afterwards they could have all their committee of nine at Indianapolis; they said they would wire their comrades and the joint committee could complete its work within a week after adjournment. Instead of that the joint meeting was fixed at New York, mainly because of arguments advanced by Morris Hillquit, with the result that what the rank and file, at least outside of New York, honestly desired, has now been indefinitely postponed.

Calm and dispassionate review of all the circumstances must satisfy every reasonable man that a perfectly fair and honorable agreement, made, so far as Social Democrats were concerned in it, to effect a genuine union of Socialist forces, was cast aside and disregarded with the contempt which characterizes old party politicians. If the delegates of the S. L. P. had no intention of keeping their pledges, the pledges should never have been given. There was no sort of coercion used to force these pledges from them; they accepted the proposition with their eyes wide open, understood what they were doing, conceded that it was the way to union, professed great satisfaction with the outcome, and yet, in spite of the clearest understanding, not one of them even referred to it at the New York conference until the matter was brought up by one of our committee and then the claim was set up that if the pledges had been given it was "with conditions" other than that of candidates, and this claim is groundless and untrue.

If the members of the S. L. P. committee understood what they were doing, they deliberately blocked negotiations for union and upon them rests responsibility for the failure. What their real object was members may decide for themselves.

Comrades of the Social Democratic Party will act cautiously at this time and not be misled by specious argument in favor of a union which, if accomplished, will not unite. The danger now is in being misled by superficially fair and deceptive argument. The situation calls for careful consideration of the facts in the case, and plausible or hysterical appeal for union despite the facts.

Comrades, stand pat for the Social Democratic Party and for Socialism!

OUR LETTER BOX

Rep. MacCartney on "No Union"

Editor The Herald: I have perused the manifesto of the national executive board and wish to say that the position taken by the board is perfectly sound, the issuance of the manifesto was a step absolutely necessary. There can now be no doubt, in view of the undisputed facts in the case, that the leaders of the Social Labor party faction have broken faith, and, as I review the entire history of the case from the Rochester convention up to the present time, I can come to but one conclusion—viz., that the object of these leaders from the very first has been to either capture or disrupt the Social Democratic party. The results of the peace conference on Thursday evening were widely scattered among the delegates immediately, and it was in view of the understanding on the part of the delegates that the Social Labor party committee had pledged themselves to the name Social Democratic and had consented to the submission of that name only for the referendum vote, that the convention unanimously on Friday morning nominated Mr. Job Harriman for vice president on motion of Comrade Victor Berger. We "delivered the goods" in the nomination of Harriman, but at the New York conference the Social Labor party committee refused to deliver in return.

The proposition of the Social Labor party delegation in regard to the type of referendum vote was this: A majority of both parties voting as one. This proposition, the Indianapolis convention in specific and unmistakable terms refused to consider; nay, it went further, and instructed its committee of nine that the only vote was to be a vote of each party voting separately. The well-understood inference of this definite instruction was that concurrence on the name could alone effect union. It will be remembered that the last clause of the majority report accepted by the convention was that all questions, "save only the name," where there was non-concurrence, could be resubmitted to a referendum. That shows clearly the attitude of the convention. The name was to be submitted to concurrent vote,

each party voting separately; and that but once.

But behold, the New York conference, the creature so far as our committee of nine was concerned, delicately disregarded instructions and swept aside these limitations as to the method of voting. First, this conference says there shall be a separate referendum vote; then, going outside its instructions, it asks this question of the members of the party: "In case the party name voted by you fails to obtain the concurrent majority of both parties, shall the name receiving the majority of the total vote of both parties be adopted?"

Do you not see, comrades, that in this last referendum the committee has definitely disobeyed the express instructions of the very power which created it—that is, the Indianapolis convention. Moreover, by this maneuver, the separate referendum vote might as well not be taken, for the ultimate vote is a majority of both parties voting as one, which, as I have said, the convention absolutely rejected.

Pledges have been broken by the Social Labor party leaders, instructions have been violated by the Social Democratic party committee of nine, and unless the party unitedly supports the national executive it will either be swallowed in a dishonorable union or disrupted and scattered.

F. O. MacCartney.

"Where Are We At?"

Dear Comrades of the Social Democratic Party of America: A word with you, please.

The mountain has labored; have you seen the mouse? The lion and the lamb lay down together. Where is the lamb now? It is no fault of the lion if he is not inside the belly of his voracious majesty.

But "the best laid plans of mice and men gang aft agley."

Have you read the manifesto of our comrades, the executive committee of Social Democratic party of America (write this name the biggest capital letters in the case)?

Have you read the report of the conference by our true and faithful, Comrade Margaret Haile, in the Herald of April 7?

I know you have, and, like myself, you are "hot."

Tricked, queered and buncoed, but the steersmen didn't succeed in landing their game.

I need not repeat the details of the conspiracy by which it was sought, by chicanery, double-dealing, duplicity and deceit, to annihilate, destroy and wipe out of existence, our beloved

party, with its splendid working organization, through which we have achieved such marvelous and unprecedented success and victories, and leave to us as a reward for all our labor, of the privations and sacrifices of our brave comrades who had served us at the head of our organization, leave to us for all our toil in the past only a memory.

You are familiar with the details; you know how every promise made to us at our convention at Indianapolis by the visiting committee of the Social Labor party has been outrageously and shamefully violated—the pledge to allow us to retain our name—Social Democratic. The agreement that the referendum vote should be taken by each organization separately, the tacit understanding that we should be treated fairly and justly in the adjustment of our interests in the consolidation.

All, all have been flagrantly violated, and now our executive committee submits to us a referendum vote the plain question: Do we desire a union with this people who have so basely deceived us and have shown a disposition to boss and control everything in sight? I say everything in sight—viz., the name, the location of headquarters, the party organ and the location from which are drawn the executive board (from three eastern states). They want all and leave us holding the bag, without even one snipe.

Our committee asks, do we desire such a union?

I am persuaded that, with me, you will, with one unanimous voice, vote no! a thousand times no! For those who have deceived us once cannot be trusted again.

Let us stand by our organization; its brief but glorious history cannot be obliterated. Let us buckle on our armor and force the fight against capitalism. Add conquest to conquest, and never give up the struggle until we succeed in writing the loved name of Social Democracy on the dome of the capitol at Washington.

Comrades, I need not appeal to you. I need not urge you, for I know you will do your duty, because I know the kind of stuff a Social Democrat is made of.

All hail! the Social Democratic party of America!

As to union with the S. L. P., "the stuff is off!" And now in closing, a word of cheer for you dear faithful comrade, Margaret Haile. Dry up your tears; don't weep any more, cast off those habiliments of mourning, but be joyful with great joy, for your beloved is not dead, although

mangled and bleeding from the stabs of pretended friends. The loved name "SOCIAL DEMOCRAT" still lives, and will survive and push the fight for real freedom in defiance of attacks from open or covert foes. Now let us vote! Indianapolis, Ind. J. R. Backus.

A Committeeman's Opinion

Editor of the Herald: Two names are to be submitted for a referendum vote. The question then arises which is the more appropriate of the two, the Social Democratic Party or the United Socialist Party. In arguing for the former will say that the name is now extensively known throughout the country on account of our vigorous agitation, our successes in Massachusetts and elsewhere, our tolerant spirit and our friendliness toward the trade union movement. Many thousands of workmen have learned to know the S. D. P. as the friend of the working class. Further, that name is dear to five thousand comrades in the movement who, if deprived of it, may to a degree lose their enthusiasm and refrain from doing their best for the cause.

In addition the name Social Democratic exemplifies exactly what the Socialists are striving for, and plainly demonstrates that our ultimate aim is a Social Democracy.

Therefore, if a name is to be chosen according to what it defines, no better one than Social Democratic can be found if you hunt through all the dictionaries in the land. On the other hand, we have the name United Socialist party. What does it represent? A united Socialist movement? Oh, no! for there are the De Leonites, the Jones non-partisan, the Socialist Party of Oklahoma, the municipal Socialists, the Christian Socialists and many other kinds and creeds who are not with us and have their own hobbies about ushering in the Co-operative Commonwealth. The name would be erroneous as long as all men and women who believe in Socialism are not in one organization.

Further, won't we look pretty abbreviated as the U. S. Party? People will think we are an adjunct of Uncle Sam or some other old uncle and a lot of explanation will have to be done to satisfy the inquisitive.

Now, comrades, the question narrows itself down to this: Two names have been submitted; one is a recognized factor with a history, the other is erroneous in the first place, and secondly is entirely unknown and must begin to build up a reputation. Also two names having been submitted no one can say you were forced to accept; but of your own free will you decided to adopt the best one, which I am convinced is the S. D. P.

Furthermore, if that name is adopted I am confident the union will be cemented closer and better than if the other one prevails and our union will be as perfect and harmonious as can possibly be expected.

It is to be hoped that all comrades will look at this question of name from the broadest possible view and vote for S. D. P. so as to accomplish the greatest good for the Socialist movement.

Brooklyn, N. Y. Wm. Butscher.

Hayes Explains

Editor The Herald: A thunderclap from a clear sky could not have surprised me more than did the issue of the Herald of this date. I am not only astonished, but pained and chagrined at the "manifesto" promulgated by the Social Democratic party executive board. Your board accuses me, among others, in so many words, of double dealing and trickery. I plead not guilty, and as a Socialist and an American citizen I demand the right to be heard in my own defense, as well as in defense of my colleagues and comrades, feeling confident that the fair-minded and tolerant members of your party will judge impartially and render a verdict in accordance with the facts.

This is no time for hysteria and wild insinuations!

The "manifesto" says: "Mr. Max Hayes, on the floor of the convention, Thursday afternoon, announced his personal choice of the name Social Democratic, and in strong terms pledged himself and his paper, the Cleveland Citizen, to the name."

Correct. Again, in reporting action of New York conference: "It must be noted also that while Mr. Max Hayes, as heretofore described, had pledged himself to work for the name, nevertheless he evaded the responsibility by absenting himself from the conference while the question of name was under discussion. He promised Comrade Leonard D. Abbott in New York that he would attend a session and speak in favor of the name. This he failed to do."

This implies trickery, cowardice and a breaking of pledges on my part. It is a jumble of half-truths. When I returned to Cleveland and reported the action of the Indianapolis convention at a large meeting of local Socialists, as Social Democratic party comrades will testify, I declared in favor of accepting the Social Democratic name. Several Social Labor party comrades announced that they would vote for another name, which, according to Socialist ethics as I understand them, they had a right to

do. In the Citizen of March 17 the following was printed in a leading editorial on the question of amalgamation: "The Social Democratic party will urge that its name be accepted by the united movement rather than that a new name be selected, and thus increase the confusion. It is pointed out that no stigma is attached to the title, that it is international in scope, and that it expresses perfectly what the labor movement stands for. The writer believes that the arguments are good ones, and that, if legal difficulties do not stand in the way, the easiest and most satisfactory manner to settle that question is to adopt the name Social Democratic party. We are not fetish-worshippers. A principle under any name is still the principle."

As regards the various meetings and conferences, I did not dodge anything. When the so-called "peace conference" took place in the Indianapolis hotel I was addressing a Social Democratic mass meeting in the criminal court room. When the name question was being discussed in New York I attended the weekly meeting of the Central Federated union and addressed that body, having been pressed by a number of Socialist delegates to do so, and Monday morning I addressed the striking cigarmakers. Questioned by Comrade Abbott, Saturday evening, whether I favored the Social Democratic party name, I replied that I did. I do yet, and will vote for it.

But I did not believe, and do not believe now, in making of the name a greater issue than of principles, platform, ticket, tactics, unification and everything else combined, as a few of our hysterical and excited friends are attempting to do. While our committees were wrangling over this insignificant question—like a lot of school boys would over the momentous question whether a red marble is as pretty as a yellow one and would roll as well and as far—I was, to the best of my ability, attempting to make a few more converts to our common cause.

It is gross unfairness to charge our people with duplicity, and to harbor all sorts of senseless suspicion. I believe that Comrades Harriman, Hillquit and the others, who have sacrificed so nobly and have worked so hard in overthrowing bossism, are deserving of great credit for what they have done. The membership of our party demands that two names be submitted to a general vote, and it looks to a man up a tree as though your executive board is not in favor of one of the fundamental doctrines of Socialism—i. e., majority rule. If the name should fail to receive the concurrent majority of both parties, what then? Continue to vote all summer? Or should the majority lay down to the minority? Who said De Leonism! Again, we are accused of being but a "few hundred kangaroos." Well, what are you afraid of then?

Many other absurd charges and insinuations appear in the "manifesto" that I have neither the time nor inclination to reply to. I am sure that the Social Democratic party membership will not allow itself to be influenced by a display of I-won't-play-in-your-yard spirit. I don't believe that Comrades Carey, Chase, Hoehn, Butcher and Lonergan will claim that they were tricked and treated unfairly; in fact, all expressed the greatest pleasure at the happy termination of negotiations in New York, and I believe even Comrades Stedman and Haile were satisfied as a whole.

There are some people in this world who are bound to have their own way in even the most minute particulars. They will rule or ruin, being incapable of real leadership, a welding together of homogeneous elements. Such a man is Daniel De Leon. There are others. Nevertheless, hurrah for Socialism in our time! Max Hayes.

Cleveland, April 7.

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN FUND

Previously acknowledged.....\$51.00
C. Knecht, Poplar Bluff, Mo. 1.00
W. E. Harmon, Mechanic Falls, Me.50
Jos. Spero, E. Boston, Mass.50
Dr. Jos. Jaffe, Woodbine, N. J. 1.00
Robt. Swift, Cincinnati, Ohio 1.00
Leonard D. Abbott, New York, N. Y. 10.00

THE WOMAN'S FUND
Miss H. A. Howard, Columbus, Ga. 5.00
Mrs. E. H. Thomas, Haverhill. 25.00
Women's Social Democratic Club
Haverhill. 25.00

PROPAGANDA FUND

Appeal to Reason.....Kans.....\$1.00
Eugene V. Debs.....Ind......50
Branch No. 9, Milwaukee, Wis......50
Sam'l W. Langley.....Ky......50
"Z".....Ill......50
\$3.00

COMRADES, TAKE NOTICE

Members are requested to at once take up the Referendum submitted by the Executive Board, canvass the whole question and return their votes through Branch Secretaries to the National Secretary not later than May 7.

The Union Label

on everything you buy is a guarantee that the producers thereof receive a fair rate of wages for its production
Insist on having the label

BERLIN'S MIXTURE

Wolfish men. There had been a large fire in Boston. Flames had swept through a large building and left it a charred wreck. Workmen were at work in the ruins, clearing out the debris. Every few minutes they would hurl pieces of charred wood out of the windows down into the street.

Down below were crouched groups of ragged men and haggard women and aged children. They crowded round the barricading ropes. They watched with strained eyes for the falling of debris. They sprang, like infuriated wolves, upon it when it fell. They fought like devils for a bit of board. They risked life in the attempt to secure a handful of fuel. They rushed off, hideously triumphant, to their lairs, with their pitiful prizes. They were veritable human wolves!

And this in the last year of human evolution! This in civilized America! What an awful picture is this! Human beings, with the capabilities, the desires, the aspirations of divine manhood, forced to fight like wolves for charred rubbish!

A curse upon us, comrades, if we use not every energy to overpower the dehumanizing influence of greed, that degrades manhood to the depth of wolfishness.

Civilized wolves. In a March magazine was an interesting illustrated article on the "civilized wolf." It described a certain farm where wolves were bred and raised, and showed the influence of training and environment upon wolfish nature.

The illustrations admirably showed the marvelous effect. The beasts that to us have ever been the incarnation of fury and ferocity were as docile as dogs and as gentle as kittens. Their savage natures had been subdued, and they gathered affectionately about their human teachers.

If such a result can be effected with wolf nature, what may not be accomplished with human nature? If a savage brute, with wolfish instincts and wolfish desires, can be subdued into gentleness, is there not hope for those human unfortunates who are gentle by instinct and savage only by environment?

The aim of Socialism is not to change human nature. It proposes simply to give a chance to assert its true self. It aims to remove the present environmental influences of injustice and oppression, and allow man to become manly, instead of forcing him to become a wolf.

All that oppressed manhood wants is a fair chance. Socialism will give that chance. Won't you help to give them Socialism?

The profane plumber. One very cold day the waterpipes in my kitchen froze. By and by the plumber came with his tools to repair the damage. We retired to the dining room and left him in sole possession.

After a while there came subdued murmurs from the kitchen. It was like the muttering of a volcano. Presently the eruption of profanity broke forth, and the sulphuric fumes penetrated the room where we were.

A pious person in the room waxed wroth at the sound. How dared the plumber use such language? Why couldn't he do a simple job without scorching the air with his lurid oaths? and sympathized.

I went out to see and scold. I saw the plumber was in a little two-foot-square cubby-hole under the sink, using, or trying to use, a large wrench. He struggled, he skinned his knuckles, he sweat, he swore—and plenty of it. I returned. Said I to the pious person, after describing the scene: "When you have crawled into that hole and used that wrench, you may talk about profanity. Not till then." He declined to experiment.

And the pious persons who denounce the sins of labor had better get into labor's environment before they make any criticism. Let every parson be a plumber for six months, and then he will deal more leniently with the art of cursing.

A votary of voteless vice. Talking of pious people reminds me of another class who are ignorantly blocking the way of labor's advance toward justice.

In a certain graveyard in Wayland, Mass., there is a tombstone with a peculiar epitaph thereon. It reads thus: "Here lies the body of Dr. M—, who never cast a vote in his life. 'Oh such is the kingdom of heaven.'"

There is a large and increasing class who, in their shortsighted ignorance, think that any contact with politics and politicians is contaminating. They believe that they imperil their souls' eternal interest if they tamper with things political and temporal.

A man in Topsham, Mass., lately boasted that he had not cast a vote for over fifty years. The fellow actually boasted in the fact of his heroic abstinence from the smirching sins of politics.

The man was a fool and a rascal. He was a fool in not making any attempt

to better the conditions in which he was forced to live. He was a knave in not reaching out his political hand to rescue the victims who by the industrial conditions were forced to die.

A vote is a man's most sacred possession. He who scorns it is a true traitor to himself and his fellows. He who uses it aright is a true savior of his race.

The real and the ideal. Dr. J. W. Winkley, in a recent address in Boston on mental healing thus voiced the modern need:

"In order to develop the highest degree of harmony in life we need an ideal world, and ideal men and women in it. We need an ideal social and industrial order, an ideal home, an ideal state and an ideal church. We need an ideal brotherhood, and a pure democracy organized to make 'liberty, equality, fraternity' a reality among men. The watchword of such a democracy would be 'fellowship'; its motto, 'service to men'; its aim and object, the attainment of the ideal; its principle, that of unity.

Fine words. Very fine words. But I doubt, after my experience with such idealists, if a single one of those who applauded those sentiments with gloved fingers had the remotest idea of putting these things into practice.

An ideal is useless, unless it inspires and impels us to realize it. It is one thing to rhapsodize, but it is another thing to realize. An ideal in the clouds is well enough, but a reality in common life is worth all the ideals in cloudland.

Winkley speaks truly when he says, 'Its principle is unity.' And I speak more truly when I say, 'Its principle is political unity.' Only when men band themselves together to make an ideal a reality by means of their votes will any progress be made. When this is done, nothing can prevent our onward march.

It may be retarded by obstacles, the road may be made more difficult, but eventually we shall make the real and the ideal meet in common life on common ground.

Merlin.

MUSINGS

Most people, including many school children, know by this time that in this great and godly empire city a naughty, naughty actress put on the stage a shockingly wicked play, and that a holy wave of virtuous indignation swept both the actress and the play off the stage. Everybody is, no doubt, also aware that two righteous, pure and moral newspapers, so righteous, so pure, and so moral, by the way, that only a couple of years ago hundreds of libraries, clubs and reading rooms felt impelled to exclude them from circulation, were instrumental in getting the actress aforesaid arraigned before a magistrate, handed over to a grand jury and indicted.

Now we have the trial of the "vile and filthy" play, and the same two news sheets vie with each other in publishing—for the fourth time—all the shocking "evidence," all the suggestive horrors; in giving the nastiest possible flavors to every innocent-looking detail connected with the very thing that was supposed to be undermining the good work of the pulpit, the Sunday school and that dear old soul, Mrs. Grundy. It is safe to say that these modern Tartuffes, these daily Pecksniffians, these Comstocks and Steads are doing more mischief than all the sinners from Boccaccio to Guy de Maupassant put together.

After the above was written the jury in the case acquitted all the defendants, but has failed to stigmatize in proper terms the conduct of the sensation mongers who should have been in the stocks if justice and capitalism were not mutually excluding terms.

To observe the workings of this crime-begotten, sorrow-laden, corrupt and corrupting system, and to think that sensible, civilized, feeling and reasoning human beings tolerate it, is enough to drive a sane man crazy, and the most hopeful, the most optimistic as desperate as the inmates of a house on fire, with every outlet cut off. Here are people ever on the lookout for some great national calamity, for mine-explosions, claiming victims by the hundred, for life-devouring conflagrations, for war, and famine, and pestilence; who spread like vultures over the carcasses of the slain, and live on death like hyenas; who gloat over theft and adultery as if the breaking of the ten commandments were a natural part of their assets; who would stop the blood circulation in the rest of mankind if it could raise the circulation of their sheets.

Talk about Nero fiddling while Rome was ablaze! That worthy had at least no sordid mercenary motives. Besides, he was an emperor, as mad as Peter (No. 3) of Russia, as ambitious as the first Napoleon, and as depraved as that holy person Alexander Borgia. The modern dealers in horrors and disasters have all their senses, very little ambition, and wield not a scepter, but a pen—and even that by proxy—while

turning blood and tears, crime and misery into dollars and cents.

And yet they are only the creatures of this social system which is about as social and systematic as are death and chaos respectively. Oh, for one of Carey's smiles! I am in a terribly gloomy mood. M. Winchevsky.

THE INDIANAPOLIS COMPACT

Edwards' Statement and Affidavit

"On the evening of March 8 at the New Occidental hotel, Indianapolis, a meeting was held for the purpose, if possible, of arriving at an agreement. There were present as representatives of the Socialist Labor party Morris Hillquit, Job Harriman and G. B. Benham, and F. G. R. Gordon, Wm. Mailly, C. R. Martin, A. S. Edwards, J. C. Chase, J. F. Carey, V. L. Berger. Gordon stated that since E. V. Debs declined to accept the nomination, it had been deemed advisable to hold a meeting of a few members of the S. D. P. and the S. L. P. delegates to see if an agreement honorable to both parties could not be made. He said the delegates to the convention were willing to accept Harriman and Hayes as the candidates, and if that was done he thought the delegates of the S. L. P. should be asked to give some assurance that the name Social Democratic would be accepted.

"Morris Hillquit was the first to respond. He said, in substance, that if the convention on the following day nominated Harriman and Hayes there would be no difficulty about the name; that he would give his personal pledge (which he then and there did) that so far as he was concerned the name Social Democratic would be the only one submitted by the joint conference committee; further, he said, that he would give those present the moral assurance that the name Social Democratic would be accepted by the committee of nine representing the S. L. P.

"The next to speak was G. B. Benham. He said that he agreed fully with Mr. Hillquit, that the name was an acceptable one and that such an arrangement as was proposed would be satisfactory and settle the question of name. He gave his personal pledge.

"Job Harriman followed with the explicit and unqualified statement that he was in full accord with Hillquit, gave his personal pledge and added that he would write to the sections of the S. L. P. urging acceptance of the name Social Democratic party.

"Then Victor L. Berger said, in substance: 'If Debs can be induced to accept and the ticket nominated is, Debs and Harriman, will you then stand by the name and will your pledges be good? I have some personal influence with Debs and am willing to make another effort. I do not know that I can succeed, but I will try, and if he does accept will you recommend only the name Social Democratic party?'

"To this Hillquit was first to reply. This he did in precise terms, declaring, as on the first proposition, that he would stand for the one name, Social Democratic party.

"Benham declined to commit himself as he had done on the Harriman-Hayes proposition.

"Harriman expressly declared that he accepted the proposition and would stand by the agreement on the name if the ticket were Debs and Harriman.

"Hayes being absent, the question was asked whether he would approve and accept the action of the meeting. Both Hillquit and Harriman stated that Hayes' indorsement and pledge could be relied upon and any agreement made there would be sanctioned by him.

"To the foregoing I wish to add that no other conditions or provisions whatever were suggested or agreed upon; that the members of the S. D. P. on their part accepted the conclusion arrived at in good faith, and that it was the distinct understanding when the meeting adjourned that if the convention nominated Debs and Harriman no other name than that of Social Democratic party would be submitted by the joint conference.

"A. S. Edwards."

Subscribed and sworn to before me, this third day of April, A. D. 1900.

Chas. H. Soelke, Notary Public.

Gordon's Statement and Affidavit

"I believe it to be in the interest of truth and justice that a statement be made in reference to the peace conference held on Thursday, March 8, at the Occidental Hotel. The convention had adjourned in confusion and considerable bad feeling. Comrade Mailly requested me to talk to certain comrades who were 'pretty hot under the collar.' On the way to the hotel I suggested to Comrades Hillquit and Mailly that we get a half-dozen of the warring comrades into a room and see if we could not effect some kind of peace that would be honorable to all. This was agreed to, and I lost no time in bringing it about. I sought Victor L. Berger who had been especially anxious to retain the name and spirit of the Social Democratic Party and asked him to attend. He at first flatly refused, stating he was afraid of trickery, but finally consented after much urging upon the part of Comrade Mailly and myself and also upon an invitation of Comrade Carey.

LOCAL BRANCHES

Notices of Branch Meetings Inserted for 25 Cents per Month

CALIFORNIA
Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evenings, commencing at 8. Admission free. Educational meetings (for members) every Tuesday evening. Sociology, Economics, Public Speaking, etc.
Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening.
Membership, with advantage of Educational Course and Social Democratic Herald free to each member, 25 cents per month.
Apply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk street.

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2 o'clock at Woodmen's Hall, 1254 Spring St. J. Franc, 700 Dayton Ave., Secretary.
Branch No. 4, Alameda, California, holds public meetings every Thursday, 8 p. m., at Linderman Hall, Central Ave., near Park St. Business and educational meetings (for members) every Monday, 8 p. m., at 2346 Euclid Ave. Allan A. Crockett, Secretary, 1810 Walnut Street.

COLORADO
Branch No. 1, Denver, meets every Sunday at 2:00 p. m., at 1715 California Ave. Chas. M. Davis, Secretary, 1623 17th Street.

CONNECTICUT
The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at Tura Hall, Rockville. L. Schlar, Secretary.
Branch No. 1, New Haven, meets every Tuesday evening, at 190 State St., at 8 p. m. Cornelius Mahoney, Secretary, 155 Frank St.
Branch No. 4, Rockville, Conn., meets first and third Mondays at 8 p. m. in Dunder's place, 1050 W. 15th place. Joseph Dunder, Secretary.

ILLINOIS
Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 51 Dearborn St.
Branch No. 1, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening. Thomas Kirwin, Secretary, 354 Westworth Ave.
Branch No. 3 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays at 8 p. m. at Nagl's Hall, 555 Blue Island Ave. Vaclov Jelinek, Secretary, 605 Blue Island Ave.

Branch No. 3 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Mondays at 8 p. m. in Dunder's place, 1050 W. 15th place. Joseph Dunder, Secretary.
Branch No. 5, Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays of each month at Andr. Musik's, 40 String St. Paul Chlapacka, Secretary, 854 Babie St.
Branch No. 6 (German), Chicago, meets every first Saturday each month at 8 o'clock at Nagl's Hall, 555 Blue Island Ave. near 18th St. Albin Geisler, Secretary, 738 W. 24th St.
Branch No. 9, Chicago, meets every Monday night and third Sundays at 8 p. m. S. L. Westing, Secretary, 624 Center Ave.

INDIANA
Branch No. 4, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichwein's Hall, corner Market and Noble Sts.

IOWA
Branch No. 2, Hiteam, meets every fourth Friday in the month at opera house. S. B. Jamieson, chairman. James Fisher, organizer; Joseph Schollist, secretary.

KENTUCKY
Branch No. 2, Covington, meets first and third Wednesday evenings and second and fourth Sunday afternoons of each month. All agitation meetings except third meeting in each month. Good speakers. Secretary, F. C. Stumpf, 261 5th street.

MARYLAND
Branch No. 1, Baltimore, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m. at Carpenter's Hall, 500 E. Baltimore St. Public invited.
Branch No. 2, Baltimore, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at Wessel's Hotel, 326 W. Camden St. Good speakers. Public invited. Levin T. Jones, Secretary, 252 W. Barre st.

MASSACHUSETTS
The Massachusetts State Committee meets the first Saturday of each month at 74 Washington St., Boston. All dues and moneys intended for the State Committee should be sent to the financial secretary, A. M. Loring, 104 W. Springfield St., Boston. All other correspondence should be addressed to the Corresponding Secretary, Margaret Hallie, 5 Glenwood St., Roxbury.

Branch No. 2, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Mondays of each month at Springfield Turner Hall. E. Schilling, Organizer, 51 Sumner St.
Branch No. 3, Lynn, permanent headquarters, 71 Monroe St. Business meetings every Monday night at 7:30. Open house. Public invited. Harry Gotimer, Sec., 42 Essex St.
Branch No. 4, Brockton, meets the second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at 8 p. m. for business at Socialist Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Center Sts. Every comrade is expected to attend one meeting a month. Secretary, A. M. Loring, 104 W. Springfield St., Boston. Public invited. Harry Gotimer, Sec., 42 Essex St.

Branch No. 15, East Boston, meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 60 Chelsea St. Miss Jenny Segal, Secretary, 99 Chelsea St.
Branch No. 14, Newburyport, meets the second Monday of each month at Lester's Hall, 1 State St. T. H. Chisnell, Secretary, 16 Collins St.
Branch No. 11, Chelsea, permanent headquarters, Room 2, Postoffice Building. Open every evening. Business meetings every Thursday at 8 p. m. Public invited.

Comrade Berger had been invited to attend a conference of the oldest friends of Comrade E. V. Debs for the purpose of prevailing upon Debs to accept the nomination, but upon the urgent demands and appeals of Comrades Mailly, Carey and Gordon he consented to attend the peace conference instead. I made the proposition at the peace conference that in case Debs would not accept the nomination the S. D. P. nominate Harriman and Hays for the standard bearers of the united party and that the S. L. P. on their part pledge themselves to accept and work for the name Social Democratic Party as the official name of the united party. Comrades Hillquit and Harriman both agreed to this, Comrade Harriman pledging himself to write to all S. L. P. sections, appealing to them to vote for the name Social Democratic Party.

"Comrade Berger then put this question: 'How would it be about the name then in case Debs will run, do you still agree in that case to the name Social Democratic Party?' After some discussion, the point was made by Comrade Mailly, that Debs was the choice of all, that we, the S. D. P. were to accept Harriman and the S. L. P., on their part accept the name of the S. D. P. This was agreed to by both Harriman and Hillquit. Comrade Benham did not agree to this.

"The peace conference adjourned to meet at 11:30 p. m. In the meantime the other conference had succeeded in gaining Debs' consent to accept the nomination; he (Debs) giving his consent at almost the very minute that the peace conference adjourned. Things having been settled to the satisfaction of all, the 11:30 conference was not called simply because Debs' acceptance had settled everything.

F. G. R. Gordon.

Milwaukee, Wis., April 2, 1900.

STATE OF WISCONSIN } ss.
Milwaukee County }

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 3d day of April, 1900.

James A. Sheridan, Notary Public, Wisconsin.

Organize a Branch in Your Town

MINNESOTA
Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Gesswein, on Main St. A. Kingsbury, Secretary.

MISSOURI
St. Louis headquarters, Room 7, 23 N. Fourth St. Address all communications to E. Val Futnam, Secretary. For information concerning ward branches, inquire at the above address.

Branch No. 7, Kansas City, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1200 Union Ave. G. J. Storz, Secretary, 1230 W. 24th St.

MONTANA
Branch No. 2 meets first and third Sundays of each month at G. W. Wood's home, Chisno, Mont.

NEW JERSEY
Branch No. 1, Secretary, Michael W. Schor, 87 Livingston St.
Branch No. 5, Camden, N. J., meets every 3d Sunday of the month. For particulars address Paul Eberding, 1205 Kaigh's Avenue.

Branch No. 6 (German), Paterson, N. J., meets first and third Mondays at 8 p. m. at Helvelia Hall, 54-56 Van Hook St. Karl Leder, Secretary, 246 Edmund St.

NEW YORK
The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York and vicinity meets first and third Tuesdays of every month in Wilg's Hall, 23 E. 4th St. Elizabeth E. Thomas, Secretary.

East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every first and third Thursday at 113 Clinton St. A. Guyer, Secretary, 133 Suffolk St.

Branch No. 4, 24th Assembly District, meets second and fourth Wednesdays of the month at 1089 Second Ave., at the Central. Harry Lang, Secretary, 324 E. 60th St.

Branch No. 4, West Side Branch, New York, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of every month at headquarters, 129 W. 90th St. Elizabeth E. Thomas, Secretary.

Branch No. 5 Brooklyn, New York, meets every Saturday at 8 p. m., at 56 Moore St. Visitors welcome. Comrades desiring to organize should communicate with Secretary Sol. Freeman, 180 Boerum St.

Branch No. 10, 4th Assembly District, meets every first and third Wednesday of the month at the rooms of The Voice of Labor, 625 Grand St. Jacob Fanken, Organizer, 129 Division St.

Branch No. 12, Brooklyn, headquarters, 361 Rutledge St. Meets every third Thursday at 8:15 p. m. All persons interested are invited to attend these meetings and co-operate in organizing local branches in every district in the city. Wm. Butcher, Secretary, 361 Rutledge St.

Branch No. 21, regular meetings are held first and third Friday of the month, at Webster Hall, 14th St. and Third Ave., Borough of the Bronx, E. Spranger, Secretary, 311 E. 14th St. All persons interested in Socialism and the S. D. P. are invited to attend.

OHIO
Branch No. 2, Cleveland, meets in Ohlsen's Hall, 65 York St., second and fourth Sundays at 8 p. m. Lectures, discussions, business meetings, first and third Fridays at 8 p. m.

Branch No. 3, Cleveland, meets first and third Saturdays in each district at 8 p. m. in Ohlsen's Hall, 65 York St. Lectures and discussions.

Branch No. 4, Cincinnati, meets at Richelieu Hall, southeast corner 8th and Plum Sts., every Sunday at 2 p. m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Joe Jasini, Secretary, 1410 Central Ave.

Branch No. 5, Dayton, Ohio, meets every 1st and 3rd Friday evening, in Hall 27, Central Trades Council Building. Everyone interested in Socialism invited. J. C. Schwa, President, W. Bainger, Secretary, P. O. Box 334.

Branch No. 6, Cincinnati, meets every second and fourth Saturday in Workingmen's Hall, 135 Walnut St. F. Hanel, Secretary, 124 Fifth St.

Branch No. 11, German, Columbus, Ed Grainer, Secretary, 306 Mohawk St.

PENNSYLVANIA
Branch No. 2, Erie, meets every Sunday, 3 p. m., at E. of L. Hall, 718 State St. Chairman, Joseph Stais, Secretary, J. K. Perry, 115 Seneca St.

Branch No. 4, Pittsburgh, meets every Thursday evening at 7:30 p. m. at 1500 10th St. and Josephine St. W. Bohn, President, 344 Addison St. J. H. Lewis, Secretary, 315 Jane St.

Branch No. 5 (Jewish), Philadelphia, meets every Friday at 8:45 p. m. at 7:30. Discussion from 8 to 9. I. Gerson, Secretary.

WISCONSIN
Milwaukee Central Committee meets on the first Monday of each month at 8 p. m. sharp at 618 E. Water St. Eugene H. Rooney, Secretary, John Doerfer, Treasurer.

Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Tuesday evening of the month at the Ethical Society Building, 55 Jefferson St. Visitors always welcome. Howard Tuttle, Chairman, Eugene H. Rooney, Secretary.

Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Friday in Geisler's Hall, corner Green Bay and Congress Ave.

Branch No. 3, Sheboygan, meets every fourth Thursday of the month at Gustav Burgard's Hall, 121 Pennsylvania Ave. H. Schoen, Secretary-Treasurer, 8 1/2 12th St.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday each month at Miller's Hall, corner 23d and Brown Sts. George Moerschel, Secretary, 21 1/2 5th St.

Branch No. 5, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at E. Sigal's Hall, southeast corner Orchard St. and 9th Ave. Fred Bergmann, Secretary, 75 Windlake Ave.

Branch No. 11, Milwaukee, meets the second Wednesday of each month at the office of the Wisconsin Vorwarts, 614 State St.

Branch No. 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of each month at Kraus Hall, 21 and Center St., at 8 p. m. John Krenner, Secretary.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LIBRARY

Karl Marx, Capital, Cloth.....	00.00
F. W. Sprague—Socialism, from Genesis to Here.....	1.00
Cloth.....	1.00
Gronlund—The Co-operative Commonwealth.....	1.00
Paper.....	.50
August Bebel—Woman: Past, Present and Future.....	.50
Blutsky—Morris Engel.....	.50
Edward Bellamy—Looking Backward.....	1.00
Edward Bellamy—Equality, Cloth.....	1.00
Langens—History of the Commune of 1871.....	1.00
Chas. Vail—Modern Socialism.....	1.00
Asplund—History of Economics and Order.....	1.00
Proble.....	1.00
Henry Lloyd—Wealth Against Commonwealth.....	1.00
Volney—The Ruins of Empires.....	1.00
Thomas Paine—The Rights of Man.....	.50
Henry George—Social Problems.....	.50
Osborne Ward—The American Social Revolution.....	1.00
Adams—President John Smith.....	1.00
Richard T. Ely—Socialism and Social Reform.....	1.00
Bochner—Man in the Past, Present and Future.....	1.00
Benham—A History of the Paris Commune 1871 (cloth 75c), paper cover.....	.50
Chas. H. Vail—Principles of Scientific Socialism.....	.50
Harron—Between Jesus and Caesar.....	.50
Feblan Essays.....	.50
Rogers—Six Centuries of Work and Wages.....	.50
Paine—Rights of Man.....	.50
Donnelly—Cesar's Column.....	.50

PAMPHLETS

F. G. R. Gordon—Hard Times: Causes and Cures.....	.50
Leonard J. Abbott—The Society of the Future.....	.50
P. Lassalle—What is Capital.....	.50
H. M. Hyndman—Socialism and Progress.....	.50
P. Lassalle—The Workingman's Program.....	.50
Chas. H. Vail—The Industrial Revolution.....	.50

THE HERALD LEAFLETS
No. 1 Contains "A WORD WITH YOU, JOHN!" being an admirably prepared paper by "W. J. Fawcett," based on a chapter in "Morris Engel's" book.

"THE REAL MASTERS"—pertinent questions addressed to workmen.

"THE DECLARATION OF POLITICAL DEMANDS" of the Social Democratic Party of America.

No. 2 Contains "AROUSE, YE SLAVES!" a ringing address by E. V. Debs on Socialism and the Social Democratic Party, with a picture of the author.

"NOT A GHOST!" a bunch of pithy, pointed, "up-to-date" paragraphs, calculated to make people think for themselves.

1000 copies.....\$2.00
500 copies.....1.25
250 copies......75
100 copies......50

THEODORE DEBS, Secretary Treasurer,
126 Washington Street, Chicago.

The Social Democratic

Red Book
PRICE 15 CENTS
Sent postpaid on receipt of price
Debs Publishing Co.
TERRE HAUTE, IND.

THE MAJORITY REPORT

(Continued from First page)

4. A member in good standing of one Local shall have the right to attend and speak at any meeting of another Local, but shall not be allowed to vote.

5. No person shall be nominated as a candidate for any public office unless he has been a member of the party for at least six months and has identified himself with the party by active participation in its work.

6. No candidate of this party for any office shall be permitted to accept any nomination or endorsement from any other political party.

7. All powers not expressly delegated by this constitution are reserved to the party membership.

8. The National Council shall have the power to fix the per capita dues to be paid by members residing in the American colonies.

RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, That the Socialist policy and tactics toward the trade union movement as agreed upon at the National Conventions in Rochester and Indianapolis is hereby reaffirmed and adopted as the policy of the United Party.

QUESTION 2.

Are you in favor of the following platform? Vote yes or no.

PLATFORM.

The party of the United States, in convention assembled, reaffirms its allegiance to the revolutionary principles of International Socialism and declares the supreme political issue in America to-day, to be the contest between the working class and the capitalist class for the possession of the power of government. The party affirms its steadfast purpose to use those powers, once achieved, to destroy wage slavery, abolish the institution of private property in the means of production, and establish the co-operative commonwealth.

In the United States, as in all other civilized countries, the natural order of economic development has separated society into two antagonistic classes—the capitalists, a comparatively small class, the possessors of all the modern means of production and distribution (land, mines, machinery and means of transportation and communication), and the large and ever increasing class of wage workers possessing no means of production.

This economic supremacy has secured to the dominant class the full control of the government, the pulpit, the schools and the public press, thereby making it the arbiter of the fate of the working class, while it is reducing it to a condition of dependence, economically exploited and oppressed, intellectually and physically crippled and degraded and its political equality rendered a bitter mockery; and the contest between these two classes grows ever sharper. Hand in hand with the growth of monopolies goes the annihilation of small industries and the middle class depending upon them; ever larger grows the multitude of destitute wage workers and of the unemployed, and ever fiercer the struggle between the class of the exploiter and the exploited, the capitalists and the wage workers.

The evil effects of capitalist production are intensified by the recurring industrial crises continually rendering the existence of the greater part of the population more precarious and uncertain, which amply proves that the modern means of production have outgrown the existing social order based on production for profit.

Human energy and natural resources are wasted for individual gain.

Ignorance is fostered that wage slavery may be perpetuated. Science and invention are perverted to the exploitation of men, women and children.

The lives and liberties of the working class are recklessly sacrificed for profit. Wars are fomented between nations; indiscriminate slaughter is encouraged; the destruction of whole races is sanctioned in order that the capitalist class may extend its commercial dominion abroad and enhance its supremacy at home.

The introduction of a new and higher order of society is the historic mission of the working class. All other classes despite their apparent or actual conflicts are interested in the upholding of the system of private ownership of the means of production. We therefore charge that in this country the Democratic, Republican and all other parties which do not stand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production are alike the tools of the capitalist class.

The working class can not, however, act as a class in its struggle against the collective power of the capitalist class except by constituting itself into a political party, distinct and opposed to all parties formed by the propertied classes.

We, therefore, call upon the wage workers of the United States, without distinction of color, race or sex, and upon all citizens in sympathy with the historic mission of the working class to organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party, as a party truly representing the interests of the toiling masses and uncompromisingly waging war upon the exploiting class, until the system of wage slavery shall be abolished and the Co-operative Commonwealth shall be established.

Pending the accomplishment of this our ultimate purpose, we pledge every effort of the Socialist Labor Party for the immediate improvement of the condition of labor, and also for the securing of its progressive demands.

"Working men of all countries, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains, and a world to gain!"

As steps in that direction, we make the following demands:

First. Revision of our federal constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to complete control of government by the people irrespective of sex.

Second. The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

Third. The public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones; all means of transportation and communication; all water works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

Fourth. The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal and other mines, and all oil and gas wells.

Fifth. The reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

Sixth. The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

Seventh. Useful inventions to be free, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

Eighth—Labor legislation to be national, instead of local, and international when possible.

Ninth. National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.

Tenth. Equal civil and political rights, for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

Eleventh. The adoption of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

Twelfth. Abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

QUESTION 3.

Whereas the subscription to the Social Democratic Herald has heretofore been paid almost exclusively from the membership dues of the S. D. P., and whereas a change in the basis of subscription involved in this treaty will result in a considerable decrease in the income of said paper,

Resolved, That during the six months following the ratification of this treaty the management of the Social Democratic Herald may continue sending the said paper to all the present members of the S. D. P. and the expense of its publication not exceeding sixty dollars per week be paid by the National Executive Committee.

Vote yes or no.

QUESTION 4.

Resolved, That the Provisional National Executive Committee at its first meeting call upon the members of the united party in the city of Chicago to elect a National Campaign Committee with headquarters in that city, for the purpose of conducting the campaign of 1900 in conjunction with our candidates on the national ticket. The funds of the said committee shall be furnished by the N. E. C. and be raised by subscriptions.

On or before January 1, 1901, the Campaign Committee shall account for all its income and expense to the N. E. C. and deliver to the latter its funds, books and other property and its functions shall cease.

Vote yes or no.

QUESTION 5.

Resolved, That Comrade Eugene V. Dietzgen, now sojourning in Europe, shall represent the united party at the International Socialist Congress in Paris to be held this year.

Vote yes or no.

QUESTION 6.

Are you in favor of the name Social Democratic Party?

Are you in favor of the name United Socialist Party?

Vote for either one.

QUESTION 7.

In case the party name voted for by you fails to obtain the concurrent majority of both parties shall the name receiving the majority of the total vote of both parties be adopted?

Vote yes or no.

QUESTION 8.

Shall the affairs of the united party be managed by a Provisional National Executive Committee of ten to serve from the day this treaty of union shall go into effect until the first day of February, 1901? Said committee to consist of five members from each party, to be elected as follows: Two from the State of Massachusetts, two from the State of New York and one from the State of Connecticut?

Vote yes or no.

QUESTION 9.

The following ten comrades have been nominated by your Committee on Unity from the membership of the S. P.:

Massachusetts—

1. John C. Chase.

2. Margaret Haile.

3. Samuel M. Jones.

4. Frederick O. McCartney.

New York—

1. Wm. Butscher.

2. George Gordon.

3. A. Guyer.

4. J. Phillips.

Connecticut—

1. Wm. P. Lonergan.

2. Geo. Sweetland.

Vote for two names from the State of Massachusetts, two from the State of New York and one from the State of Connecticut. Put a cross opposite the name you wish to vote for.

QUESTION 10.

Resolved, That the Provisional National Executive Committee shall have the power to fill its own vacancies.

Vote yes or no.

QUESTION 11.

In addition to the said ten members of the Provisional National Executive Committee, each state shall be entitled to elect one additional representative to said committee, the expense of such additional representative to be borne by the respective states.

Vote yes or no.

QUESTION 12.

The Provisional National Executive Committee is instructed to publish the proceedings of the Rochester and Indianapolis conventions; also the proceedings of the conference on unity held in New York.

Vote yes or no.

QUESTION 13.

Resolved, That Eugene V. Debs serve as candidate of the united party for the office of President of the U. S. and Job Harriman as candidate of the united party for the office of Vice-President of the U. S.

Vote yes or no.

QUESTION 14.

The Provisional National Executive Committee is authorized to fill any vacancies on the national ticket.

Vote yes or no.

QUESTION 15.

Resolved, That the seat of the National Executive Committee be located in the city of Springfield, Mass., until the next national convention.

Vote yes or no.

QUESTION 16.

Resolved, That the national secretaries of both parties tabulate the results of this vote and transmit the same with the original returns to the members of the committee elected for that purpose at the conference in New York, to-wit: N. I. Stone of the S. L. P., and Wm. Butscher of the S. D. P.

Vote yes or no.

QUESTION 17.

Resolved, That the said committee of two after verifying the vote, in case this treaty is adopted, call upon the Provisional N. E. Committee elected thereby to assemble in the city of Springfield, Mass., on the Saturday of the week following.

Vote yes or no.

QUESTION 18.

The result of this vote shall be published in detail in the official organs of both parties.

Vote yes or no.

This vote must reach the National Secretary on or before May 30, 1900. All votes received after that date will not be counted.

Respectfully submitted,

Wm. Butscher,

For the Committee.

ORGANIZATION

To Texas Socialists

For purpose of State organization, the Bonham Social Democratic Branch requests that every Socialist in Texas who reads this notice, will please send name and address to the undersigned. Please attend to this at once. W. E. Farmer, Bonham, Texas.

All Socialist papers please publish.

To Our Connecticut Readers

All unattached Socialists in the state of Connecticut are requested to write Louis Schlaf, 26 Spring street, Rockville, for information concerning the organization of branches.

Southern California, Attention

All Socialists in the seven southern counties of Southern California should now get to work and so far as possible form branches in every voting precinct. To further this end communicate at once with James T. VanRensselaer, 1618 Towner street, Los Angeles, Cal.

To Our Washington Readers

Comrade D. Burgess of New Whatcom, Wash., has been selected as organizer for the state and is prepared to assist the Socialists of Washington in organizing branches of the S. D. P. Correspondence addressed to him will receive prompt attention.

North Dakota Socialists

Socialists residing in North Dakota and desiring to organize for effective propaganda work in that state are requested to correspond with Math. Eidness, Towner, N. D.

THE PLATFORM

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness depend upon equal political and economic rights.

In our economic development an industrial revolution has taken place, the individual tool of former years having become the social tool of the present. The individual tool was owned by the worker who employed himself and was master of his product. The social tool, the machine, is owned by the capitalist and the worker is dependent upon him for employment. The capitalist thus becomes the master of the worker and is able to appropriate to himself a large share of the product of his labor.

Capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people; but the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system will necessitate the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare.

The present system of social production and private ownership is rapidly converting society into two antagonistic classes—i. e., the capitalist class and the propertyless class. The middle class, once the most powerful of this great nation, is disappearing in the mill of competition. The issue is now between the two classes first named. Our political liberty is of little value to the masses unless used to acquire economic liberty.

Independent political action and the trade union movement are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its political, the other its economic wing, and both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system.

Therefore the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be:

First—The organization of the working class into a political party to conquer the public powers now controlled by capitalists.

Second—The abolition of wage-slavery, by the establishment of a national system of co-operative industry, based upon the social or common ownership of the means of production and distribution, to be administered by society in the common interest of all its members, and the complete emancipation of the socially useful classes from the domination of capitalism.

The working class and all those in sympathy with their historic mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America. The control of political power by the Social Democratic party will be tantamount to the abolition of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting the millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international Socialism, the brotherhood of man. As steps in that direction, we make the following demands:

First—Revision of our federal constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to complete control of government by the people irrespective of sex.

Second—The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

Third—The public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones; all means of transportation, and communication; all water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

Fourth—The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal, and other mines, and all oil and gas wells.

Fifth—The reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

Sixth—The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

Seventh—Useful inventions to be free, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

Eighth—Labor legislation to be national, instead of local, and international when possible.

Ninth—National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.

Tenth—Equal civil and political rights, for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

Eleventh—The adoption of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

Twelfth—Abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

ATTITUDE TOWARD TRADE UNIONS

In accordance with our declaration of principles we declare that the trades union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the wage-working class. We recommend to the members of the Social Democratic party the following general rules:

First—Join the union of your respective trade.

Second—Assist in building up and strengthening the trade union movement.

Third—Support the union labels of all crafts.

Fourth—Educate your fellow-unionists on the question of Socialism and the labor movement, on economic and political lines.

Fifth—It shall be your duty to work for the unity of the labor movement, thereby recognizing the fact that the emancipation of the working class can only be achieved by the united efforts of this class.

Sixth—Educate the members of the unions in the principles of Socialism and induce them, individually, to affiliate with the Social Democratic party.

Seventh—Trades unions are by historical necessity organized on neutral grounds, as far as political affiliation is concerned. The trades union is the arena where all wage-workers may be brought together for joint action to resist the encroachments of capitalism on the economic field and to participate in the class struggle of the proletariat which will finally develop into the political alignment of the forces of labor in the struggle for proletarian emancipation.

The Social Democratic

Red Book

ORDER IT

Edited by FREDERIC HEATH

PRICE 15 CENTS

Sent postpaid on receipt of price

DEBS PUBLISHING CO.

TERRE HAUTE, IND.

NATIONAL FUND

The following is a list of comrades who have agreed, in response to the appeal of the National Executive Board, to contribute monthly for one year to the national fund. Other names will be added as they are received.

CONNECTICUT

Fiske, H. E., Hartford

Holmes, B., Hartford

ILLINOIS

Stedman, S., Chicago

James Cox, Chicago

P. F. Ayer, Chicago

"A Friend", Chicago

Dr. J. H. Greer, Chicago

Mrs. C. Brown, Chicago

"Friend", Chicago

James Wright, Chicago

INDIANA

E. V. Debs, Terre Haute

MASSACHUSETTS

Wheeler, P. H., Haverhill

Cohen, A., Boston

Farber, Levi, W. Newton

Monette, G. B., Brockton

Bowditch, W. F., Brockton

Tate, Peter, Everett

Hitchcock, D. G., Warren

Goldman, S., W. Newton

Chase, J. C., Haverhill

Brown, J. W., Templeton

Gleason, C. S., Andover

Aliso, Helen, N. Lynn

Keown, Dr. J. A., Lynn

Carney, Jas. F., Haverhill

MICHIGAN

Kelher, S., Grand Rapids

MINNESOTA

Goswain, F. Red Lake Falls

MISSOURI

Fischer, Wm., St. Louis

Fellner, Henry, St. Louis

Roesche, Wm., St. Louis

MARYLAND

Jacobson, E., Baltimore

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Gordon, F. G., Manchester

Bowles, Geo., Manchester

Mellen, C. H., Somersworth

"Somersworth Branch"

NEW YORK

Fiske, H. E., Hartford

Holmes, B., Hartford

Stedman, S., Chicago

James Cox, Chicago

P. F. Ayer, Chicago

"A Friend", Chicago

Dr. J. H. Greer, Chicago

Mrs. C. Brown, Chicago

"Friend", Chicago

James Wright, Chicago

NEW JERSEY

Fiske, H. E., Hartford

Holmes, B., Hartford

Stedman, S., Chicago

James Cox, Chicago

P. F. Ayer, Chicago

"A Friend", Chicago

Dr. J. H. Greer, Chicago

Mrs. C. Brown, Chicago

"Friend", Chicago

James Wright, Chicago

OHIO

Fiske, H. E., Hartford

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

VOL. II. No. 44

CHICAGO, ILL., U.S.A., SATURDAY, APRIL 21, 1900.

Whole No. 94.

THE ISSUES OF UNITY

Eugene V. Debs Clearly States His Position. Exhaustive Enunciation of His Views

OPINIONS OF MEMBERS AND OTHERS

Comrades:—A crisis is upon us. The very life of our party is threatened. Shall it emerge from the ordeal in glory or perish in ignominy? If we be men, fit and worthy to have custody of a party to which the working class are turning with a last hope, the issue is not in doubt for a single instant.

Shall the S. D. P. and the S. L. P. unite upon the basis agreed to and recommended by the majority of the New York conference?

I have read the report of the conference, the manifesto of the executive board of the S. D. P., the replies thereto by Comrades Harriman, Hillquit, Hayes and Benham, the current issues of the press of both parties, as also a vast number of personal communications relative to the unity proceedings, and after a careful survey of the entire situation and the maturest deliberation of which I am capable, I have arrived at a conclusion, and I now propose to meet the responsibilities that rest upon me in my triple capacity as member, official and candidate, by declaring my position in clear and unequivocal terms and facing without fear all its consequences, be they what they may.

As I write I see the blanched faces, the appealing eyes of the working class, to whom alone, and my own conscience, I am finally accountable for my acts. Rather than betray them and turn their hope into despair, I would destroy myself, and if in what I now have to say I write a word not dictated by my conscience and approved by my best judgment, I hope the hand that pens it may be palsied at its task.

Dismissing all personal prejudice and all partisan predilection and viewing the matter solely from the standpoint of a socialist to whom the cause is dearer far than his own life, I take my stand against union of the parties on the basis proposed by the New York conference, and until our party has been rescued from the maelstrom which threatens to engulf it, against union on any terms. I say this with the fullest realization of what it means to break with comrades loved and true, yet sustained by the conviction that duty demands it, that time will triumphantly vindicate the action and that the odium of to-day will be the honor of the future.

Let I be misunderstood let me write it in plain words. I am opposed to union because I favor unity. In the present strained situation there can be unity without union, but there can be none with it; and as certain as it is effected, if such should be the verdict of the ballot, the Social Democratic party will be disrupted and there will be no unity in the united party.

In arriving at my conclusions I have been guided largely by my intuitions, but I shall try to make the reasons which actuated me as clear as I can to my comrades of both parties.

It will be remembered that a short time previous to the convention I wrote an article for the Herald saying that in my opinion the time for union had not yet arrived, which article provoked considerable criticism. For months I had been doing all I consistently could to harmonize the two parties and to pave the way to unification. There were many obstacles in the way. For years the official organ of the S. L. P. had drilled it into their members that the S. D. P. consisted of a lot of freaks, frauds and fakirs without a redeeming feature. They were fairly saturated with the virus of hate and contempt. Hundreds of them, members of the anti-De Leon party, and I speak advisedly, still rankle with that feeling which, to even the superficial observer, is but ill concealed. It is this sort of training in the school of intolerance, fanaticism and hate which have given the party a spirit irreconcilably in conflict with that of the Social Democratic party which by its high-minded toleration has appealed so successfully to the American people in behalf of socialism that its complete supremacy as the socialist party was only a question of months, while at every step of its progress its members were derided as "half-baked socialists" by the very men who now, we are assured, insist upon union. The spirit is still there, whatever may be said to the contrary, and it is this that, in my opinion, prevented the S. L. P. representatives from even temporarily accepting our name, even though they had to change their own, even though some of them assured us it would be done and even though our identity be totally obliterated on the eve of a national campaign.

It is this spirit with which I have to deal and it is this that largely forms the basis of my opposition to union.

I shall not attempt to follow the unity proceedings through their tortuous windings. I care nothing about quibbles and hair-splitting technicalities. There are those who are schooled in artifice, in word jugglery, in the legerdemain of smooth and cunning phrase which can be made to mean anything or nothing, and they are proud of it. I am not an adept in such practice and have no desire to be.

When the representatives of the S. L. P. appeared at our convention and assured us that they wanted unity I unqualifiedly accepted their word and persuaded myself that my misgivings had been exaggerated; nor shall I now charge them with violating their pledges, although it seems clear to me in the light of subsequent proceedings that in their zeal to effect union they exceeded the scope of their authority and went counter to the wishes of their party.

Comrade Harriman will doubtless recall the conversation he and I had as we together walked to the convention hall to attend the closing session at which I accepted the nomination. Without any reservation whatever he assured me that the name Social Democratic party was entirely acceptable to him and that he was confident that his party felt as he did, and that there would be no opposition upon that point. He also added that on the eve of a campaign was no time to make a change, and that whatever change might seem desirable could be made after the national election by the united party.

Now I admit that the name in itself amounts to little and should not stand in the way of union one instant, but it is what the name stands for, the spirit, the morale, the party identity, that amounts to everything and (let us not be deceived) it is this that inspired the labored arguments in opposition to the name, so that while the name itself is of no consequence it covers the central, controlling issue between the two parties and in rejecting it, the S. L. P. representatives, inadvertently perhaps, struck the proposed union a fatal blow, and as I now view it, fortunately so for the cause of socialism.

To what extent did this conflict of party spirit actually dominate the conference?

Referring to the name, the attitude of the S. L. P. amounted to this: "We are going to change our name, but will not have yours." In the matter of headquarters each party said in effect: "I can't have it and therefore you shan't," and made a selection ridiculously unsuitable for a national party.

Without going further it is perfectly obvious that in all of this the S. L. P. shrewdly yielded little or nothing, while our party surrendered practically everything, and the adoption of the majority report would simply mean the swallowing up of the Social Democratic party and its domination by an element composed largely of men who had despised and ridiculed it and who would to-day scorn the suggestion of union did they not see the handwriting on the wall; and this perfectly plain and evident fact many of our own comrades who are clamoring for unconditional union seem utterly unable to see.

If unity was possible when the conference met, it was no longer possible when it closed. It is admitted that they had a complicated situation to deal with and if they did the best they could they were simply unequal to the task, and so far as failure is chargeable to the conference I have no more fault to find with the S. L. P. representatives than with our own. From first to last there was sparring for party advantage instead of an honest, controlling desire for unification, and this in itself, conspicuous in every important feature of the negotiations, proves beyond cavil the conflict of party spirit.

Some of our own comrades will deny this, for while they are members of the S. D. P. they have the spirit of the S. L. P., just as there are members of the latter who are in accord with the spirit of our party.

The National Executive Board has been severely censured for issuing its manifesto in advance of the majority report. My name is not attached to it, but I am equally responsible with my four associates for what it contains. If it is "criminal" and "malicious," as charged, I claim my full share of the odium, not

from any sense of self-sacrifice, but because I endorse, if not the specific grounds, the action, and am prepared to answer for my share of it.

The purport of the report had gone out. It had struck the party with the effect of a lightning stroke and revolt threatened instantaneously. Prompt action was required in the emergency and the board took it and will stand by it until time vindicates their fealty and turns denunciation into praise. Had they not acted as they did the party would ere this be deserted of hundreds of loyal comrades, the very ones who worked and sacrificed, and put up the money, too, to make the national party what it is to-day. I am not now discussing the justice of revolt. They do occur and unless the executive board had taken prompt action the S. D. P. would have been disrupted, and even though part of it had united with the S. L. P. we would no more have a united Socialist party than we had before.

I have said that the spirit of the two parties, as a whole, is totally dissimilar and it is this fact rather than the incidents to it, that is responsible for the failure of the union. The S. L. P. was trained in the bitter school of bigotry and intolerance. It must preserve an air frigidly scientific. Emotion and sentiment must be banished. Hard and stern are the party methods and it must be confined strictly to the working class. Tolerance is a crime. Members must suspicion each other and rows must occur at such intervals as to prevent the party from getting beyond the bounds of a mere faction. It has taken years to cultivate and intensify this spirit that has dwarfed socialism in America, and it cannot be overcome in a day nor by resolutions passed in a conference.

Diametrically opposite to this is the spirit of the S. D. P. It has from the beginning been tolerant and hospitable.

It pursued the even tenor of its way through showers of abuse. Its dignified policy, its spirit of toleration appealed to the people, while its comrades loved and trusted each other and worked with inexpressible zeal for its success.

I cheerfully admit that in some places the spirit of the parties has so modified as to make union entirely feasible. But this is not true of the parties at large. Take Chicago, for example. We are told the S. L. P. have 600 comrades there. Not one of them all told have ever been at our headquarters, even since the unity negotiations have been in progress. At heart they have no use for our comrades and hold them in contempt, and it should also be said that our comrades have no use for them. This is the fact, and there is no use trying to conceal it. Taken as a whole, they will not work together, and all the resolutions that can be passed will not unite them in their present spirit toward each other. To put them into one party at this time means simply disruption and disaster. Better far to keep them in separate parties until the logic of events has ripened them for union.

In discussing the spirit of the S. L. P. I am struck by the exhibition of it which appears in Comrade Benham's letter, which I wish every one of our comrades to read with care, especially the paragraphs in which he charges our executive board, in innuendo so direct that specific averment could add nothing to its force, with being in the pay of capitalism. I confess to being greatly surprised in the source in which that spirit had found expression. Comrade Benham's letter must furnish its own comment so far as I am concerned. After reading what he has to say, and the manner in which he says it, I am satisfied that he and I are not ready to belong to the same socialist party.

It seems hardly possible that this is the same comrade who in the convention made the touching plea to me to accept the nomination for president, inviting me to his California home to have my health and vigor restored by the balmy breezes of the tropics; and yet was it not that same evening at the "peace conference" that he took the ground that if I were given the nomination he would insist upon our party giving up its name? Just why my nomination should be at the expense of my party's name I will leave others to explain.

It has been charged that Victor Berger knew that I would accept the nomination before he went into the "peace conference." This is not true. Up to the time the convention adjourned I had steadfastly refused the nomination. I left the hall with my brother alone, and after a long struggle with myself concluded to accept the nomination. I did not know a conference was held and did not see Berger until after it adjourned. He could not have known that I would accept the nomination for I had not at that time communicated the fact to any one.

For the reasons herein imperfectly stated I am opposed to union at this time, and I shall vote against it and also against the report of the majority and use my best efforts to defeat both.

I propose to stand by the Social Democratic party until conditions favor a united party; and my judgment is that this consummation will not be deferred long after the national election. In the meantime I stand ready to work in harmony with the S. L. P., and so far as I am concerned, we shall go into the national campaign with a united front.

I shall not resign the nomination at this time unless the party desires it. I did not want the nomination at the convention, but I shall not desert when the party needs me. Nor can I be neutral, as some of my best loved comrades insist, without feeling myself guilty of cowardice. The effect upon myself personally is of no consequence, and I am not concerned upon that point. It has been intimated that the reason I did not want the nomination this year was because I wished to nurse my chances till the party became strong enough to elect. All I have to say is that the presidency and all other offices are alike to me and I do not think there is a man living who has a stronger aversion than I to public office; and that I am a candidate at all is simply because of an overwhelming sense of party duty.

And now I respectfully propose the following line of action: First, let us decide against union at this time and reject the majority report.

Second, elect a national executive board of nine members by referendum vote. Upon this board women should be represented by their own sex.

Third, elect a national secretary and treasurer and editor of the official organ.

Fourth, elect a national campaign committee.

This program can be carried out in short order and then we will be ready to co-operate with the S. L. P. in moving on the enemy with a united front. If they are willing to unite on candidates, that can be readily arranged, and if not we will go into the campaign with our own. We will lose no time in attacking the common enemy. Wherever it is possible let the two parties unite on candidates and otherwise co-operate, and where this cannot be done there need at least be no friction. Separately organized, the parties can move forward on parallel lines and accomplish the substantial objects of unity; while these must certainly be defeated by an enforced union of elements that are fundamentally dissimilar and inharmonious.

Such co-operation as is herein indicated would be in the nature of a preparatory stage for final union and would inevitably lead to such a result.

And now a closing word to our comrades. How far you may agree or disagree with me I do not know. I have given you as accurately as I could a transcript of my head and heart. I have written without malice toward any one and with the cause of socialism the guiding influence in reaching my decisions. You are to decide this important question and I have no wish to control your action. Having faith in your judgment and your loyalty I have no fear of the verdict you will render.

I hope that each of you will carefully read all the testimony presented by both sides before you cast your vote. Read the N. Y. People, the Cleveland Citizen, and other S. L. P. papers as well as the Social Democratic Herald, and then vote as your conscience may dictate, and the party we love and which has been such a shining success will emerge from the fire unscathed, and tempered by the heat and passion of conflict will be better than ever fitted to enter upon the glorious future that awaits it.

Yours fraternally,
Eugene V. Debs.
Terre Haute, Ind., April 16, 1900.

Benham's Vow

Editor The Herald: Your paper of April 7 contains a "manifesto" in which four of the S. D. P. national executive committee arraign all the S. L. P. delegates (from the Rochester convention to the Indianapolis convention) as men who in the conference committee broke pledges made in Indianapolis. The manifesto also distinctly avows that the S. D. P. delegates to the conference were false to the interests of the S. D. P.

The manifesto is biased, illogical and untrue; it bears evidence in almost every line that all information that was furnished as its base came not from the majority of the S. D. P. committee, or from any one who wished to make known facts, but from a minority, who went to the conference with cut-and-dried plans (perhaps instructions) to practically absorb the S. L. P. or to do what has been attempted by this manifesto—to tear down the reputation of all who were foremost or active in the movement for unity. As I have been included (paragraph 4) in the list of those who broke their pledges I send this to you for publication. It will probably be published in an obscure part of the paper. Almost the entire front page was used by your committee in an

attempt to blacken the character of all concerned in the conference. It is evident that the four signers had rather place any obstacle in the way of the Socialist movement than to see local power and interests made smaller, as the Socialist movement grew larger by the unification of the political organizations.

Many weeks ago I pointed out in the Class Struggle that the opposition to unity would come only from these individuals holding high or salaried positions. The unexpected has not occurred. But that the method should be that of De Leon—ruthless and reckless character assassination—no one could well expect from those who profess the high principles of Socialism. Yet such is the case.

I shall not attempt (nor could I in twice the space occupied by the manifesto) to call attention to all the errors and untruths in the manifesto. It is one huge, black daub, hurled with but one intent, to besmirch the reputation of those who have served the Socialist cause honorably, faithfully and to the best of their ability. A great majority of the conference committee were for many years working and struggling to advance the Socialist movement when the signers of your manifesto were advertising the reactionary doctrines of the middle class reformers.

I shall here only partially refer to the absolute falsehoods of the manifesto. The accusation by intimation and attacks by innuendo; the blunders and contradictions cannot at all be attended to here.

The falsehoods in part are:

No. 1. That The Herald was open to discussion regarding unity. It was not "open." It was closed to many that I know of.

No. 2. That Benham broke any pledge.

No. 3. That Benham ever agreed to "aggressively" support the name S. D. P. I was known to be opposed to the name S. D. P., but said I would withdraw opposition if Harriman and Hayes were nominated. They were not nominated. I opposed the name in the conference but broke no pledge in so doing.

No. 4. That the Indianapolis convention was essentially a mass convention. It was nothing of the kind; it was a convention in which one-fourth of the delegates had a majority of the voting power in their pockets. Though dozens of questions were decided, the delegates voted but twice by recording the votes of the signers of their credentials.

No. 5. That Harriman has ever agreed to support the name S. D. P. without reservation, is untrue. When Harriman and Hillquit (with so much mystery) were charged by Heath in the conference committee, the matter was shown to be so absurd that no one except Heath showed any signs of believing a word of it, and Heath put in his time explaining how he had been misled into the belief, etc. Stedman and Margaret Haile afterwards insisted on Hillquit being a candidate for provisional committee, and both said he was the best man New York could furnish, all S. D. P. delegates concurring, except Heath, who sulked.

No. 6. That Benham ever used the word "acceptable" in connection with the words Social Democratic. No such word as acceptable was ever used, intimated or implied. I only bore with the name on the ground that the nomination of Harriman and Hayes would make its application to the united party possible.

No. 7. That Harriman and Hillquit ever obligated themselves in any manner to support the name S. D. P. in the conference, except with the proviso that such course was necessary to enable Berger to "use his influence for two hours." Berger did not even see Debs before the latter's acceptance was made public; therefore, there could not possibly be any continuance of a contingent pledge, as the contingency was absent.

No. 8. That Max Hayes ever by word or act in New York or elsewhere, either attacked or declined to support the name S. D. P.

No. 9. That the name was discussed for one whole day. It was discussed exactly four hours—from 2 to 6 p. m., Sunday, March 25.

No. 10. That the committee on conference voted for or proposed to submit two names until the S. D. P. delegation, through Chase, made the proposition on Monday morning.

No. 11. Stedman did not state at the conference that Harriman had no conditions upon his statement regarding name. Stedman said "he did not remember anything of that kind in that conversation on the street."

No. 12. It is false that the Indianapolis convention did (or could) "instruct" the joint committee. It might instruct the S. D. P. delegates; but not the joint committee.

No. 13. That the S. L. P. has studiously avoided giving information re-

(Continued on Fourth page)

Social Democratic Herald

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board
JESSE COX, Chairman
KIMMOUR STEWART, Secretary
EUGENE V. DEBS, VICTOR L. HENGER, FREDERICK HEATH

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, \$5.00. Six months, \$3.00. No papers sent to any one on credit. If, without having subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and no bill will follow. Foreign subscriptions \$1.00.

Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

A. S. EDWARDS, Editor
THEODORE DEBS, National Sec'y-Treas.
136 Washington St., Chicago.

94 is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 94 your subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, APR. 21, 1900.

NOTICE

We wish the membership at large to understand that no communications addressed to The Herald on the subject before them will be suppressed, but that all the paper will hold up to the issue for May 5 will be published. Then, having passed over this bit of rough road, and the vote announced May 12, The Herald will return to its propaganda for Socialism and the Social Democratic party.

THE SITUATION CLEARED UP

It is now admitted by the S. L. P. delegates that if the ticket nominated had been Harriman and Hayes they would have supported the name Social Democrat. They say distinctly (see Harriman and Hillquit letter) it is true that they pledged themselves to the name if Harriman and Hayes should be nominated. So far the statements made by Gordon and Edwards are admittedly true. "But," say the authors of the joint letter, "Harriman and Hayes were not nominated," and since the Social Democratic convention chose to nominate as the head of the ticket Eugene V. Debs instead of Job Harriman, they now set up the paltry defense that they were absolved from the pledges given just as emphatically for the Debs-Harriman ticket. No genius is required to see clear through so thinly veiled an excuse. Benham says that he "only bore with the name on the ground that the nomination of Harriman and Hayes (which would have pleased him beyond measure) would make its application (acceptance) possible." There never was the slightest doubt as to where Benham stood on the question of name so long as the candidates talked of were Harriman and Hayes. They all agree that if Harriman and Hayes had been nominated they would have been satisfied and the name would have stood. In this they all agree that Edward and Gordon have stated the truth.

But the convention nominated Debs and Harriman and they are not satisfied, although the pledges of Hillquit and Harriman, in spite of their quibbling about Berger's position and what Berger said or did not say, were as clearly understood and as positive on the Debs-Harriman proposition as on the other. With Debs at the head of the ticket they deliberately chose to throw their pledges to the wind. Then by making the claim that there were other "conditions," they seek to prejudice the minds of Social Democrats against the executive board and those who are admitted to have told the truth in one particular and, as a matter of fact, have told it all. Harriman and Hillquit say "it is not true" that they promised to support the name Social Democratic in the event that the ticket nominated would be Debs and Harriman; further along, after injecting the quibble about Berger, they say that in answer to Berger's question: "Will you permit me to say to him (Debs) that your position on the question of name would not be changed [changed from what?] if he accepted the nomination?" that this was what actually occurred: "To that question Benham answered in the negative and Harriman and Hillquit in the affirmative."

What does this mean except that Edwards' and Gordon's statements are confirmed as a whole and every attempt to discredit them only shows that the S. L. P. delegates and all in sympathy with them are trying to fortify themselves behind the paltry quibble that "when the pledges were given Debs had accepted without having been influenced by Berger." Therefore they were released and would jeopardize the whole question of union by declaring the conference, which at the time they regarded as important (especially as at first it promised to result in the nomination of Harriman and Hayes) as having "no significance."

Comrades, what a significance would now attach to that conference, in the estimation of the S. L. P. delegates, had the Social Democratic convention nominated both of their men!

It is contended that the conference of ten had no power or authority to arrange a program; that they could not legally pass upon questions which belonged solely to the convention. The

contention is unchallenged. Nobody argues that they could. But any ten men had the moral right in behalf of unity to consult together. This was done in other matters and the motives or character of the comrades who took part have not been assailed. It is not doubted that they were actuated purely by a desire to serve the cause. But as to those of the seven who have told the truth about the "peace conference" (while others who were present and know the truth has been told, either remain silent or put a false construction upon it), they are actuated solely by a desire to "rule or ruin."

Now, comrades, take another view of the affair. When Comrade Debs had declined the nomination and delegates left the hall, most of them did so thinking that Harriman and Hayes would be nominated next day. Of that there is no doubt. Suppose the "peace conference" had met, talked over the situation, agreed among themselves that the best thing to do for union would be to nominate Harriman and Hayes, and pledged themselves to that. Suppose then that some of their number had gone to the convention next day and opposed the nominations. Who would have questioned the moral right of those attending the conference to make such a compact in the interest of unity, and how many of the sixty-seven delegates would have failed to score the opposition for their "perfidy"? Imagine the indignation of Hillquit, Harriman, Hayes and Benham under such circumstances, especially if the opposition had succeeded!

Members of the Social Democratic party cannot be persuaded that the members of the executive board had any hidden motives in issuing the manifesto. They were actuated by one desire only; that was to conserve the interests of a movement for which they as individuals had done as much as any like number of members in the party, and a vast deal more than the "statesmen" who have conspired against them. To now charge them with being recreant to their trust is as paltry as it is untrue and dishonest. But it is quite in keeping with the methods that were adopted before the Indianapolis convention to discredit them, and it is in perfect accord with the methods of escheatism. The latter is finely illustrated in the scurrilous screed by Benham printed in this paper. This ardent advocate of unity (if Harriman and Hayes were nominated) descends to delectable billingsgate and intimates that the manifesto was a service paid for in the interest of capitalism! Ordinarily such venom as Benham exudes would be excluded from this paper; but this is given as a fair, average sample of S. L. P. "argument."

Comrades of the Social Democratic Party: When the advocates of "union at any cost and under any condition" (!) urge that your executive board had no right to issue the "manifesto," there are four important points to be remembered: First—That there was no other way in which the truth could have come into your possession; you never would have had it from S. L. P. sources for reasons that must be obvious to all.

Second—If you had been allowed to act upon the majority report in ignorance of the gross violation of pledges, no man will have the temerity to suggest that your executive board would not properly have been open to censure for permitting the consummation of union under circumstances which, at the very outset, were prohibitive of union.

Third—The compact made at Indianapolis having been violated, it is your clear and undoubted right to pass judgment upon that violation; for you, as members of the Social Democratic party, this question now takes precedence over all others. Do not be deceived by specious explanations. The facts are before you.

Fourth—The question for members of the organization to decide is not as to the merits or demerits of the executive board, but whether in the face of all the facts union is desirable. Under the constitution adopted at Indianapolis you will soon choose a new board of nine, and the present board is ready to relinquish its duties as soon as your decision is known.

Vote on the proposition of your executive board and against the majority report. Vote for the spirit and methods of the Social Democratic party and its preservation.

JESSE COX RESIGNS

To the National Board of the Social Democratic Party: Herewith I transmit my resignation as a member of your honorable board, and beg its immediate acceptance.

In presenting this resignation, I desire to make a few remarks as to the present condition of the Social Democratic party, as well as my reasons for my resignation.

The Social Democratic party was organized at a time when the Socialist Labor party had been in existence for many years. It was believed by the men who organized the S. D. P. that a new Socialist party was needed to occupy a field not reached by the S. L. P., and that an entirely different policy from that of the S. L. P. was necessary to occupy this field and make a successful Socialist party.

The trades unions had been antagonized by the S. L. P., and were, therefore, bitterly hostile to that party. The policy of the S. L. P. was narrow and intolerant. Men who for many years had been in the Socialist movement, and whose character and conduct should have entitled them to the highest respect from the party, were without cause charged with crimes against the party, put on trial, and expelled from the party often for the merest and most innocent trifles. Indeed, the men who had the management of the party, having little knowledge of men, and no experience in the affairs of life, seemed to think that they could treat men as children, and punish them as such. To criticize the management of the party was treason; to be punished by immediate expulsion. The employer of labor, though poorer than the men he employed; the professional man, though perhaps living merely from hand to mouth; every one indeed, but the manual laborer, was looked upon with suspicion when attempting to join the party. To attach oneself to the party, was to submit one's person and reputation to the jurisdiction of men, who had got possession of a few catch words, which they called scientific Socialism, but who were, in fact, persons of the most contracted views, and particularly ignorant of almost everything pertaining to the successful management of a great organization. There were exceptions, of course; but these were few, and scarcely to be found among the managers of the party.

The propaganda of the S. L. P. was largely a matter of vituperation, misrepresentation, and scurrilous abuse of all who dared to exercise the slightest independence of thought or action. It was the endeavor of the party to rouse the hatred of the working class against the individuals of the possessing class, rather than against the physical conditions that produced class distinctions.

A movement like this was necessarily confined to narrow limits, and could never reach the proportions of a triumphant political party.

In saying this, I do not wish to be understood as attacking the sincerity of the motives even of the managers of the party. I speak in all kindness. It is by their acts alone that they must be judged.

In the organization of the Social Democratic party, it was endeavored to avoid these mistakes of the S. L. P. A friendly attitude was adopted towards the trades unions. The platform and policy of the party was such as to attract all classes suffering from the evils of capitalism. The propaganda was directed to excite hatred of these evils, rather than of individuals of the class which had profited by the malorganization of society, for which it was not responsible. But abuse of power by the possessing class was not spared. The propaganda of the party was reasonable, dignified and convincing, and the result was a most rapid growth of the party. Influential newspapers which had been without reason antagonized by the S. L. P. became staunch supporters of the new movement. Although the party has been in existence but a little over a year and a half, it has branches in almost every state, and is favorably known everywhere.

The party organ passed by without notice, the malicious and scurrilous attacks incessantly made upon the party and its prominent members by the S. L. P. The party refused to be drawn into any controversy with the S. L. P.

A party having such judicious management as had the S. L. P. could not long exist without internal dissensions; and finally these dissensions caused a division of the party. Each faction accused the other in choicest billingsgate, of being responsible for the causes of the party mismanagement, which they all now admitted had taken place.

But in truth it was impossible to locate the responsibility for these causes, since while they were acting, scarcely any of either faction raised a protest against the management. The factions fought each other with fist and club, litigated in the courts, and separated.

There is no evidence that the men of either faction of the S. L. P. have changed their character, or their tactics. There is no reason to believe that the policy of either faction can ever permanently change. Men cannot change their nature by a resolution of a convention.

In a caucus of the delegates to the Indianapolis convention I frankly opposed any step towards any organic union with the S. L. P. I believed that any such union at that time would result in injury to the Socialist movement. The two parties occupied different fields, were composed mostly of men of different characters and temperaments, and, as I believed, could not at that time, or in the near future, act in harmony. I thought the two parties might vote for the same national candidates under proper arrangements, but maintaining their own separate organizations, which could be friendly to each other. I thought that the convention should appoint no committee to confer with the committee of nine appointed by the Rochester convention of the S. L. P., except such committee as should report back to the convention itself while in

session. I advocated these views in caucus, and privately to the delegates. I pointed out that, in my judgment, any committee we might appoint to meet the S. L. P. committee of nine under the terms imposed by the S. L. P. convention would inevitably get the worst of the bargain, as our men were no match for the men of the S. L. P. in capacity for intrigue and unscrupulous trickery. Our delegates expressed themselves in caucus, and privately, as tenacious of the name and organization of the Social Democratic party, on account both of the record of the party, and the international character of the name. But the S. L. P. delegates who attended the Indianapolis convention, and were admitted to the privileges of the floor, abused the courtesy thus accorded them, and by misleading speeches, false promises, and threats of withdrawal if their own terms were not conceded, won over the well-meaning but inexperienced and too confiding delegates in the convention, to submit not only the name, but the organization, national organ, and very existence of the party to the tender mercies of the joint committee of eighteen.

The result is, that if the report of this committee be adopted, the name, policy, organization and national organ of the S. D. P. will be extinguished; the Socialist Labor party will survive alone, and the same old policy and tactics, which for so many years dwarfed the Socialist movement, will again have sway, making it impossible for self-respecting people to remain affiliated with the organization, and confining the movement to a little sect, whose influence must always be insignificant.

If any one has any doubt about the statement that the men of the faction of the S. L. P. which met at Rochester have not changed their character, let him read the letters now pouring into headquarters from these very men. These letters are filled with malicious abuse and misrepresentation, and indicate that the same vicious spirit that so many years characterized the S. L. P. is still existent in them. Association with such men as these would be intolerable.

Many of the members of the S. D. P. are inexperienced in the movement, and do not know or appreciate the nature and consequences of such a step as the adoption of the report of the committee of eighteen. Let us hope, however, that our members will reject that report, and every part of it.

I have been for a long time anxious to be relieved of my duties and responsibilities as a member of the national executive board. My private business presses me, and I have reached an age when I can no longer stand the additional work, care and anxiety which are necessarily imposed upon a member of the board. Had I been present at the convention when I was re-elected I should have declined re-election. While I am ready to aid the Socialist movement by every means in my power, I think younger men than I should be selected for committee work. I have done such work now in Socialist and semi-Socialist movements for about twenty years, and think I have earned the right to a rest.

I will thank your board, therefore, to promptly accept my resignation, and fill the vacancy thereby created.

In closing, let me express my high appreciation of the very friendly and harmonious relations which have always existed among the members of the present national executive board. Its meetings have always been meetings of warm friends engaged in a common cause, and I shall always recollect them with pleasure.

Fraternally yours,

Jesse Cox.

Chicago, April 11, 1900.

Benham's Thousand and One Reasons

Comrades: After carefully reading the manifesto of the N. E. B. and the "answer" of Comrades Harriman and Hillquit in New York Volkszeitung of April 9, I am thoroughly convinced that (1) if Harriman and Hayes had been nominated by the Indianapolis convention, the name S. D. P. would be a nice-fitting name for the new party, and Mr. Benham would feel himself bound to present one thousand and one arguments in favor of the name. But as only Debs and Harriman were nominated, Mr. Benham felt himself bound to present one thousand and one arguments against it; (2) if the nominees of the S. L. P. would be accepted, Harriman, Hillquit and Hayes would work and vote for the name S. D. P.; "this not being thus" they are now conscientiously opposed to that name for the one thousand and one reasons given by Mr. Benham; and (3) if our heads would locate themselves under somebody else's heels, all would be well; as it is now, the name of the S. D. P. is under no circumstances good enough for them. Comrades! Do not forget that up to now we have never fought one another for a difference of opinion, free discussion being our safety valve. Let us not hurry to condemn any one, be it the weakness of our conference representatives or the wrath of our executive board; be it the unnecessary excitability of one comrade or the indignation of another. Read carefully and listen to both sides, especially to the answer of Harriman and Hillquit, and if you do not care

to stand on the slippery ground of "formal truth," "formal promises," "formal nonsense," you will see what happened when you pitted nine honest-minded men, desirous of a union of forces without any back-thought, against nine men who were determined, reason or no reason, not to accept the name S. D. P. Remember that the official organs of the "other nine" are ALL THE TIME AGAINST OUR NAME, although affecting "I-don't-care" airs. Are they ashamed of our name, may I ask in plain language? If yes, they are surely ashamed of it not for its sound, but for the ideas, tactics and men who are associated with it. If they are not, why all this nonsense? Comrades! Think twice before you condemn anybody, but think seven times before you change your fair name for another one, ridiculous in addition to its absurdity. Above all look out for the tactics of the old S. L. P., look out for De-Leonism. Long live the S. D. P.!

Paul J. Bauerberg.

New York.

All Due to "Self-Conceit"

Comrades: The national executive's manifesto is a disgraceful blunder. We must fight it vigorously. Prompt and decisive action is necessary in order to insure the unification of the Socialist forces of America. Let us be plain. This is no time to smooth things over. Let us look at the facts in their proper order.

1. Union is desirable, even were the charges of the N. E. B. true. The fact that four members of the S. L. P. committee broke their promises would not be a good reason for refusing to unite. If the presence of four bad men could drive me out of a Socialist party my resignation from the S. D. P. would date from the time of reading the manifesto of Berger, Heath, Cox and Stedman.

2. The so-called "peace conference" referred to in the affidavits was nothing but a private meeting of seven Social Democrats and three members of the S. L. P. committee. It was not authorized by, nor was any report made to, the convention. It was a secret affair to which only seven delegates out of sixty-seven were invited. It was not recognized by the convention as having any binding force. In fact, the instructions to the committee of nine "to urge the selection of the name Social Democratic party" were adopted, and the motion to instruct the committee to "stand" for the name was defeated Thursday afternoon, and this private caucus was not held until Thursday night. Therefore the proceedings of the caucus could not possibly have influenced the convention in giving the committee its instructions, (and I suppose the N. E. B. will admit that the committee was bound by the instructions of the convention rather than by the agreements of the private caucus). The only possible influence the caucus could have had might have been on the nomination of Comrade Harriman for vice-president. But does anyone doubt that he would have been nominated if the caucus had never been held? Either he would have been chosen by the convention Friday morning or a nominal candidate would have been named, to be withdrawn by the joint committee, which would have substituted Harriman.

For the N. E. B. to base its manifesto on the fact that there was a private caucus (which it apparently considers a higher body than a national convention), is to insult the membership at large. Comrades, you should repudiate the manifesto by voting unanimously for union.

3. The manifesto accuses the S. D. P. committee of nine with violating the instructions of the convention when it agreed to submit a proposition to a referendum vote (a referendum, mind you), as follows:

"In case the party name voted for by you fails to obtain the concurrent majority of both parties, shall the name receiving the majority of the total vote of both parties be adopted?"

With what magnificent zeal our national executive rushes to the front to prevent the horrible catastrophe of having the members of the party decide for themselves whether they will yield the name or not in case a majority of the total vote should be the other way. What are you kicking about, my lords? Do you not see that if the majority of the members of the Social Democratic party vote to abide by a decision of a majority of the united Socialists of America your little say is then overruled? Why are you afraid to abide by the decision of the members? If they are unalterably opposed to surrendering the name, even to the extent of sacrificing the union, can they not vote "no" on the above proposition? Wherefore the necessity for your new-born "bugaboo"?

Comrades, the N. E. B.'s second assertion amounts simply to this: that the joint conference committee has submitted something to you to vote upon which the N. E. B. does not want you to have an opportunity to vote on.

4. Now I want to take up our worthy Big Four and call the attention of the comrades to the spirit animating these gentlemen. It has always appeared to me that these members of the national committee were opposed to union from the very beginning—except, perhaps, on conditions that would humble our friends of the S. L. P. and add to the un-

glory of the N. E. B. by making the union appear like a continuation of the S. D. P. (thus erecting a grand living monument to the N. E. B.'s prowess in diplomacy). This was clearly shown by their attitude at the time of the S. L. P. convention, when, instead of meeting our fellow Socialists as equals, they telegraphed a condescending invitation to the Rochester convention to join the Social Democratic party. Furthermore, the Herald did not publish a complete copy of the Rochester resolutions until requested to do so. These are only scraps, comrades, but such scraps are very significant when you suspect men of falsehood. Berger's editorials against union in the Wahrheit, until within a short time before the Indianapolis convention, were exceedingly bitter and unreasoning. Jesse Cox was unreserved in declaring against the union at Indianapolis, in private conversation. He said nothing about it on the floor of the convention, and that accounts for the fact that many members are not aware of his attitude. In the meeting of the committee of fourteen at Indianapolis, the object of Berger, Heath and Cox, aided by two or three others, seemed to be not to effect a union but to so arrange the conditions, etc. (diplomatize if you please) as to cast the odium of preventing the union on the S. L. P. This they apparently hoped to do by instructing the committee of nine to "stand" for the name, evidently thinking that either the S. L. P. would reject these terms, in which case it would incur the blame, or, if the terms were accepted, it would be a diplomatic stroke well calculated to flatter the self-conceit of the national executive. In this scheme they were defeated by the adoption of the minority report, after a discussion of three hours. (The Herald ignores this incident in its report of the convention.)

The manifesto just issued is imbued with this same spirit. It fits in well with the other parts of the story and is a thrilling climax, but it is the end of the chapter. It will have no serious effect. The comrades will read it, grow indignant and then laugh and say to our S. L. P. friends: "Our DeLeons are more amusing than was yours."

Understand, I do not charge these four men with being corrupt. I am not so charitable. The whole affair is attributable to their overwhelming self-conceit alone. (Self-conceit has worked more harm in this world than all corruption combined.)

It is our duty, comrades, to act promptly. Vote for union solidly. Show our S. L. P. friends that we respect them and are sincere. Strike hard, talk plain and we soon will have passed over this bit of rough road. E. Val. Putnam, St. Louis, Mo., April 7, 1900.

Stedman's Reply

Comrades: It is difficult to address you and present facts and circumstances which lead to conclusions against your hopes. We are all apt to warp and distort everything we see and hear to fit our desire, even though ruin and discord are seen to be the inevitable result.

The problem you are to solve should be as free as possible from sentiment and decided upon conceded and known facts.

First, are the statements made in the manifesto true and that which they involve?

Second, if true, is union desirable? Without recurring to the statements in the manifesto, but to prove its correctness I will consider with you the Harriman-Hillquit letter. Therein the charge of petty schemes and jealousies and individual ambitions is made. Let us see. The S. L. P. at Rochester nominated candidates and elected a committee of nine on conference which, at Indianapolis under a threat to retire and break off all negotiations, took out of the hands of the convention and the delegates there the privilege of instructing or limiting the powers of their special committee. The threat was made, and the committee was elected uninstructed; thereupon a date for a meeting was fixed at New York when Berger, in all probabilities, would be absent (Berger received the highest vote of any elected on the committee). Harriman and Hillquit say the "treaty was adopted unanimously"; that is their conclusion. I deny its correctness.

Fred Heath made charges of broken pledges (Stedman and Haile were not present at peace conference in Indianapolis). I stated that Harriman and Haile had promised me to support the name S. D. P. at Indianapolis, Mr. Harriman replying said "that was so, but that with the promise he said 'with concessions,'" to which I replied that I did not remember the words "with concessions" being used by him. We remember the circumstances and conversation differently; let it go at that.

As to Springfield for headquarters. Let me tell you the facts. Chicago, Cleveland, New York, Springfield, New Haven and Boston were nominated. A minority of your committee proposed submitting all of them and the members to pick their choice. The majority ruled differently and ordered a vote. Upon the first vote Chicago received one, and was dropped. After several ballots were taken, the place (New York), nominated by the S. L. P., received a majority vote and was carried. Thereupon Harriman (speaking across the table) tapped Hillquit on the shoulder and said "don't you

see you are tricked," and asked for a separate meeting of each committee. Your committee then proposed three cities from which our members should make their selection. The S. L. P.'s told us to retire again and select either Springfield or New York. A majority of your committee decided in favor of Springfield.

Now, comrades, why was New York discarded after receiving a majority vote of the joint committee, and the responsibility thrown upon your committee of making a selection between Springfield and New York. I regret here to say a majority of your committee failed to see the point. Benham's section was opposed to New York. Hoehn said New York would lose upon a referendum, so the next best thing for the S. L. P. was to place it in an obscure town, but within the grasp and control of the New York element of the S. L. P., as Stone (S. L. P.) said "we can more quickly destroy De Leon." Harriman, whose "petty scheme was this"? Why not give all the towns a show? Comrades, this move was to give the New York S. L. P. the leverage of the national executive.

It cannot be denied that in New York the S. L. P. are at war with each other, and in New York the S. D. P. is far from harmonious, if not in open war. You who were present at the convention will remember the clash between London and Phillips and each represents different factions in New York, and they are not at peace today. Considering these facts, would it not be suicidal to place your N. E. C. in a hot-bed of internal discord.

Rights of minority. On Sunday morning before opening the discussion there was a motion made by two of the S. L. P. that no minority report should be permitted except by consent of a majority of one of the two committees. I suggested that they seemed to anticipate trouble rather early. This motion was then lost; the next day remade by S. L. P. and carried. Thus a minority (usually Haile and Stedman) can only speak by permission of a majority. That's not gag-rule, comrades; that's Socialism—S. L. P. Socialism. The convention did not prescribe the unit rule. Where the majority secured such a right let them tell.

Harriman and Hillquit say that Haile and Stedman stated that "we would withdraw our minority report." We made no such statement; on the contrary, we asked for five days to determine upon it and send the same to Butscher or Stone. It was sent and was rejected under the rule of the majority. Again, Stedman never proposed a national executive committee, and voted against the conference committee making the nominations, saying "the initiative should remain with the members." The majority decided otherwise, and Stedman then did make some nominations. I did not believe the principle was right then or now.

Harriman and Hillquit say they (S. L. P.) yielded the most important points—location, N. E. C., etc. Comrades, you have the shell (Springfield); they have the oyster (New York).

Harriman and Hillquit say they conceded to Stedman's plan of N. E. C. "solely in the interest of harmony." Error. Harriman and Hillquit, you mean the national committee, to be composed of one from each state, so those in New York might feel the pulse of those on the prairies and in the mines and grasp unitedly the diversified economic interests of the nation, and when adopted I believe the words "not less than" preceded the word "three" in section three (3), article two (2), majority report.

Again I contended for a national executive committee of nine or eleven, the quorum to transact the business and submit their proceedings to the non-resident members, then there could be members of the N. E. C. in the far west and east. This plan works successfully in the Brewery Workers' and International Woodworkers' unions. This plan was not acceptable to the majority; a western or middle western check was not desirable; the Atlantic coast alone should prevail.

As to the name. After discussing the name half a day, we, the S. D. P. committee, were advised to caucus, and as the entire S. L. P. committee, except Hayes, stood for U. S., we proposed submitting two names. The pledges made in the conference were unknown to Haile and Stedman. I did not then have possession of all the facts; will recur to this later.

Harriman and Hillquit say "we parted in full accord with each other." Oh! yes! On parting Comrade Haile said to Hillquit loud enough for all to hear: "We (S. D. P.) could not have surrendered to a nobler foe." That peculiar "accord with each other" which existed between Grant and Lee when the latter, beaten to pieces, gave his sword to Grant, and the "accord" between surrendering Cronje and victorious Bobs.

As to broken pledges. According to Harriman and Hayes and Benham, the latter agreed not to oppose the S. D. P. name if Harriman and Hayes were nominated by us, but as they were not nominated he was at liberty to oppose it. In other words, if we would give up Eugene V. Debs as a candidate and take Harriman and Hayes, Benham would

not oppose our name. You may all personally dislike Debs; that is your business. But Benham solicited Eugene to accept the nomination and then because Debs did as requested Benham opposes the name. Benham, you were for or against the nomination of Debs; provided we would not nominate him you would withdraw opposition to the name to ask such as a concession; you must have been against his nomination.

In other words, if Debs went in the air the price would be paid for your supporting the name. Price too high, Ben?

As to Hayes, he failed to speak in favor of the name at the New York conference. Harriman and Hillquit, according to their statement, promised to support the name if Berger could induce Eugene to accept, but as Debs had accepted before Berger saw him, they feel released of their promise. Harriman and Hillquit, what were you after, Berger's influence or Debs' acceptance? If the latter, you got what you wanted and should have kept honor intact. If you only wanted Berger's influence and if that is what you were bargaining for, I grant you stand acquitted; such an excuse discredits those who advance it.

I regret that the lingering spirit of DeLeonism in the New York S. L. P. comrades should have forced these gentlemen from a reputable attitude and that which honor dictated, and it reflects discredit upon the S. L. P. movement there. These men, Harriman and Hillquit, have broken their words, as a sacrifice to a portion of their party located in New York. To exact such a sacrifice was dishonorable, and it is against an element which would force a man to break his pledge against whom this contest is waged.

As to Berger's nomination of Harriman. If you, Harriman, did not wish the nomination, why did you not decline? The convention nominated you, and there was your opportunity to quit.

Harriman and Hillquit say "but between the interpretation of a situation and a pledge there is, you will admit, a world of difference." Yes? Harriman and Hillquit, I will admit; more, there never was a pledge, word or promise that could not be broken, violated or excused upon the theory of "the interpretation of a situation." You could hypnotize the smoothest Jesuit that ever diplomatized upon that theory.

I can assure you that I do not fear the decision of our members. I hope, only, that their decision shall be based upon all the facts (which I did not possess at the conference).

You ask me to be frank, what is our object, etc. It is to prevent a disunion, to prevent the loss of the name S. D. P.; not the symbol, but the methods, tactics and policy that it represents. Nations do not war over sticks and cloth (flags), but over the institutions they represent, and further, we are against the destruction of the Social Democratic Herald.

You, Harriman and Hillquit, ask what influence has changed my attitude since I left the joint conference. This statement will disclose some of them; others will be stated by other comrades, and others in the interest of Socialism I hope may be forgotten.

I am now convinced that the nomination of E. V. Debs has possibly saved the S. D. P.; that his acceptance was not expected; that the name S. D. P. was to be conceded to us by the S. L. P., and we were to nominate Harriman and Hayes and New York was to assume control of the S. D. P. and dominate its policy, etc., and that this understanding preceded the Indianapolis convention, but Eugene's acceptance disturbed the understanding.

I have favored union, proposed a joint mass-meeting in Chicago of the S. L. P. and the S. D. P. before the Rochester convention and after it, and after the Indianapolis convention the two first invitations were rejected by the S. L. P.; the last, no action. Last January we, the S. D. P., proposed to unite locally for spring election under the name Socialist party. It was rejected by the S. L. P. We supported their ticket and I favored that course and now find many of the S. L. P. candidates whom we supported are in hopes the national ticket will get a small vote—they want a slow growth. I want Socialism within a thousand years.

This spirit I believe too strongly permeates the entire national S. L. P. organization.

Benham's article almost answers itself. According to him he commenced his criticism weeks ago in the Class Struggle. Feb. 3, after the Rochester convention, appeared the following: "Having (S. D. P.) first split the Socialist forces by starting a second party, and second, by declining for petty personal reason an honorable and highly important union, we demand your support because we are straight, scientific Socialists; because we are the first party in the field," etc. This followed, you should remember, the Rochester convention. His intimation that Debs, Berger and others deceived or tricked the S. L. P. and "that it was a hold-up behind closed doors," and that "they (the S. D. P.) will none of them be so tall that they cannot be brought to their knees" is characteristic of S. L. P. If a majority want it, perhaps we will come down on our knees. We may as well get used to it early, because in the S. L.

LOCAL BRANCHES

Notices of Branch Meetings Inserted for 25 Cents per Month

CALIFORNIA

Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evenings, commencing at 1. Admission free. Educational meetings (for members) every Tuesday evening. Sociology, Economics, Public Speaking, etc. Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening. Membership, with advantage of Educational Course and Social Democratic Herald free to each member, 25 cents per month. Apply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk street.

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2 o'clock at Woodman's Hall, 1234 Spring St. J. France, 700 Dorton Ave., Secretary.

COLORADO

Branch No. 1, Denver, meets every Sunday at 2:30 p. m. at 1715 California Ave. Chas. M. Davis, Secretary, 1623 11th Street.

CONNECTICUT

The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at Turn Hall, Rockville, L. Schol, Secretary.

Branch No. 2, New Haven, meets every Tuesday evening, at 186 State St., at 8 p. m. Cornelius Mahoney, Secretary, 165 Frank St.

Branch No. 4, Rockville Conn., meets first and third Thursdays at Turn Hall meeting room, Village street. Secretary, Richard Niederwieser, Box 760.

ILLINOIS

Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 53 Dearborn St.

Branch No. 1, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening, Thomas Kilwin, Secretary, 204 Westworth Ave.

Branch No. 2 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays at 3 p. m. at Nagi's Hall, 535 Blue Island Ave. Vaclav Jelinek, Secretary, 606 Blue Island Ave.

Branch No. 3 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Mondays at 8 p. m. in Dunder's place, 1060 W. 18th place, Joseph Dunder, Secretary.

Branch No. 4, Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays of each month at Andr. Muska's, 40 String St. Paul Chlapecka, Secretary, 364 Babie St.

Branch No. 6 (German), Chicago, meets every first Saturday of each month at 8 o'clock at Nagi's Hall, 535 Blue Island Ave. near 18th St. Albin Geisler, Secretary, 726 W. 30th St.

Branch No. 8, Chicago, meets at 1145 W. 63rd St., first and third Saturdays at 8 p. m. S. L. Westline, Secretary, 6242 Center Ave.

INDIANA

Branch No. 4, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichwein's Hall, corner Market and Noble Sts.

IOWA

Branch No. 2, Hiteam, meets every fourth Friday in the month at opera house. S. B. Jamieson, chairman. James Fisher, organizer; Joseph Schollacut, secretary.

KENTUCKY

Branch No. 2, Covington, meets first and third Wednesdays evening and second and fourth Sunday afternoon of each month. All agitation meetings except third meetings in month. Good speakers. Secretary, F. C. Stump, 201 8th street.

MARYLAND

Branch No. 1, Baltimore, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m. at Carpenter's Hall, 560 E. Baltimore St. Public invited.

Branch No. 2, Baltimore, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at Wessel's Hotel, 228 W. Camden St. Good speakers. Public invited. Levin T. Jones, Secretary, 202 W. 34th St.

MASSACHUSETTS

The Massachusetts State Committee meets the first Saturday of each month at 724 Washington St. Boston. All dues and money intended for the State Committee should be sent to the financial secretary, A. McDonald, 104 W. Springfield St., Boston. All other correspondence should be addressed to the Corresponding Secretary, Margaret Hall, 6 Glenwood St., Roxbury.

Branch No. 2, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Mondays of each month at Springfield St. Public invited. Organizer, 157, Somerset St.

Branch No. 5, Lynn, permanent headquarters, 71 Monroe St. Business meeting every Monday night at 8 p. m. open house. Public invited. Harry Goldmar, Sec., 42 Essex St.

Branch No. 6, Brockton, meets the second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at 8 p. m. for business at Cecilia Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Center Sts. Every comrade is expected to attend one meeting a month. Frank S. Walsh, Secretary, 62 Crescent St.

Branch No. 15, East Boston, meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at the Chelsea St. Miss Jenny Segal, Secretary, 35 Chelsea St.

Branch No. 18, Newburyport, meets the second Monday of each month at Lester's Hall, 1 State St. T. H. Chinnel, Secretary, 16 Collins St. A. L. Binley, 28 Westmore St.

Branch No. 21, Chelsea, permanent headquarters, Room 2, Postoffice Building. Open every evening. Business meetings every Thursday at 8 p. m. Public invited.

NEW BRANCHES

The new branches of the Social Democratic party organized since a week ago, are located at

- Lamanda Park, Cal.
- Ocala, Fla.
- Livingston, Mont.
- Harviell, Mo.
- Indianapolis, Ind.
- Prosser, Wash.
- Crookston, Minn.
- San Antonio, Tex.

Michigan Socialists

All Social Democrats and all unattached Socialists residing in Michigan are requested to write at once to Henry Ramsey, 84 Railroad street, Battle Creek, Mich., and thus aid in placing a Social Democratic state ticket in the field this fall.

The following paragraph, received from Comrade Butscher after The Herald forms went to press last week, should have appeared at the end of the clause in the majority report setting a time for the vote:

"Only members in good standing who joined the party before April 1, 1900, shall be entitled to vote on these questions."

To Texas Socialists

For purpose of State organization, the Bonham Social Democratic Branch requests that every Socialist in Texas who reads this notice, will please send name and address to the undersigned. Please attend to this at once. W. E. Farmer, Bonham, Texas.

All Socialist papers please publish.

Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Geeswein, on Main St. A. Kingsbury, Secretary.

MINNESOTA

St. Louis headquarters, Room 7, 25 N. Fourth St. Address all communications to E. Val Putnam, Secretary. For information concerning ward branches, inquire at the above address.

Branch No. 7, Kansas City, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1200 Union Ave. G. J. Stora, Secretary, 1220 W. 9th St.

MONTANA

Branch No. 3 meets first and third Sundays of each month at G. W. Wood's home, Chico, Mont.

NEW JERSEY

Branch No. 1, Camden, Michael W. Bohor, 87 Livingston St.

Branch No. 5, Camden, N. J., meets every 2d Sunday of the month. For particulars address Paul Eberding, 1208 Kaighn's Avenue.

Branch No. 8 (German), Paterson, N. J., meets every third Monday at 1000 State St. at 8 p. m. 54-55 Van Houten St. Karl Linder, Secretary, 234 Edmund St.

NEW YORK

The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York and vicinity meets first and third Tuesdays of every month in Willis's Hall, 8 E. 4th St. Elizabeth H. Thomas, Secretary.

East Side Branch No. 1, New York, meets every first and third Thursday at 113 Clinton St. A. Guyer, Secretary, 128 Suffolk St.

Branch No. 4, 25th Assembly District, meets second and fourth Wednesdays of the month at 1009 Second Ave. at the "Central." Henry Lang, Secretary, 324 E. 40th St.

Branch No. 4, West Side Branch, New York, meets second and fourth Wednesdays of every month at headquarters, 129 W. 90th St. Elizabeth H. Thomas, Secretary.

Branch No. 5 Brooklyn, New York, meets every Saturday at 8 p. m., at 50 Moore St. Visitors welcome. Comrades desiring to organize should communicate with Secretary Sol. Freeman, 190 Boerum St.

Branch No. 10, 4th Assembly District, meets every first and third Wednesday of the month at the rooms of The Voice of the People, 425 Grand St. Jacob Panken, Organizer, 129 Division St.

Branch No. 12, Brooklyn, headquarters, 261 Rivington St. Meets every third Thursday at 8:15 sharp. All persons interested are invited to attend these meetings and co-operate in organizing local branches in every district in the city. Wm. Butscher, Secretary, 261 Rivington St.

Branch No. 20, regular meetings are held first and third Friday of the month, at Webster Hall, 140th St. and Third Ave. Borough of the Bronx, E. Spranger, Secretary, 317 E. 149th St. All persons interested in Socialism and the S. D. P. are invited to attend.

OHIO

Branch No. 2, Cleveland, meets in Ohlsen's Hall, 65 York St., second and fourth Sundays at 8 p. m. Lectures, discussions, business meetings, first and third Fridays at 8 p. m.

Branch No. 3, Cleveland, meets first and third Sunday in each month at 8 p. m. in Ohlsen's Hall, 65 York St. Lectures and discussions.

Branch No. 4, Cincinnati, meets at Richelieu Hall southeast corner 9th and Plum Sts., every Sunday at 2 p. m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Joe. Jasin, Secretary, 1410 Central Avenue.

Branch No. 5, Dayton, Ohio, meets every 2d and 4th Friday evening, in Hall 27, Central Trades Council. Everyone interested in Socialism invited. J. C. Schwab, Chairman, W. Harrington, Secretary, P. O. Box 294.

Branch No. 8, Cincinnati, meets every second and fourth Saturday in Woodmen Hall, 1235 Walnut St. F. Hamel, Secretary, 1804 Friar St.

Branch No. 11, German, Columbus, Ed Granger, Secretary, 306 Mohawk St.

PENNSYLVANIA

Branch No. 2, Erie, meets every Sunday, 3 p. m., at K. of L. Hall, 718 State St. Chairman, Joseph Stain, Secretary, J. E. Perry, 119 Sessafrae St.

Branch No. 4, Pittsburgh, meets every Thursday evening at 7:30 p. m. at Funk Hall, 425 Grand and Josephine Sts. W. Bohn, President, 344 Addison St. J. H. Lewis, Secretary, 218 Jane St.

Branch No. 5 (Jewish), Philadelphia, meets every Friday at 4:30 p. m. at 1730. Discussion from 5 to 8. I. Gerson, Secretary.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee Central Committee meets on the first Monday of each month at 8 p. m. at 605 E. Water St. Eugene H. Rooney, Secretary. John Doerfer, Treasurer.

Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Tuesday of the month at the offices of the Ethical Society Building, 333 Jefferson St. Visitors always welcome. Howard Tuttle, Chairman, Eugene H. Rooney, Secretary.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Friday in Geake's Hall, corner Green Bay and Concordia Ave.

Branch No. 5, Sheboygan, meets every fourth Thursday of the month at the Germania Hall on Pennsylvania Ave. R. Schoen, Secretary-Treasurer, 8 12th St.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday each month at Mel's Hall, corner 24 and Brown Sts. George Moerschel, Secretary, 331 25th St.

Branch No. 9, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at R. Sigel's Hall, southeast corner Orchard St. and 9th Ave. O. Wild, Secretary.

Branch No. 11, Milwaukee, meets the second Wednesday of each month at the office of the Wisconsin Y. W. C. A., 514 State St.

Branch No. 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of each month at Kraus Hall, 21 and Center Sts., at 8 p. m. Secretary, Rudolph Loeschman, 1128 23rd St.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LIBRARY

- Karl Marx, Capital, Cloth..... \$2.00
- F. W. Sprague, Socialism, from Genesis to the Present, Cloth..... 1.00
- Groeland—The Co-operative Commonwealth..... .50
- Pepe..... .50
- August Bebel—Women, Past, Present and Future..... .50
- Blackford—Marx's England..... .50
- Edward Bellamy—Looking Backward..... .50
- Edward Bellamy—Equality, Cloth..... 1.00
- Liassary—History of the Commune of 1871..... 1.00
- Charles Vall—Modern Socialism..... .50
- Asplund—Heterodox Economics and Orthodox..... .50
- Henry D. Lloyd—Wealth Against Commonwealth..... 1.00
- Volney—The Ruins of Empires..... .50
- Thomas Paine—The Rights of Man..... .50
- Henry George—Social Problems..... .50
- Osborne Ward—The Ancient Law..... 1.00
- Adams—President John Smith..... .50
- Richard T. Ely—Socialism and Social Reform..... 1.00
- Bochner—Man in the Past, Present and Future..... 1.00
- Benham—A History of the Paris Commune 1871 (cloth), paper cover..... .50
- Chas. H. Vall—Principles of Scientific Socialism..... .50
- Harrow—Between Jesus and Caesar..... .50
- Fabian Essays..... .50
- Rogers—Six Centuries of Work and Wages..... .50
- Paine—Rights of Man..... .50
- Donnelly—Caesar's Column..... .50
- 1000 copies..... \$2.00
- 500 copies..... 1.25
- 250 copies..... .75
- 100 copies..... .50

THEODORE DEBS, Secretary Treasurer, 126 Washington Street, Chicago.

The Social Democratic

Red Book

PRICE 15 CENTS

Sent postpaid on receipt of price

Debs Publishing Co.

TERRE HAUTE, IND.

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN FUND

Previously acknowledged..... \$120.00

Robt. Clausen, Kalispell, Mont..... 5.00

Thos. P. Turner, Healdsburg, Cal..... 1.00

PROPAGANDA FUND

Applied to Reason..... Kane..... \$1.00

Branch No. 9, Milwaukee, Wis..... .50

..... \$1.50

THE ISSUES OF UNITY

(Continued from first page)

garding its membership. Information has never been asked for, except once, and that was in the conference committee, at New York. The S. L. P. national secretary replied, giving approximately the membership. This was evidently satisfactory. If it had not been, a request for inspection of the books would have cheerfully been complied with.

No. 14. That the S. L. P. does not know its membership. If the S. L. P. authorities do not know their membership, how could they "studiously evade" giving definite information (which they "do not" have)? You say they do not know, and then find fault with them for not telling you. They do know and have been and are now willing to give any information on proper application.

There is no doubt in the mind of all who are acquainted with the facts regarding the Wednesday night conference in Indianapolis that Berger knew Debs was to accept. The fact that Berger insisted and argued and took up so much time in order to get a qualified pledge from some of the S. L. P. delegates, and that he at first refused to go and see Debs, unless Benham would also yield, shows, with the other circumstances, that it was a hold-up behind closed doors to make the S. L. P. delegates personally pledge themselves to the name S. D. P. Hayes was not there; they did not care for him. He was already openly pledged. Only for the impudence of one S. D. P. delegate, who had been talking with Debs, and let the matter out by mistake, the trick would have succeeded. There are several others implicated in the trick (undoubtedly Gordon) and others higher up the S. D. P. ladder. Their names it does not now seem to me necessary to announce.

On Monday Berger pledged himself to Benham to "use his great personal influence with Debs" previous to the presentation of Mr. Debs' name for nomination. At the conference Wednesday evening, after Debs had been nominated and had declined, Berger said he had not used his influence. If not, why not? The fact is not to be doubted that he had, and knew the result of the efforts in that direction. On Thursday morning Berger promised Harriman and Hillquit that he would not present the name of Harriman for vice-president. Berger went directly from the hotel (where he left Harriman and Hillquit) to the convention and placed Harriman in nomination. Was that because he was so enthusiastic for Harriman? Was it because Berger loved him so? No. It was another trick with a double purpose. First, to get Harriman before the people in a secondary, yet prominent position; second, to be able through his being in this position to more effectively knife Harriman's character, attempt to force him from the S. D. P. ticket, and thus prevent the continuance of the friendly basis upon which the relationship between the parties then existed.

In the conference committee when the S. L. P. brought in the list of four names for candidates from New York, Hillquit's name was not there. Stedman and Haile immediately protested. Both insisted that he must be a candidate as he would be the most valuable man that New York could send. At the solicitation of Haile and Stedman, Hillquit was made a candidate. I entered protest then and there, knowing the characteristics and desires of the two who most strenuously insisted. It was, my opinion then, since made an absolute fact, that Hillquit was set up as a candidate that he might be knifed in full public view, as he has been by those who insisted upon his candidacy for the provisional committee. When I made the protest every member of the joint committee pooh-poohed the idea of the charges ever being mentioned again. Hillquit's name was the only recommendation made from either party. Why?

As for the purpose of the manifesto, it is in keeping with the acts above stated.

I may yet be obliged to acknowledge that in my zeal for union and in the hope of its accomplishment, I have over-estimated both the wisdom and sincerity of the Social Democratic party. If the membership can be driven from the plain duty to the Socialist movement by the cry of "stop thief" set up by the Chicago imitators of De Leon, then I shall be forced to the conclusion that there are yet men professing Socialism, but who still yearn for the hand of usurpation and the lash of party masters.

There are some other matters of interest in connection with the unity matter, and I shall in the future be pleased to make some comments upon the idiosyncrasies and weaknesses of some of the "giants" of today. They will none of them be so tall that they cannot be brought to their knees when their peculiarities are made known to the people.

I see that Edwards and Gordon, conscious of how lightly their ordinary statements are regarded by their party membership, have sought to make impressive their statements in this case by appearing before a notary and swearing. I still have an unconquerable desire

for a united Socialist movement in the United States. And union will come, and soon, in spite of all interfering officials and their "aggressive tactics" of personal vilification and wholesale repudiation.

While thoroughly cognizant of the unstable character and unsavory acts of some individuals in the S. D. P., the delegates and members of the S. L. P. have no disposition to allow the misdeeds of a few individuals to stand in the way of unification of the Socialist forces in the United States. The necessities of uniting the Socialist organizations (representing the same great principles) are above the acts of individuals, or the personal desires for continued power of men in high places. To all acquainted with the facts in the matter, it is apparent that the charges made and reasons given in support of the manifesto are simply flimsy excuses to block the road to unification.

Jesse Cox, V. Berger, Seymour Stedman and F. Heath by promulgating this manifesto have vilified those foremost in the work of unification in both parties; they have scandalously attacked Harriman, the unanimous choice of the Indianapolis convention for vice-president; they have disowned and repudiated the majority of the Social Democratic conference committee; they have refused to accept the work of the joint committee.

Will the membership of the S. D. P. allow a few individuals to overthrow or hamper the work of the Indianapolis convention, the work of its delegates to the conference, and the work of the conference committee?

In any event, the action of the four signers of the manifesto furnishes a sweet morsel for every enemy of Socialism. All or any opposed to the Socialist movement could afford to pay almost any price for such a service in the cause of capitalism.

C. B. Benham.

Harriman-Hillquit Joint Letter

Comrades: The manifesto issued by the national executive board of your party was a most painful surprise to us, as it undoubtedly was to all earnest friends of union of the Socialist forces in this country.

After months of untiring work on the part of the best men in the ranks of both parties it seemed as if the greatest achievement of the Socialist movement had been attained, the elements of discord, of petty schemes and jealousies and of individual ambitions were apparently banished forever from our ranks, and the foundation for a strong and harmonious Socialist movement seemed to have been laid.

The Rochester convention met, and in clear and manly language declared itself for union with the S. D. P.

The Indianapolis convention met, and enthusiastically acclaimed union with the S. L. P.

Both conventions elected large committees with instructions to prepare a basis for union. Each party elected men who have its utmost confidence and gave them full power to act in the matter to the best of their abilities and understanding, the only limitation placed on their powers being the required ratification by the referendum.

The joint committee spent three full days in deliberations over the great task intrusted to them, and as a result submitted a treaty which to every unbiased mind must appear fair, impartial and conducive to the best interests of the movement.

The treaty was adopted by the joint committee unanimously. No voice of protest or objection was heard on the part of the S. L. P. committee, although many of them had sacrificed some pet ideas in the interests of harmony, and no voice of protest was heard on the part of the S. D. P. committee. Victor Berger was absent. Frederick Heath made some charges against the S. L. P. subcommittee to Indianapolis, but seemed to be quite satisfied with their explanation, as were all other members of the S. D. P. committee. He took no part in the work of the committee on the second day of its session, but reappeared and voted on one question on the last day.

Stedman and Mrs. Haile who had first expressed dissatisfaction with the choice of Springfield as the seat of the national executive committee and with the manner of electing the provisional committee, and who had announced that they would submit a minority report on those points, changed their position and declared they would withdraw their minority report when Stedman's plan of electing the permanent national executive committee was adopted, and a national campaign committee with headquarters in Chicago was created.

On the most important questions the S. L. P. committee yielded to the desires and sentiments of their S. D. P. comrades. When the choice of the seat of the N. E. C. had by a process of successive balloting narrowed down to Springfield, Mass., and New York city, the S. L. P. committee left the final decision with the S. D. P. committee, and when the latter by a majority vote adopted Springfield the S. L. P. committee endorsed the recommendation by a vote of 8 to 1.

On the question of the composition

of the N. E. C., Stedman's plan was adopted against the inclinations of the S. L. P. members and solely in the interests of harmony.

In the consideration of the party press the Social Democratic Herald was accorded special privileges which no S. L. P. paper received, and even on the question of name, the first motion to submit two names emanated officially from the S. D. P. committee.

Both Stedman and Mrs. Haile before parting fully and frankly expressed their appreciation of the courteous and liberal treatment of the subject by the S. L. P. committee. The joint committee parted in full accord with each other, each one, including Stedman, promising to go and work for the united party.

A subcommittee was appointed to prepare and submit the treaty and nothing but the general vote was wanted to formally accomplish union.

And after all that, just when the results of the good work commenced to show in an increased and enthusiastic activity all over the country, four members of the S. D. P. and members of the national executive board, overriding the will of their party as expressed by their national convention, ignoring the majority of their own committee on union elected by the same convention, appear with what they are pleased to term a manifesto, and openly agitate against union.

And on what grounds do they seek to justify this very extraordinary step?

Two grounds are stated in the manifesto:

I. That the S. L. P. committee to Indianapolis had pledged itself to the name S. D. P. and had broken its pledge.

II. That it had been agreed that each party vote separately on the propositions submitted, and that the joint committee had violated this agreement by submitting the following question:

"In case the party name voted for by you fails to obtain the concurrent majority vote of both parties, shall the name receiving the majority of the total vote of both parties be adopted?"

Let us consider them in their order. The charge of broken pledges is contained in the following six different statements:

1. "G. B. Benham pledged himself to unequivocally and aggressively support the name Social Democratic on the condition that Harriman and Hayes accepted by the S. D. P. as candidates."

We do not believe that this charge requires any reply, as Harriman and Hayes were not nominated by the Indianapolis convention.

2. "Max Hayes, on the floor of the convention on Thursday afternoon announced his personal choice of the name Social Democratic, and in solemn terms pledged himself and his paper to the name. * * * he did not vote for the name."

Comrade Hayes has made that statement on condition that the minority report would be adopted; the minority report was adopted and Hayes has fully lived up to his promise; he has worked and agitated for the name S. D. P., and he voted for that name at the joint committee session, as the record will show.

3. "Mr. Morris Hillquit in his first address to the convention on Wednesday, March 7, declared that the Rochester convention had purposely refrained from adopting a name in order that they might be free to adopt any name that might be agreed on."

Why do the writers of the manifesto fail to state that Comrade Hillquit added: "The S. L. P. has no prejudice against your name and will adopt it if you can show it to be better than any other name, but we also expect that the members of the S. D. P. are not fetish worshipers and will adopt any other name which they could be persuaded was the best?"

That changes it a little does it not, comrades? And still you could not fail to remember one part if you remembered the other so well. Why, then, this omission?

4. "That Comrade Harriman had stated to Comrade Stedman that he would support the name S. D. P. and that Stedman announced on the floor of the convention that he changed his vote from the majority to the minority report because Harriman and Hayes had given him their promise to support the name."

We do not remember and do not believe that Comrade Stedman ever referred to an alleged promise of Comrade Harriman on the floor of the convention in our presence, for had he done that we would surely have corrected him upon that point. Comrade Harriman has on a previous occasion explicitly denied that he had promised to support the name S. D. P. unconditionally. What he did say to Comrade Stedman was that he was not prejudiced against the name and would be willing to accept it, provided corresponding concessions were made.

The keynote of all negotiations between the S. L. P. committee and the S. D. P. convention, in open and private discussion, was that the union should be effected on honorable terms, which could only mean that corresponding mutual concessions were to be made.

This point, which will surely be remembered by all S. D. P. delegates, seems to bear out Harriman's version of his conversation with Stedman rather than that of the latter.

5. "That the S. L. P. committee had in informal conference promised to support the name S. D. P. if the full Rochester ticket (Harriman and Hayes) would be nominated by the Indianapolis convention."

This is true, but Harriman and Hayes were not nominated.

6. "That Harriman and Hillquit had also promised at that conference to support the name S. D. P. in the event that the ticket nominated would be Debs and Harriman."

This is not true.

What actually transpired at that conference was the following: Berger stated that he had not given up all hope of inducing Debs to accept the nomination, that he had great personal influence with Debs and would, with the permission of the conference, endeavor to persuade him. He then said in substance: "If I go to Debs telling him that your committee had pledged itself to the name S. D. P. if Harriman and Hayes were nominated, and that you would not support the name if Debs be nominated, that would be an argument against Debs' acceptance. Will you, therefore, permit me to say to him that your position on the question of name would not be changed, if he accepted the nomination?"

To that question Benham answered in the negative and Harriman and Hillquit in the affirmative in order that that obstacle in the way of Debs' acceptance be removed.

But at the time the question was asked, Debs had already definitely accepted the nomination without having been seen by Berger and without having been in any way influenced by the attitude of the S. L. P. delegates on the question of the name.

Whether or not Berger knew of that fact at the time he asked the question, we do not assume to say; but we may certainly state that when it became known that Debs had accepted the nomination while we were in conference, we as well as the S. D. P. delegates understood at the time that we had been talking on false assumptions and that the entire conference had no significance; and although we had parted with the express understanding that we would meet again in two hours, no one of the conference ever thought of re-assembling.

We are free to confess that our suspicions against Berger had been aroused at that time. We decided it would be best not to have Harriman nominated by the S. D. P. convention at that juncture, and requested Berger and a number of other prominent S. D. P. delegates to desist from nominating him. Berger promised to respect our desires and promptly nominated Harriman in the absence of the latter.

We may notice right here that Harriman's nomination for the second place on the ticket was by no means a concession to the S. L. P. as the authors of the manifesto seem to assume, but was distinctly a concession to the S. D. P.

In support of our statements we will quote from the stenographic report of the session of the joint committee a few remarks on the subject made by some members of the Social Democratic party, whose trustworthiness is above doubt.

CAREY: "I want to say right here that the attitude and action of those four members of the S. L. P. there, reflects credit on them, and I do not believe any one of them ever made pledges that he broke." Carey was present at the Indianapolis conference.

MRS. HAILE: "I want to say I thoroughly believe that the comrades of the S. L. P. have lived up to their pledges."

CHASE: "The proposition was made with these three gentlemen to work for the S. D. P. name, provided Harriman and Hayes were nominated. These promises were also to stand provided that Debs accepted the nomination through the influence of these pledges as presented by Comrade Berger. Comrade Berger had nothing whatever to do with his acceptance, and they were perfectly justifiable in feeling that there were no pledges."

That a number of delegates to the Indianapolis convention were convinced that the name S. D. P. had been practically decided upon we may well believe.

But let us remind you how that came about.

In the first conference our committee insisted upon a joint vote being taken by both parties on all questions of union, while your committee and especially Comrade McCartney demanded that a concurrent vote of each party be taken. Considering the question between ourselves after the adjournment of the conference, we concluded that the position taken by the S. D. P. delegates on that question was the better of the two, and we frankly admitted it on the next day.

When the motion to take a concurrent vote was thereupon carried, the S. D. P. delegates reasoned that if each party would take a separate vote on the question of party name, their members would unanimously vote for the name S. D. P. and the members of the S. L. P. knowing the situation, would have no other alternative but to vote for the same name if they want union; and we are frank to admit that we at one time shared that impression and made no secret of it.

But between the interpretation of a situation, and a pledge, there is, you will admit, a world of difference.

Closing our remarks on the party name we desire to say that we regard the question of name as one of very subordinate importance in comparison with the great question before us. We insisted on a different name so as to avoid the appearance of a surrender to your party which would have created great depression in the ranks of the S. L. P. and resulted at best in a lukewarm, half-hearted union.

The choice being now with the members of both parties, it is absolutely indifferent to us which of the two names is adopted, and we will work for the united party to the best of our abilities whatever name it carries.

As to the alleged breach of the promise to have each party vote separately on the referendum, we absolutely deny that charge and are perfectly willing to leave the decision of the question to the intelligence of the comrades.

The proposition referred to reads as follows: "In case the party name voted for by you fails to obtain the concurrent majority of both parties, shall the name receiving the majority of the total vote of both parties, be adopted?"

This question will be submitted to the separate vote of each party. Your party is not bound by the decision of our party. You may vote it down, and if you do not, it is the voluntary decision of your party to submit to a joint count on the question of name.

Moreover, your entire committee including Stedman voted unanimously for the proposition.

What, then, is the real objection to that question? You cannot possibly fear the decision of your own members!

Your insinuations that our party would return a fictitious or dishonest vote on the treaty is not worthy of a reply.

Comrades Cox, Berger, Heath and Stedman, why not be frank about the subject? What is your real object in issuing this singular manifesto at this time?

It cannot possibly be the desire to preserve your name, for the way to do that would be to agitate among the members of your party to vote down the proposition above mentioned and not to attempt to break off all negotiations for union.

Comrade Stedman, what influence has changed your attitude since you left the joint committee?

Comrade Berger, if you were ever in favor of union, as you claimed to be, why did you systematically write against it in your organ, The "Wahrheit," going to the extent of distorting facts and indulging in personal abuse of the ugliest kind, for which we are ever ready to furnish the proof by translations from your paper?

Comrades Cox and Stedman, be frank. Is not your "manifesto" in singular accord with the tenor and spirit of that other singular document, the letter sent by you to the Rochester convention?

Comrades, we have by this time seen enough of the members of your party to have the utmost confidence that they as well as the members of our party are fully capable of deciding upon these questions if an opportunity is given to them.

We rest our case on the good sense and judgment of the membership of both parties.

Job Harriman,
Morris Hillquit.

NATIONAL FUND

The following is a list of comrades who have agreed, in response to the appeal of the National Executive Board, to contribute monthly for one year to the national fund. Other names will be added as they are received.

CONNECTICUT	NEW YORK
Finckler, R. H. Hartford	Fales, L. C. Rochester
Holman, B. Hartford	Abbott, L. D. New York
ILLINOIS	Butcher, Wm. Buffalo
Stedman, S. Chicago	Thomas, E. H. New York
Jesse Cox, Chicago	Kahn, Arthur New York
P. F. Ayer, Chicago	Hale, F. W. New York
"Friend", Chicago	Loupoloy, J. New York
Dr. J. B. Greer, Chicago	Palmer, J. New York
Mrs. C. Brown, Chicago	Weyell, Chas. New York
"Friend", Chicago	Mark Raphael New York
James Wright, Chicago	Arnon N. Boddy New York
INDIANA	Philip Gruber New York
R. V. Debs, Terre Haute	Sanger, Wm. New York
MASSACHUSETTS	Meads, T. F. New York
Flinders, P. B. Haverhill	NEW JERSEY
Cohen, A. Boston	Pankoff, Cecil Jersey City
Parker, L. W. New York	Karl Lindner New York
Monetta, G. G. Brockton	"Comrade" New York
Bourworth, W. F. Brockton	NEW YORK
Tob, Peter New York	Booy, Jos. New York
Hitchcock, D. S. Everett	Zorn, Julius New York
Goldman, S. Haverhill	Braun, F. New York
Hogch, E. W. New York	Altenberger, C. New York
Chase, Jas. New York	PENNSYLVANIA
Brown, J. W. New York	Lewis, J. H. Pottsville
Griener, C. S. Amesbury	F. W. Hitt New York
Allen, Helen New York	TEKES
Kovora, Dr. J. A. Lynn	Hales, Dr. R. H. New York
Carey, Jas. F. Haverhill	Hamilton, W. A. New York
MICHIGAN	McMahon, C. New York
Kelthor, S. Grand Rapids	TEXAS
MINNESOTA	Price, R. S. Houston
Gosswein, F. Red Lake Falls	WISCONSIN
MISSOURI	Burger, V. L. Milwaukee
Fisher, Wm. St. Louis	Booy, E. H. Milwaukee
Palmer, Henry St. Louis	Doerfer, J. Milwaukee
Brown, Wm. St. Louis	Doerfer, J. Milwaukee
MARYLAND	Bauman, G. Milwaukee
Jacobson, E. Baltimore	Arnold, L. Milwaukee
NEW HAMPSHIRE	Meister, R. Milwaukee
Gordon, F. G. Manchester	Doerfer, J. Milwaukee
Merle, Geo. Manchester	Tuttle, H. Milwaukee
Mallon, C. H. Manchester	Branch, J. Milwaukee
Scamworth, Wm. Manchester	

The Union Label

on everything you buy is a guarantee that the producers thereof receive a fair rate of wages for its production.

Insist on having the label

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

VOL. II. No. 45

CHICAGO, ILL., U. S. A., SATURDAY, APRIL 28, 1900.

Whole No. 95.

UNION CONTROVERSY CONTINUED

Amalgamation a Mistake

Editor of The Herald: I am glad to see, and so are a good many comrades in New York, that the conference has succeeded in greatly reducing the enthusiasm of many comrades all over the country for unity. If the conference has demonstrated anything it is that the S. L. P. faction did not want an honorable alliance with the S. D. P., but a complete swallowing up of our party. What was the conference, if not a meeting to endorse everything that was passed by the Rochester convention and to undo everything that was built up by a few years of hard toil first by the S. D. A. and later by the S. D. P. The S. D. P. never boasted of being a class conscious, proletarian, scientific Marxian party in the DeLeon or the "Volkszeitung" sense of the word. We never inquired whether our agitators are well versed in the three volumes of Marx and all their commentaries or not, and we never cared to examine through a microscope the speeches of Eugene Debs to see whether he did not in some enthusiastic plea for Socialism commit an error in his definitions of some economic terms, as capital, wages, etc. We were even so liberal as to raise the question of a farmer's plank, in spite of the fact that a farmer does not properly belong to our class-conscious proletarian class. All these traits of the S. D. P. are regarded by our new S. L. P. comrades as symptoms of "muddle-headedness," and in case of amalgamation they would certainly view it as their sacred mission to purify the S. D. P. from all its old traditions. That all this is true was more than demonstrated by the conference, where they also gave us a taste of those "constitutional" measures by which their mission will be carried out. Now it is a fact that these two parties still differ in their spirit, and this difference can not be so easily wiped out by a mere decision to amalgamate. I don't after all blame the S. L. P. representatives for their attempt to swallow the S. D. P.; there was simply more shrewdness on their part, and as a result they succeeded in the game, and not we; the result would be otherwise under opposite circumstances. The trouble, it seems to me, lies in the original idea of amalgamating two things which do not lean toward each other, neither in spirit nor in mutual sympathy.

But some sort of unity is certainly wanted, and the problem is to find some way of working together so as to reap all the benefits of combination and avoid all the disadvantages connected with a premature amalgamation. And in this our European comrades could give us, as in many other things, very useful hints. Look at the Socialists in France, where unity certainly was of much greater importance than here. The Socialists there could not very well stand separated in factions, while Socialism became so strong as to compel the government to give a Socialist leader a place in the cabinet. And still did the French Socialists amalgamate? Certainly not. They simply combined for the purpose of common action, leaving the integrity of the different Socialist organizations untouched. All they did was the election of a joint executive board, but each organization retains its identity, its membership, its newspapers, its policy, as before. In course of time a perfect amalgamation will probably take place, but this will be a natural union and not an "automatic coupling," accomplished by a stroke of the pen. Exactly the same we see in England. At a recent conference a united labor party was organized composed of trade unions of the S. D. F., S. L. P. and the Fabian Society. And here again we see a co-operation and not an amalgamation, its sole purpose being to work together in political campaigns. The S. D. F. remains the S. D. F., the S. L. P. remains what it was before and so does the Fabian Society and the trade unions. None of them would ever consent to give up its identity. Every one of them has its own policy, its own spirit, its own history and traditions, and it justly desires to keep up its individuality. The union was brought about for such purposes, where unity is absolutely indispensable, namely, for political action and no more.

Now, why should not the S. D. P. and the S. L. P. faction unite on the same lines? This is to my mind the only way in which an effective, healthy union could be accomplished. Not amalgamation, but co-operation. Let Debs and Harriman run on the same ticket, though belonging to different organizations; let us begin to practice the same policy of combining with the S. L. P. during campaigns everywhere and we may expect a real genuine union to grow out of course of time and not an artificial fusion with mistrust at its very birth. It is never too late and I would urgently recommend the Executive Committee to set to work at once and to devise some practical plan by which such co-operation could be brought about even for the

coming campaign, and I am confident that a co-operation on these lines will be much more acceptable to a good many members of the S. D. P. than the scheme prepared by the conference.

S. Peskin, M. D.

New York.

Hayes' Letter Settled Him

Dear Comrades: I am one of the common herd, but I want to tell you of my feelings the past week when I read the manifesto of the executive board. I was much depressed; then I grew indignant. Why had they acted so quickly. They were hot. Why not cool off and then if need be, act? Why not let us wait and discuss the committee report, and then, if it seems best, vote that down? Then the thought would come that perhaps they were right after all. For a week I wavered—first one side then the other. Then came the Herald for April 14. The first thing I read was Max Hayes' reply, and it was enough. I did not need to read MacCartney's able presentation of the case. Hayes' letter settled me. There is one thing that especially struck me among the other self-accusations. He says: "When the name question was being discussed in New York I attended the weekly meeting of the Central Federated Union and addressed that body." Why, Mr. Hayes, were you not sent as a delegate to the committee on unification? Was it not your duty to be there? It was not for you just then to be attempting to make a few more converts. Surely there were other Socialists who could have done that. What if the other seventeen had also gone about speaking at meetings. Mr. Hayes, your place was at the unification meeting and no amount of circumlocution can cover it up. I am for the Social Democratic Party as it is.

Mendon, Mass. W. E. Dixon.

For Socialist Unity

Comrade Socialists: The manifesto issued by the National Executive Board of the Social Democratic Party and published in the Social Democratic Herald of April 7, 1900, justifies an expression of opinion on our part, as well as on the part of all other organized Socialists, and because of that we feel it to be our duty as a portion of the Social Democratic Party to issue this circular.

We have read this manifesto with unfeigned regret and surprise. It was our hope that the plans inaugurated by the Rochester and Indianapolis conventions and practically consummated at the conference on socialist union held at New York would have reached completion harmoniously and satisfactorily. It was apparent to every one that the time had come for the union of Socialist forces and necessity demanded that such a union should be accomplished in order that the cause of Socialism should be advanced and accelerated. In view of existing conditions we therefore hold:

First. That union is a necessity. Second. That the overwhelming sentiment among Socialists for union demanded that such union be accomplished as speedily and equitably as possible.

Third. That the negotiations for union should be conducted regardless of the acts or wishes of any individual.

The action of the National Executive Board of the Social Democratic Party has presented a new phase in the situation and it is our purpose to outline what in our opinion is the best course for all Socialists interested to pursue in the premises.

The manifesto in question charges that the Social Democratic committee on union violated their instructions in failing to preserve the right of a concurrent vote on the question of party name, and also that certain members of the Socialist Labor Party committee on union failed to fulfill pledges said to have been given at an informal meeting of certain delegates held at Indianapolis during the convention. In answer to the first charge we call attention to the fact that the members of both parties, in case of a failure to decide upon one of the two names by concurrent vote, have the choice of declaring whether or not they will accept that name which receives a majority of the total votes cast on the question of name. This proposition also requires a concurrent vote, thus leaving the entire matter in the hands of the membership of both parties. Consequently the first charge falls to the ground.

In reply to the second charge we insist that the failure of individuals to fulfill pledges, even if made, is not sufficient reason to prevent a union of those wishing for the inauguration of Socialism. It will be plain that if any conference was held as recorded such conference was entirely unofficial, and for the National Executive Board to base their action against union, upon the results of that conference is unjusti-

fiable, because any action taken by the conference was a usurpation of power and not binding upon either party.

And while we deny the right of the National Executive Board to submit such a proposition as embodied in their manifesto, yet taking all the circumstances apparent at this time into account, and also realizing our inability to fully state our position we urge and call upon the members of the Social Democratic Party, not in our name, but in the name of the working class movement for Socialism, to vote "Yes" upon the proposition submitted by the National Executive Board in their manifesto, believing this action will best avert the destination of a unified movement.

Further, we call upon the members of the Socialist Democratic Party and the Socialist Labor Party to vote for the name "Social Democratic" as the name of the united party and also in favor of the other propositions submitted by the joint committee on union, to the end that unity may be effected. Believing it to be the purpose of the present National Executive Board to maintain a separate organization, we therefore urge upon the members of both parties the distinct necessity of voting for the name "Social Democratic" as the name of the united party, so that such purpose of the board if attempted in case the name "Social Democratic" is not adopted, be prevented. By voting for the name "Social Democratic" you will prevent the use of the name unduly, and thus facilitate the transfer of the control of the Social Democratic party into the hands of the provisional committee of the united party. Prompt and decisive action is necessary at this critical period and we trust every socialist will act with but the best of interests of the great cause of Socialism as their guide.

C. A. FRASER.

Chairman.

GEORGE A. KEENE.

Secretary.

Massachusetts Branch No. 16.
Haverhill, Mass.

The Party Press Arrangement

Comrades:—I have already criticized the press arrangement submitted by the conference committee, but want to add another word on a phase of it that has since come to my knowledge.

At the conference I opposed the selection of Springfield, Mass., as the seat of the National Executive Board for various reasons. One of them was that if the local Socialist paper which the Springfield anti-DeLeonites publish and support was in any way a reflection of their views and their general make-up, as would naturally be the case, they were not exactly the kind of people to direct the affairs of a party of which the Social Democrats were to form a component part. At this point I was interrupted by a member of our own committee, and was told that the Proletarian, the paper to which I had reference, was practically dead, and its editor was discredited among his own kind, not recognized by them. An S. L. P. delegate volunteered the information that the editor, whose name is Spelman, was now supposed to be with the De Leonites; and all the rest of the S. L. P.s, sitting around, looked on and listened, and by silence gave consent. Upon the above assurances I dropped that point, and went on to another.

That you may know the ground of my objection to the Proletarian, I quote from its issue of Nov. 19, 1899, which I happen to have by me, as a specimen of what the able editor can do when he tries:

"A liar himself, this old buck, master of bastard English, father of socialist liars, editor of Kuhn's People, Daniel De Leon, struts at the head of a contingent of skulking, cringing, fawning frightened followers. For these latter we have much pity. They are dupes; they are stupid; they are hypnotized. Do hot charge us with using abusive language, Messrs. Skunks; we have simply picked up a few of your terms, by the way. You think you like a scrap. We enjoy it better than you, when we find it a necessity. Gentlemen of the S. L. P., it is necessary to get out on a skunk hunt."

Now, I don't want to criticize the editor of the Proletarian. For those who like that sort of thing, his style is all right. In fact, I frankly acknowledge that, for its kind, it can hardly be surpassed. I merely say that it is not our kind; and I believe most Social Democrats will agree with me.

Well, as I said before, upon the assurances given me that the Proletarian was practically dead, and its editor not recognized by the Kangaroos, I allowed the matter to drop.

I had to leave the conference before it adjourned, in order to catch my train for Boston, but left three of our committee, Comrades Carey, Hoehn and Butscher, together with the entire committee of the S. L. P., to settle up a few minor details of the constitution. They settled up these matters, and, I find, also took up and decided the exceedingly

MORE BENHAM (S.L.P.) VENOM

The Workers' Call prints the letter of Benham, which appeared in this paper, but with the following additional proof of high moral principle from a genuine S. L. P. source; he inserts this in copy sent to papers with the indelible S. L. P. brand:

"Incidentally, would it not be very advantageous for the Republican party to have as many Democratic parties in the field as possible? And might not the Republican party so 'interest' the four signers of the manifesto that they would make the stand they have for 'Democratic' as against anything and everything? Whoop 'er up for union!"

important question of which papers should be placed upon the list of official organs and receive the support of the National Executive Committee. Six papers were selected by the joint committee, and among the six, as you will see, comrades, by the majority report, is the Proletarian!

How is that for "good faith"? Is that fair and honorable treatment for me, I ask? I cannot keep silent upon this matter. It is an outrage that it should be given out as the best judgment of the joint committee that the Proletarian should be endorsed as an official organ of the united parties, receive the support of the National Executive Committee, and be placed upon precisely the same footing as our Herald, which, whatever else it may not be, is at least clean! It matters comparatively little what private enterprise papers may say, even though they may call themselves Socialists; but, for the utterances of an official organ, the party itself is properly held responsible. And of all the six papers on the list the Proletarian, being published at the proposed seat of the N. E. C., will be most generally recognized as the special mouthpiece of the party. Are you willing, comrades, to be held responsible for all the possible utterances of the author of the above quotation? I, for one, am not.

Another criticism I have to offer of the list submitted, is that it contains no German paper. We have lots of good German comrades, and at least three good German papers, any one of which might have been put upon the list. Many of the German comrades have already complained that the S. D. Herald is of little use to them as they read it with much difficulty, and have requested that arrangements be made whereby they could have a German paper instead. This would have been a good opportunity to make such an arrangement.

But what does it matter? The whole scheme is wrong. And as I expected, our membership is not satisfied with it. A letter from Maine, received this morning, among many others of a similar tone, says: "We would rather yield every other point, even the location of the national headquarters, and if necessary the party name, rather than not to have the Herald as our official organ and sent to the membership free. We believe this to be the strongest feature of the organization. Every member getting the paper, it keeps all in touch with the spirit of the party. I think this feature has been a very strong factor in building up the party to its present standing." To which I heartily subscribe.

I believe that the press plan, submitted by the joint committee, should be rejected, and the committee instructed to devise and submit a better one.

MARGARET HAILE.

Reject the Majority Report

Editor of The Herald: Let no comrade be disheartened because of the action of the New York conference. The principles of Socialism are founded upon the eternal rock of justice and they will endure. The petty bickerings of individuals can in no way affect their truth. The Social Democratic party is built upon those principles, justice, purity, truth and progress have been its watchwords from the day of its organization down to the present time. We have started at zero and in twenty months have made our party a power in the country. We have done this not only without the assistance, in any way, of the S. L. P., but in most instances IN SPITE OF THEIR ACTIVE OPPOSITION.

We have made the party in spite of them; surely we can continue it without them.

We are on the eve of success; why should we feel disheartened? The work of the conference committee is unsatisfactory in almost every respect and it should be rejected. Time, the great peace-maker, settles all disputes; and the day is not far distant when there will be but one Socialist party in all this land, and that will be the Social Democratic party of America.

But let us in discussing these things remember that this is not a time for accusations and recriminations. It matters not what Hillquit or Hayes or Benham or any other man may have promised or have said; it is what has been done that counts, and our discussion should be limited to that. Let us not be

too hasty to condemn but rather let us never forget that we are comrades in the most glorious struggle for liberty and justice that the world has ever known. Courage, a cool head, and a perfect loyalty are the prime necessities of the hour. A month from now our passions will have cooled and many of the things which now appear as mountains will not even make molehills then. Let every comrade stand loyal to the party and wait. And may the spirit and wisdom pervade our councils and help us to know the right, is the prayer of
Evansville, Ind. C. W. Hewitt.

Conference Report Repudiated

Comrades of the Social Democratic Party: The members of the Social Democratic party demand the right to vote as a party on the propositions of the committee on unity that were authorized by the convention.

It is their privilege and right to initiate freely such amendments as they desire shall be submitted with the report of said committee. The national executive, consisting of Eugene V. Debs, Victor L. Berger, Jesse Cox, Seymour Stedman and Frederick Heath, is still in power and authority, and will be until by referendum the members of the party declare for unity and elect other members of a national committee to succeed them.

The Social Democratic Party has aroused the dormant hatred of oppression and tyranny that is the heritage of each true American citizen. We want this to continue and only those thoroughly imbued with the American spirit can continue the task.

While we yield to no one in respect, love and admiration for the Socialists who have borne the heat and burden of the days that are gone, we yet insist that this aroused American sentiment cannot be led properly by the eastern members fresh from the imbroglios, sharp practices and club-using of the past few years.

Our movement is great enough to be truly representative. A few men in a restricted locality, circumscribed by condition and their sectionalism, cannot look after a national movement. Let us profit by the mistakes of the past. A national committee formed and controlled by a small section is a gigantic mistake.

We, therefore, members of the Social Democratic party contained in branches Nos. 1 and 4 of New Jersey initiate the following amendments to the committee's report and call upon branches in five states to second our amendments that the national executive committee may submit them together with the majority report of the unity committee to the referendum of the party:

First—That the headquarters of the national committee shall be in Chicago, Ill.

Second—That one member from each state and territory shall constitute the national committee. Each state to send its delegates to the national committee meeting at its own expense. Seven members to constitute a quorum at a called meeting and a total vote of twenty-five necessary to settle a question submitted by mail. Any state may be represented by proxy.

Third—We deplore the failure of the understanding which contemplated and pledged support from the "unnamed" Socialists for the name "Social Democratic party."

The name selected as a substitute is most unfortunate. There is not now nor perhaps ever will be a "united" Socialist party. The name is a sham, a piece of cheap brag, an air bubble. It breathes an atmosphere out of which we had graduated.

We were willing to leave the question of name to a referendum if an honest endeavor was made to get the sense of the members that desired to join us, but the secrecy thrown around the members and organization of the S. L. P. and their action in the committee on union make us lose confidence. Inasmuch as the resolution submitted by the committee on union No. 3 which reads: "In case the party name voted for by you fails to obtain the concurrent majority of both parties shall the name that receives the majority of the total vote of both parties be adopted" contravenes the resolutions submitted and carried at the Indianapolis convention, we demand that the national executive committee shall rule it out of the referendum and not submit it to the voters.

We are glad that the national executive committee seeks an expression of the members of the party on unity. The members of our branches are in favor of unity, but we want to safeguard the interests and principles which led to our separate organization two years ago.

Michael W. Schon,
Edward C. Wind,
Secretaries of Newark, N. J., Branches.

A Social Democratic ticket at Faribault, Minn., was supported at the polls by 600 voters, causing a genuine surprise in the town.

Social Democratic Herald

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board
JESSE COX, Chairman
SEYMOUR STEDMAN, Secretary
EUGENE V. DEBS, VICTOR L. BERGER, Treasurer
FREDERIC HEATH

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, \$0.50. Six months, \$0.25. No papers sent to any one on credit. If, without having subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and no bill will follow. Foreign subscriptions \$1.00.

Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

A. S. EDWARDS, Editor
THEODORE DEBS, National Sec'y-Treas.
126 Washington St., Chicago.

95 is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 95 your subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, APR. 28, 1900.

CONDENSED OPINIONS

So many communications have been received by The Herald on the subject of unity and its various incidents, that, while it has been our desire to print them entire, their number and length makes this impossible. We give complete more than a dozen letters in this paper on both sides of the controversy; others have been necessarily condensed to a brief statement of the writer's position for or against the attitude of the executive body or the matter of unity, as follows:

Geo. A. Gowdy, Bristol, Conn.: "Let us accept the referendum of the New York conference just as it is proposed. By it we can accomplish union. After union is accomplished we can have more referendums if we are not satisfied with our condition."

Branch 2, Erie, Pa., instructed its secretary to formulate charges against the executive board and voted in favor of the union.

Branch 5, Philadelphia, indorses the attitude of the executive board, but expressly declares the necessity for union. East Side Branch, New York, adopted resolutions expressing full confidence in the board.

Branch 3, New York, passed resolutions condemning the action of the executive board and favoring union.

F. M. McQuivey, Eureka, Utah: "The S. D. P. is a movement; the S. L. P. bolters a sect—yes, only a part of a sect. I am for union—when the time comes for it."

W. G. Markland, Sherwood, Tenn.: "After digesting the action of the Indianapolis convention and of the union conference, at New York, I am compelled to believe that there was violation of good faith and pledges, in spirit and in fact."

Julius A. Martin, secretary Branch 1, Ardmore, I. T.: "Our branch will send in an official vote; it will be no—no—no."

The branch at Seattle, Wash., sends in long resolutions denunciatory of the executive board.

A. D. Stone, St. Louis, is opposed to the board's attitude.

Branch 4, Chicago, is solid against union and in support of the executive board. This is practically true of all branches in Chicago, where the "Big Four" are known.

Branch 9, Brockton, Mass., supports the action of the executive board, along with Illinois, New York, Wisconsin, Indiana, Kentucky, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Maine and almost the entire West. Sober second thought has saved before; it will save the Social Democratic party.

"Merlin," after getting a line on all the facts, writes: "I am unqualifiedly in favor of no union. Don't get discouraged. This is only a stone under the wheel. It may shake, but cannot stop the wagon of progress. The S. D. name and spirit shall conquer."

The vote secured by Comrade Bruell of Pana, Ill., who was the Social Democratic candidate for alderman from the Fourth ward, gives the party a place on the official ballot next year. His vote was 46 against 54 for the democrat and 74 for the republican.

Trades unionists will be consulting their own interests and helping their own cause by giving the special trades union edition of the Appeal to Reason the widest circulation possible. Every union should order a big bundle to distribute among non-union workers.

Job Harriman has been appointed state organizer of the united party for New York. This was done at a meeting at the Labor Lyceum, New York city, April 9, by the two state committees.

The official returns of the recent municipal election at Milwaukee give the Social Democrats the following votes: Heath, 2,584; Hinz, 2,681; Tuttle, 2,749.

The city central committee of Chicago has voted unanimously to indorse the position of the executive board.

Socialism in a Little Box

Comrades: For a long time the Socialist Labor Party tried to keep Socialism shut up in a little box, which was watched by a holy guard, and on certain occasions, if one furnished the required credentials, the lid of the box was lifted and he was allowed a whiff from the inside. The qualifications entitling one to this privilege were, generally speaking, inability to speak English, lack of good clothes and proximity to New York city. Deficiency in any one of these qualifications had to be made up by excess in one of the others.

As Socialists became more numerous in spite of the guarded box, another protecting circle was reached and a detective cordon was organized, one or two members of which were in each center of Socialistic thought. These detectives were furnished with a measure, and all who joined the party were either stretched out or lopped off to fit the measure. At last a revolt took place in the ranks and the holy guard was despoiled of the box.

Those who were not fortunate enough to attend the S. D. P. convention at Indianapolis can not fully appreciate the happy fraternalism characteristic of that assemblage. The joy of meeting comrades known only through correspondence and reputation, the intense desire to act wisely, the earnest wish to unite all Socialists of the United States were uppermost in the minds of all. In that spirit the committee on union was elected. When that committee met the corresponding committee from the S. L. P. it developed that the pledge of good faith given to our comrades had been given to allay our fears and throw our committee off its guard. In place of a desire to unite Socialists and best promote Socialism, it was expected to bargain for such a union of party machine as would best control the Socialist movement. Instead of a fraternal conference of workers in the same cause, it was expected to treat pro and con for the guardianship of the little box.

Comrades, Socialism is like air and sunshine; it is a glorious fact, free to all, good or bad, just or unjust. The mists of ignorance obscure it, but it is always there. Any attempt to shut it up develops the poison of exclusiveness. The S. D. P. cannot assimilate that poison.

We have an organization that is growing, an executive who have done well, a paper clean and free from malice, headquarters in the storm center of the revolution, all these have been rejected by the committee of the S. L. P.

They have only left us our candidate, and his worth and popularity is relied on to break up completely the very party we have builded.

We cannot consent to this. Let us stand together. Let us say to all Socialists, "Come and help us push the standard of Socialism as high as possible during the coming campaign. Give us your personal strength and help for the coming battle and then let us meet again and try to understand each other." By that time the little box may be lost.

Corinne S. Brown.

Artificial Union Not Wanted

"The mountain has labored and brought forth a mouse." The scheme for political union which has been industriously boomed and exploited for six months has brought forth its first-born, and behold it is a misshapen monstrosity of discord and strife.

Perhaps this result was necessary in order to show some of our comrades who had almost gone daft over this scheme, the utter folly of attempting to patch up an artificial union without first securing organic unity.

Whatever the merits of the present controversy, there can be no doubt that the plan finally degenerated into an ordinary political dicker and trade. The goods were not delivered as promised, and as a result criminations and recriminations, charges of broken pledges and double-dealing are flying thick and fast. All this in the name of socialist unity. Like the fellow who was bound to have peace if he had to fight for it, they have forced a scheme for union upon us to the very verge of disunion in our own party.

Do we need any further demonstration of the utter folly of pursuing such a course in such a spirit any further? A lathwork aggregation of political parties without organic unity always has and always will be a farce and a failure. Socialist parties are no exception to this rule. We have learned a lesson. Let us now call a halt and take our bearings. We have been chasing this will-o'-the-wisp of socialist unity till we find ourselves floundering in the quagmire of party discord and disruption.

Our first duty is to our own party. No Social Democrat and no Socialist worthy of the name will seek union at the expense of disunion in our own ranks, now that the danger is apparent. The man who persists in pushing a scheme for so-called unity in the face of imminent disruption has no right to call himself a unionist.

The man who in this emergency does aught to foment the spirit of discord is not a harmonizer. The man who says that those opposed to his pet scheme must be "kicked out," and that the next fight on Socialism must be to DRIVE OUT the "lawyers, doctors and ministers," such a man is "stealing the livery

of heaven to serve the devil in," for under the guise of a revolutionist he is acting the part of a reactionist, and under the guise of unity he is creating discord!

A crisis is upon us, and the supreme duty is to work for peace and harmony within our own ranks first of all, and to preserve intact the name and integrity of the Social Democratic Party. This, as I understand it, is the attitude of our national executive, and in it they should receive our fullest support. They could do no less and be loyal to their trust.

Does this mean that the cause of Socialist unity must be side-tracked and the sincere men and women who are looking and longing for a welding of Socialist forces must consider themselves enemies and be kept apart? Not at all. The absurdity and failure of the present attempt has only made apparent the necessity for organic unity. The present trouble has sprung entirely from the fact that those who were booming political union began at the wrong end. They attempted to stand their pyramid on its apex, and behold! it has toppled over almost before it was built. Now let the comrades of the S. L. P. and the S. D. P. who sincerely desire true organic unity, go to work first to secure harmony in their own ranks, then between their respective local branches, and out of this will grow organic unity which will inevitably find expression in state and national organizations. The pyramid will then stand on its base.

In view of the present crisis the cause of genuine unity can best be served by voting no in the proposition submitted by our national executive, throwing aside this artificial patchwork of the conference committee and then going to work in our local branches to bring about harmony in our own ranks and unity with the S. L. P. If we proceed in this spirit and by these methods the longest way round will prove the shortest way home and in the end we shall secure genuine and lasting unity of Socialist forces.

H. A. Gibbs, M. D.
Worcester, Mass.

Milwaukee City Committee

The central committee of the S. D. P. of the city of Milwaukee assembled at a regular meeting on the 9th of April, 1900, and discussed fully the pending problem of the proposed union of forces of one of the factions of the S. L. P. and the S. D. P., and arrived at the following conclusions:

1. The deliberate repudiation by the representatives of the S. L. P. of their own pledge, solemnly given by them at the Indianapolis conference, in New York, show plainly that the leaders of that party do not act in good faith and entertain a scheme to simply absorb the S. D. P. under the pretext of union.

2. The delegation of the S. D. P., by agreeing in New York to the reopening of the discussion as to the name of the united parties and to the submission to the referendum vote two names jointly by the S. D. P. and S. L. P., in direct violation of the understanding arrived at at the Indianapolis conference, clearly acted in a grossly inconsistent manner, being swayed by the Machiavelian tactics of the S. L. P. leaders.

3. The union of the S. D. P. with the S. L. P. as an organization would be, under the present circumstances, simply suicide.

4. Every Socialist who subscribes to the principles and tactics of the S. D. P. is fraternally welcome to join the rank and file of the members of the S. D. P.

5. The young and hopeful S. D. P. ought not to be burdened by the fatal mistakes, gross blunders and extreme unpopularity of the S. L. P.

In view of this and other considerations the central committee of the Milwaukee members of the S. D. P. hereby heartily endorse the manifesto issued by the National Central Board of the S. D. P. and embraces the opportunity of expressing itself unanimously and unequivocally against any union or fusion with the S. L. P. as an organization at the present time and under the present conditions.

For the committee,

Eugene Rooney, Secretary.

I. Ladoff,

F. W. Rehfeld,

Ed. Ziegler.

Milwaukee, Wis.

Montana, Attention!

In spite of statements made by interested parties that there will be no "Debs ticket" in the field, the Social Democratic club of Butte wishes to announce that there will positively be a Socialist ticket in the field at next fall's election. We appeal to all Socialists in the state to push the work of organization and propaganda. For literature and information in regard to the movement in this state,

Address Social Democratic Branch, 71 East Park street, Butte, Mont.

Comrade G. H. Strobelle writes: "I'm with the national executive board in opposition to the practices of these extremists."

Social Democrats of Terre Haute have adopted a ringing municipal platform and nominated J. A. Hatchell, J. E. Wall and J. S. Kingery as candidates for councilmen at large.

Branch No. 18, Newburyport, Mass.

Believing; 1. That the consummation of a harmonious and effective union of Socialist forces is, on general principles, a matter of supreme importance; that at present it seems most desirable; and that such union would undoubtedly strengthen and stimulate the Socialist movement;

2. That the spirit of calm deliberation, frank and fraternal discussion, and a thorough knowledge of every side of debated questions, are necessary to a proper understanding and settlement of the same;

3. That it is most desirable to develop a spirit of faith in each other and in the movement; while, on the contrary, the arousing of the spirit of distrust, and denunciation of individuals, is harmful and disruptive;

4. That, while the party name is not of chief importance, it should nevertheless clearly express the object for which all true Socialists are striving, and at the same time should avoid the possibility of confusion with other party names and principles, or danger of variance with the truth; and

5. That the very essence of Socialism is based upon the expressed wish and will of all concerned;

Therefore, it is the resolution of Branch No. 18, Newburyport, Mass.,

1. That every possible honest means should be used for the consummation of a harmonious union between the Socialist Labor party and the Social Democratic party, avoiding even the appearance of any desire or effort on the part of one party to absorb or control the other, but exhibiting every willingness to make mutual concessions in the interests of the one great end in view;

2. That, though it can readily be understood that undue haste may easily arise from great zeal for the cause, yet such haste is to be regretted, especially where it leads to recriminations and reflections upon comrades of either party who have undoubtedly sacrificed for the same cause, and who give large evidence of an honest desire to continue doing their utmost in its behalf;

3. That ample time and opportunity should be given for the fullest and freest discussion and expression of opinion in the national organ, but that unpleasant personalities and recriminations should be avoided;

4. That the joint committee on union is entitled to the gratitude of all comrades for the time and attention thus far given to the duties for which it was appointed; that its present report be accepted as a report of progress; and that further time be given it for the formulation of a program for union, giving the largest rational latitude to the rank and file in deciding the party name, location of headquarters for the national executive committee, and all other matters which shall be submitted to the branches for referendum vote.

W. P. Porter,
C. W. Johnson,
T. H. Chisnall,
Committee on Resolutions.

Suggestion From Boston

The following resolution was adopted at a meeting of the Boston city committee S. D. P., held April 17:

"We recognize that the present discord in our party on the matter of Socialist unity is due to the intent of none but to the mistakes of many. We deny the necessity of placing the blame or imputing the motives of any, and declare our confidence in the integrity of all parties concerned.

"In the interest of harmony we urge the National Executive Board to recall their manifesto and referendum and leave the proposition submitted by the conference committee to the judgment of the membership of the party.

Signed: Affirmative: M. J. Konikow, S. E. Putney, A. McDonald, Bra. 1; C. W. White, Bra. 4; J. Spero, A. Segal, Bra. 15; T. H. Goetz, Bra. 44; H. H. Goodwin, F. S. Schmidt, Bra. 45; J. Ryan, Bra. 53.

Negative: A. C. Mendall, Bra. 29. I was absent from the meeting because of illness. Should have signed the affirmative list had I been present.

JOHN WEAVER SHERMAN, Secretary.

Boston, Mass.

Another View From Brooklyn

Comrades:—Four of our comrades by a usurpation of authority and obvious misrepresentation of facts dare interfere in the progress of Socialism on the eve of a union of the two Socialist parties of America.

There is no use threshing our well-known facts. As intelligent men and women, as Socialists, we must realize them. We must have observed and we must acknowledge that, as a whole, the S. L. P. has acted much more fairly in the unity negotiations than the S. D. P., not that our comrades have not done nobly in the great majority, but that the less than manly conduct of some S. D. P. comrades has dragged our side in the mud. As we foolishly gave them voice in our party management so must we witness the besmirching of our party's name and fame.

It was well that Comrade Eugene Debs should have been elected a member of the S. D. P. Executive Committee. But to aid him in directing the affairs of a party representing the most

glorious of causes whom did we choose? They and their qualifications are:

Comrade Victor Berger, who has continually vilified in his paper earnest Socialist workers; who, by so doing, stamps himself as prejudiced and unqualified to act in an executive capacity; who wrote in his paper when he said he had influenced Comrade Debs to accept the nomination; Comrade Heath, who has said that the S. L. P. comrades were of another kind altogether from himself and the S. D. P.; Comrade Jesse Cox, who has said he did not want anything whatever to do with the S. L. P. comrades; and Comrade Seymour Stedman, who is noted for being unable to keep his head.

Shall we let these men now prevent us from boarding the same ship with our brethren and sailing toward the shores of the co-operative commonwealth? They are willing to sail, too, for that shore; as such we know their intelligence and honesty of purpose; but as they desire to ride in their own vessel that they may stand at the helm and feel that their individual selves have not been contaminated by contact with those in the other craft, we despise their narrowmindedness and uselessness.

We of the rank and file want unity. We know that every single objection to it has arisen through some of our leaders: At least four of them, and, apparently, Comrades McCartney and Haile do not favor it. Shall we allow six comrades to sway us from the loftiest purpose we could at present hold? Most important of all things now is unity. More important than the name or tactics or constitution or propaganda or the six—one billion five hundred millions of the world's people who wish to prevent it more than all others.

The cause of Socialism demands that we stand shoulder to shoulder. When we have union we may decide what to do with the leaders who do not lead. It would be galling to have to remain in our party if union should not be effected. Let us take our lesson as nobly as the S. L. P. took theirs—overthrew their schemes and come forth free men. And as De Leonism is ever rampant so on our part 10,000 of us, eternal vigilance is the price of not only our liberty but, perhaps, that of the proletariat, for through the S. D. P. and the S. L. P. must come the co-operative commonwealth. If we flinch we are worse than capitalists, for they do not know the truth. We, knowing it, are most degraded if we fail in our duty to ourselves as workingmen and proletariats.

I like the last paragraph of Max Hayes' reply to the Executive Committee's (four-fifths) aspersions:

"There are some people in this world who are bound to have their own way in even the most minute particulars. They will rule or ruin, being incapable of real leadership, a welding together of homogeneous elements. Such a man is Daniel O'Connell. There are others, nevertheless. Hurrah for Socialism in our time!"

Let me add there are some hero worshipers in the S. D. P. who often think themselves the heroes and continue the worship.

T. F. MEADE.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

Say Union is Completed

At a joint meeting of branches 2 and 3, Cleveland, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

"Whereas, In our opinion the executive board instead of furthering the amalgamation of the S. L. P. and S. D. P., has widened the breach by the issuing of the manifesto appearing in the S. D. Herald of April 7.

"We believe the committee as a whole has done its duty to the members of both parties. We further believe that the committee of the S. L. P. are personally in favor of the name Social Democratic party, and it was only fair and just to their constituents that two names be submitted.

"It appears that there have been too much personal feeling and prejudice throughout all the proceedings, and it would be better for all concerned if such affairs were left out.

"Resolved, That we most emphatically protest against the issuing of the manifesto at this time, as the amalgamation is now practically complete. It would now be too late to submit the question of amalgamation to a vote. For in our opinion the rank and file have been in favor of it at the cost of any sacrifice.

Committee."

To Our Connecticut Readers

All unattached Socialists in the state of Connecticut are requested to write Louis Schlaf, 26 Spring street, Rockville, for information concerning the organization of branches.

Southern California, Attention

All Socialists in the seven southern counties of Southern California should now get to work and so far as possible form branches in every voting precinct. To further this end communicate at once with James T. VanRensselaer, 1618 Terman street, Los Angeles, Cal.

One of the new branches reported as organized at Milwaukee last week should have been credited to Sheboygan.

From the Viewpoint of History

Comrades: As a rule, I do not mind abuse—I am accustomed to it. It usually is an indicator of the fact that what I am doing is right, whenever I am abused by either the capitalist press or by the members and papers of the S. L. P. But this is a different case. At the present I am denounced in no small measure by some members of our party who do not fully understand the situation. However, I made it a rule of my life not to be stamped by oratory, never to be coaxed by flattery, nor ever to be intimidated by abuse. In order to be convinced I want plain facts.

Comrades, I do believe I find myself in the position of that Greek who said: "Strike me, but listen to me."

Before all things, permit me to say that I have studied the S. L. P. and its methods for many years. In fact, I was compelled to do so, having been a Socialist for many years and at one time the editor of a daily paper which was acknowledged an organ of the S. L. P.

The talk about De Leonism in the S. L. P. is all wrong. De Leonism is simply the synonym of Social Labor Partyism; what is usually called De Leonism was there a long time before they ever heard of De Leon, but it could not speak English. I will admit though that Professor De Leon, having more ability than the average S. L. P. leader, brought some method into the madness.

To begin with, the S. L. P. is not a political party, never was one and never can be one—it is simply a political sect that adopted Marx's book "Das Kapital" as its bible. And a bible not in the modern, but in old medieval sense, when few people could read it. "Das Kapital" is a book written in a foreign language—only the first volume was ever translated into English, and even the original is written in a language foreign to the average German. The reading of "Das Kapital" presupposes either an academic education or very hard application. In all my experience with the S. L. P., where every man constantly talks about Karl Marx as if he had attended school with him, I only found two or three men who had really read "Das Kapital" and talked about it understandingly. Two of these men are in our party now.

And to the fact that Marx's book is used as fetish rather than an economic work, is partly due that Social Labor Partyism is and always was the caricature of Marxism; and I want it understood that even pure Marxism has not in all things stood the test of time and experience.

To the average S. L. P. man Marx's work is a book with seven seals. Still, the first thing the S. L. P. always accomplished was to give its members a fearfully magnified idea of their importance and "science." They learn a few phrases about exploitation, surplus value, the great revolution and especially about "class-consciousness," repeat them on every occasion, and call that science. In that way the most ignorant of men becomes a "scientific Socialist" in one evening, without having the inconvenience of studying books and thinking about social problems.

The rest of their tactics can be told in a very few words: It is to denounce and vilify everybody who does not entirely agree with them. A man who does not belong to the S. L. P. is in their eyes either a very ignorant person, even if he be a university professor, or he is a scoundrel. Especially do they say this of every reformer, labor leader, or Socialist who has not joined them—of the S. D. P. they have claimed innumerable times that it was a "middle-class party," founded and kept up by the capitalists.

With such conditions it is natural enough that the S. L. P.s watch each other very closely and that every member is a spy upon all the rest. It is enough to see a member shake hands with a government official who is his neighbor, or to bid "Good morning" to a man he has known from childhood, but who is running on the ticket of a capitalist party, to be considered a traitor and a man "who has sold out." The consequence is that every S. L. P. member, no matter how highly he stands in the eyes of his comrades, is sooner or later considered a renegade by his companions unless he dies young—I mean young as a party member.

In short, their tactics are based upon fanaticism, but fanaticism and falsehood being twin-brothers, there is probably no other political organization where more untruth is told about opponents than in the S. L. P.

The main business transacted by the S. L. P. sections (before De Leon's time or after) was not the propagation of Socialism. Their main business was to fight other Socialists who held opinions different from those in vogue in the S. L. P. or of whom the S. L. P. leaders were jealous. They took especially good care to kill off Socialist papers that they could not fully and absolutely control. Besides papers of small importance the S. L. P. has during the last decade ruined four daily Socialist newspapers.

The result? The S. L. P. became the great stumbling block in the way of progress of Socialism in this country. The S. L. P. is probably not stronger today than it was twenty years ago, although both sides, the De Leonites

as well as the Volkzeitung wing, claim 82,000 votes, most of which they received because there was no other Socialist party in the field. In itself the S. L. P. has been most barren and impotent. It has produced not one man—outside of Daniel De Leon—who is in any way above the most common mediocrity; still, it has besmirched and vilified every labor leader and reformer who has appeared during the last thirty years from Swinton to Debs and Jones of Toledo.

The ideal of the S. L. P.—provided it has any ideals—seems to be a communistic state controlled by hierarchy; something of the kind the Jesuit Fathers had in Paraguay more than 100 years ago. It was a state where everybody had enough to eat and where all had the same elementary education and where all worked in common—but where all independent thinking ceased, the Jesuit Fathers thinking for them all. The result was that life there became so dull that even the propagation of the race ceased to a large extent, although the rulers put up a price for every child that was born. And I may say for myself that if I thought for one moment that the methods and principles of the S. L. P. had any show at all in this country I would direct my last drop of blood in fighting them, for I would rather live under the despotism of the emperor of Russia.

But some may say, Well, all these things have been true of the old S. L. P., but things have changed since the great "Revolution of July 10, 1899," when they dethroned Daniel De Leon. Let's see.

Was that great revolution—it took three Tammany policemen to quench it—really brought about by a change in the methods, principles or tactics in the S. L. P.?

Nothing of the kind. Professor Daniel De Leon, the last generally acknowledged pope of the S. L. P., wanted to get a hold of the type-setting machines and the press of the New York Volkzeitung in order to publish a daily People. It is only natural that the Volkzeitung's editors defended their means of "production and distribution," and being pressed very hard, they tried the same "coup d'état" on Daniel De Leon and his executive board they did ten years before in 1889. But they forgot one thing. In 1889 they had peaceable Germans to fight, who were not prepared for war. But this time they got hold of the wrong fellow. Dan was prepared, and when the Volkzeitung's crowd came to commit the "revolution," they found a picked lot of Irishmen and Americans to receive them. Dan made short work of the Volkzeitung-Garde, and the only fruit of the great revolution for the Volkzeitung is the capture of the Labor Lyceum Saloon. Not only this. Daniel De Leon beat them in the courts. He got the party name and the party emblem. And what's worse, he also beat them at the following state election; his party receiving about as many votes without the Volkzeitung's crowd as formerly with them.

And the New York Volkzeitung having lost the party and their prestige began to look out for a "new home." It is generally admitted that not one of them thought of fusion with the S. D. P. before. It is also generally understood that had the Volkzeitung party won the S. L. P. name and the S. L. P. emblem in the state of New York and in other states, that there would have been no fusion. But having no party name and a questionable following, they directed their efforts toward our party. Now, if there really had been a change of heart and of tactics in the S. L. P., and if they meant to advance the cause of Socialist unity, then was the time to come right straight over to our side and join our party. But that wasn't the S. L. P. way. Instead of joining us, they tried to capture us. They tried to destroy our organization and to start a new sect with the old spirit under a new name.

The rest you know. And now you will also understand the course of the older Social Democrats and of the executive board. Certainly we wanted a "union of Socialist forces"—although the cry of "union of the reform forces" has destroyed the People's party in 1896—but we wanted a union that would wipe S. L. P.ism off the earth. We did not want to infuse any poison into our young party, and in that sense we clung so tenaciously to the name of the Social Democratic party. We wanted everything that we thought we could use as a shield against the injection of S. L. P. ways and S. L. P. methods. But on the other hand, I must admit the name itself is in no way a panacea against the old evils, if the spirit of the S. L. P. is to dominate the Social Democratic party.

In conclusion, the way all negotiations have been conducted by the S. L. P. is a fresh confirmation of the old tactics and spirit. The leopard has not changed its spots. Will Social Democrats give them a majority vote on false pretenses and broken pledges? I hope not. Fusion now carries with it the germs of future dissensions. For your own sake and for the sake of Socialism I implore you to vote "no." Let all tall men of the S. D. P. now stand erect!

Victor L. Berger.

Organize a Branch in Your Town

TO ILLINOIS SOCIAL DEMOCRATS

In accordance with a resolution passed on April 11, 1900, by the Chicago Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party, you are hereby notified that there will be held a convention of the Social Democratic Party of Illinois, for the purpose of nominating the following state officers, to be voted for, on Tuesday, Nov. 6, 1900: Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of State, Auditor of Public Accounts, Attorney General, State Treasurer, Three Trustees of the Illinois State University, also 24 Presidential Electors, and other officers.

This convention will meet at No. 594 East 63d Street, Chicago, Ill., on Sunday, May 13, 1900, at 10 o'clock a. m.

The representation of said convention will be by delegates chosen as follows:

First.—Each branch shall be entitled to as many representatives as there are individual members in good standing, any representative if selected shall be entitled to one (1) vote for each member whose name is signed to his credential; and provided further, that no member shall sign his name to more than one credential.

Second.—Branches not sending their own representatives may select those of other branches of this state to represent them; provided that in each case the representative shall hold the proper credential with the signature of members attached as herein provided.

Third.—No member shall be qualified to serve as representative or entitled to representation who has not been a member of the Party at least thirty (30) days prior to the opening day of the convention.

Fourth.—All signatures of members attached to credentials, as herein provided, shall be certified to by the chairman or secretary of their respective branches.

J. H. GREER,

Chairman.

CHAS. H. SOELKE,

Secretary.

H. H. FROELICH,

PHILIP BROWN,

WM. C. HORGAN,

SEYMOUR STEDMAN,

Special Committee of the City

Central Committee.

From New York

Comrades:—No greater surprise could have come than that brought by "the manifesto."

A howl of dissatisfaction will surely go up, in answer to this statement of our National Executive Board. It appears to be De Leonism over again, for what on earth could have possessed our N. E. B. to publish all this manifesto in support of a minority report before having submitted the majority report! Is this fair?

Further, you state that Mr. G. Benham stated at the conference of March 9th that he would support the name Social Democratic on the condition that Harriman and Hayes were accepted by our party as candidates. Were these two accepted as candidates by our party? And as they were not, did Benham break any compact? Then again you state that Comrades Harriman, Hayes and Helquit entered into a solemn compact at a conference held at the Occidental Hotel, Indianapolis. In what way did this bind any of these? Was it a conference ordered by the then existing conference or merely a conference of a few members assembled to talk matters over? And as to Comrade J. Harriman having told Comrade Steadman that he would support the name, should a statement not made on the floor of the convention be taken as official?

Now I shall drop this to take up the matter of the conference in New York city, having been present the whole time. Comrade Berger (as you are aware) did not attend the conference. Comrade Heath remained through the Sunday, even taking part in the debate as to name, and it was not until late on Monday that he withdrew. If he considered that the S. L. P. delegates were not acting in good faith, why did he not make this public on Sunday afternoon instead of waiting until 7 p. m. Sunday evening, and then calling upon the chairman for the committee to go into executive session and there create a rumpus? Was he afraid of publicity, or what could have been his intentions?

Did Stedman get hot under the collar because Chicago was not accepted as desired by him for national headquarters? It certainly seemed so, for it was after this that he began to denounce the action of the S. L. P. delegates. (I would relate here that on the first vote for national headquarters Comrade Stedman was the only one to vote for Chicago, even Comrade Haile did not vote for it on the first vote.) From my observation as an onlooker at this convention I feel bound to state that the account in our organ (S. D. Herald) of the opposition delegates is outrageous, for positively no one there could have acted more fairly than Comrades Benham, Hayes and Harriman. Between Comrades Hilquit and Stedman lawyers' battles were carried on, always questions and cross-questions; of course this is only what one might expect.

Now, comrades, I wish to state that New York desires union regardless of

LOCAL BRANCHES

Notice of Branch Meetings Inserted for 25 Cents per Month

CALIFORNIA

Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evenings, commencing at 8 o'clock. Admission free. Educational meetings (for members) every Tuesday evening. Sociology, Economics, Public Speaking, etc. Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening, with advantage of Educational Course and Social Democratic Herald free to each member, 25 cents per month. Apply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk Street.

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 8 o'clock at Woodman's Hall, 1254 Spring St. J. Franco, 700 Dayton Ave., Secretary.

Branch No. 5, Alameda, California, holds free public meetings every 2d and 4th Sunday, 8 p. m. at Foresters' Hall, 808 Park St. and Santa Clara Ave. Business and Educational meetings (for members) 1st and 3rd Mondays, 8 p. m. at 2405 Euclid Ave. Allan A. Crockett, Secretary, 1810 Walnut St.

COLORADO

Branch No. 1, Denver, meets every Sunday at 2:30 p. m. at 1715 California Ave., Chas. M. Davis, Secretary, 1623 17th Street.

CONNECTICUT

The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at Turn Hall, Rockville. L. Schlarf, Secretary.

Branch No. 3, New Haven, meets every Tuesday evening, at 190 State St., at 8 p. m. Cornelius Mahoney, Secretary, 185 Frank St.

Branch No. 4, Rockville, Conn., meets first and third Thursdays at 8 p. m. Hall meeting room, Village street. Secretary, Richard Niederwerder, Box 110.

ILLINOIS

Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 13 Dearborn St.

Branch No. 1, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening. Thomas Kirwin, Secretary, 2604 Wentworth Ave.

Branch No. 2 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays at 2 p. m. at Nagle's Hall, 535 Blue Island Ave. Vaclav Jellinek, Secretary, 605 Blue Island Ave.

Branch No. 3 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Mondays at 8 p. m. Dunder's place, 1050 W. 12th place. Joseph Dunder, Secretary.

Branch No. 4, Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays of each month at Andr. Musik's, 60 Spring St. Paul Chlapka, Secretary, 804 Noble St.

Branch No. 6 (German), Chicago, meets every first Saturday each month at 8 o'clock at Nagle's Hall, 535 Blue Island Ave., near 18th St. Albin Gail, Secretary, 503 W. 12th St.

Branch No. 9, Chicago, meets at 1145 W. 63rd St., first and third Sundays at 8 p. m. S. L. Westine, Secretary, 6245 Center Ave.

INDIANA

Branch No. 4, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichwein's Hall, corner Market and Noble Sts.

IOWA

Branch No. 3, Hittman, meets every fourth Friday, the month at opera house. B. B. Jamieson, chairman in James Fisher, organizer; Joseph Schollant, secretary.

KENTUCKY

Branch No. 2, Covington, meets first and third Wednesday evenings and second and fourth Sunday afternoons each month at 4 p. m. at Jackson headquarters, third meeting in month. Good speakers. Secretary, F. C. Stumpf, 301 8th street.

MARYLAND

Branch No. 1, Baltimore, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m. at Carpenter's Hall, 500 E. Baltimore St. Public invited.

Branch No. 2, Baltimore, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at Weasel's Hotel, 324 W. Camden St. Good speakers. Public invited. Levin T. Jones, Secretary, 202 W. Barre St.

MASSACHUSETTS

The Massachusetts State Committee meets the first Saturday of each month at 724 Washington St., Boston. All dues and moneys intended for the State Committee should be sent to the financial secretary, A. McDonald, 104 W. Springfield St., Boston. All other correspondence should be addressed to the Corresponding Secretary, Margaret Hall, 5 Glenwood St., Roxbury.

Branch No. 2, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Mondays of each month at Springfield Turner Hall. E. Schlichting, Organizer, 557 Sumner St. Public invited.

Branch No. 3, Holyoke, meets every Monday night at 7:30. Open house. Public invited. Harry Göttemer, Sec., 423 Kenner St.

Branch No. 5, Brockton, meets the second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at 8 p. m. for business at Socialist Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Center Sts. Every comrade is expected to attend one meeting a month. Frank S. Walsh, Secretary, 67 Crescent St.

Branch No. 15, East Boston, meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 99 Chelsea St. Miss Jenny Segal, Secretary, 9 Chelsea St.

Branch No. 18, Newburyport, meets the second Monday of each month at Easter's Hall, 1 State St. T. H. Chisnell, Secretary, 16 Collins St. A. L. Binley, 238 Merrimac St.

Branch No. 18, Chelsea, permanent headquarters, Room 2, Postoffice Building. Open every evening. Business meetings every Thursday at 8 p. m. Public invited.

name, and everywhere that the facts of the case will be presented union will be demanded. The progressive element in this city want unity and this alone. We have worked just as hard for the party (S. D. P.) as our N. E. C. Some of our members have become old men working for the movement, and even they demand union regardless of cost. If we will bear in mind the principles for which we are fighting and not be carried away by false ideas of party we will the sooner improve our condition, politically and socially.

George Finger.

New York City.

NEW BRANCHES

The new branches of the Social Democratic party organized since a week ago, are located at

Del Mar, California.

Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

Van Buren, Arkansas.

Michigan Socialists

All Social Democrats and all unattached Socialists residing in Michigan are requested to write at once to Henry Ramsey, 84 Railroad street, Battle Creek, Mich., and thus aid in placing a Social Democratic state ticket in the field this fall.

To Texas Socialists

For purpose of State organization, the Bonham Social Democratic Branch requests that every Socialist in Texas who reads this notice, will please send name and address to the undersigned. Please attend to this at once. W. E. Farmer, Bonham, Texas.

All Socialist papers please publish.

Oregon Socialists, Attention

You are requested to communicate with J. D. Stevens, Box 204, Portland, organizer for the S. D. P., with a view to instituting branches of the party in your community. The future belongs to Socialism. Lend a hand and get your state thoroughly organized.

MINNESOTA

Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Gesswein, on Main St. A. Kingsbury, Secretary.

MISSOURI

St. Louis headquarters, Room 7, 22 N. Fourth St. Address all communications to E. Val Putnam, Secretary. For information concerning ward branches, inquire at the above address.

Branch No. 7, Kansas City, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1220 Union Ave. G. J. Storr, Secretary, 1220 W. 9th St.

MONTANA

Branch No. 2 meets first and third Sundays of each month at G. W. Wood's home, Chino, Mont.

NEW JERSEY

Branch No. 1, Secretary, Michael W. Schor, 57 Livingston St.

Branch No. 5, Camden, N. J., meets every 2d Sunday of the month. For particulars address Paul Eberding, 1208 Kaighn's Avenue.

Branch No. 6 (German), Paterson, N. J., meets first and third Mondays at 8 p. m. at Helvetia Hall, 54-56 W. Houten St. Karl Linder, Secretary, 246 Edmond St.

NEW YORK

The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York and vicinity meets first and third Tuesdays of every month in Willig's Hall, 85 E. 4th St. Elizabeth H. Thomas, Secretary.

Branch No. 1, New York, meets every first and third Thursdays at 11 o'clock at Clinton St. A. Guyer, Secretary, 128 Suffolk St.

Branch No. 2, 15th Assembly District, meets second and fourth Wednesdays of the month at 1029 Second Ave., at the "Central." Henry Lang, Secretary, 324 E. 60th St.

Branch No. 4, West Side Branch, New York, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of every month at headquarters, 100 W. 9th St. Elizabeth H. Thomas, Secretary.

Branch No. 5 Brooklyn, New York, meets every Saturday at 8 p. m. at 58 Moore St. Visitors welcome. Comrades desiring to organize should communicate with Secretary Sol. Freeman, 190 Boarum St.

Branch No. 10, 4th Assembly District, meets every first and third Wednesday of the month at 215 sharp. All persons interested are invited to attend these meetings and co-operate in organizing local branches in every district in the city. Wm. Butcher, Secretary, 211 Rutledge St.

Branch No. 22, regular meetings are held first and third Friday of the month, at Webster Hall, 140th St. and Third Ave., Borough of the Bronx, E. Spranger, Secretary, 317 E. 140th St. All persons interested in Socialism and the S. D. P. are invited to attend.

OHIO

Branch No. 2, Cleveland, meets in Ohlsen's Hall, New York St., second and fourth Sundays at 8 p. m. Lectures, discussions, business meetings, first and third Fridays at 8 p. m.

Branch No. 3, Cleveland, meets first and third Sundays in each month at 8 p. m. in Ohlsen's Hall, New York St. Lectures and discussions.

Branch No. 4, Cincinnati, meets at Richelieu Hall southeast corner 9th and Plum Sts., every Sunday at 2 p. m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Jos. Adams, President, 1490 Lexington St.

Branch No. 5, Dayton, Ohio, meets every 2d and 4th Friday evening, in Hall 27, Central Trades Council. Everyone interested in Socialism invited. J. C. Schawe, Chairman, W. Harringer, Secretary, P. O. Box 294.

Branch No. 6, Cincinnati, meets every second and fourth Saturday in Workingmen's Hall, 1103 Walnut St. F. Hamel, Secretary, 544 Adams St.

Branch No. 11, German, Columbus, Ed Greiner, Secretary, 806 Mohawk St.

PENNSYLVANIA

Branch No. 2, Erie, meets every Sunday, 8 p. m., at K. of L. Hall, 718 State St. Chairman, Joseph Stain, Secretary, J. E. Perry, 119 Sansafrass St.

Branch No. 4, Pittsburg, meets every Thursday evening at 7:30 p. m. at Funk Hall, 8 1/2th and Jefferson Sts. W. Bohm, President, 544 Addison St. J. H. Lewis, Secretary, 2114 Jane St.

Branch No. 5 (Jewish), Philadelphia, meets every Friday at 4:30 P. M. Third St. at 7:30. Discussion from 8 to 9 P. M. Carson, Secretary.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee Central Committee meets on the first Monday of each month at 8 p. m. sharp at 215 sharp. All persons interested are invited to attend these meetings and co-operate in organizing local branches in every district in the city. Wm. Butcher, Secretary, 211 Rutledge St.

Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Tuesday evening of the month at the Ethical Society Building, 222 Jefferson St. Visitors always welcome. Edward Tuttle, Chairman, Eugene H. Rooney, Secretary.

Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Friday in Geisler's Hall, corner Green Bay and Concordia Ave.

Branch No. 3, Sheboygan, meets every fourth Thursday of the month at Gustav Burgard's Hall on Pennsylvania Ave. R. Schoen, Secretary, 1810 Lexington St.

Branch No. 5, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday each month at Miller's Hall, corner 2d and Brown Sts. George Moerschel, Secretary, 351 25th St.

Branch No. 9, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at R. Sigel's Hall, southeast corner Orchard St. and 9th Ave. O. Wild, Secretary.

Branch No. 11, Milwaukee, meets the second Wednesday of each month at the office of the Wisconsin Vorwaerts, 614 State St.

Branch No. 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of each month at Krass' Hall, 21 and Center St. at 8 p. m. Secretary, Rudolph Loeschman, 1126 23rd St.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LIBRARY

Karl Marx, Capital, Cloth.....	2.00
F. W. Sprague—Socialism, from Genesis to Revelation, Cloth.....	1.00
Grundriss—The Co-operative Commonwealth.....	1.00
Paper.....	.20
August Bebel—Woman: Past, Present and Future.....	.25
Stichhold—Morris England.....	.25
Edward Bellamy—Looking Backward.....	.25
Edward Bellamy—Equality, Cloth.....	1.25
Linsagay—History of the Commune of 1871.....	1.00
Chas. Vail—Modern Socialism.....	.25
Asplund—Heterodox Economics.....	.25
Profits.....	.15
Henry D. Lloyd—Wealth Against Commonweath.....	1.00
Volsin—The Reign of Empire.....	.25
Thomas Paine—The Rights of Man.....	.25
Henry George—Social Problems.....	.25
Osborne Ward—The Ancient Lowly.....	1.10
Adams—President John Smith and His Friends.....	1.00
Richard T. Ely—Socialism and Social Reform.....	1.00
Buchner—Man in the Past, Present and Future.....	1.00
Adams—A History of the Paris Commune 1871 (cloth 75c), paper 50c.....	.50
Chas. H. Vail—Principles of Scientific Socialism.....	.25
Herren—Between Jesus and Caesar.....	.25
Fabian Essays.....	.25
Rogers—Six Centuries of Work and Wages.....	.25
Paine—Rights of Man.....	.25
Donnelly—Caesar's Column.....	.25

PAMPHLETS

Views of a Committeeman

As one of the members of the committee on union I desire in behalf of myself as such, to lay before the comrades of the S. D. P. certain facts in relation to the New York conference, and at the same time in language as strong as I possibly can to repudiate some of the statements made in the manifesto issued by the N. E. Board in the Herald, as well as the one great motive back of all the prevention of Socialist unity.

It is a positive fact that some of the N. E. Board were strongly opposed to a unification of the S. L. P. and S. D. P., and were it not for the overwhelming majority and sentiment of the delegates at the convention who came instructed to work for union, negotiations to that effect would have been prevented at that time.

In the first place, I wish to censure the N. E. Board for exceeding their authority by publishing any such manifesto previous to receiving report of the committee together with their side of the case, and thereby endeavoring to prejudice the minds of the comrades throughout the country as to the exact state of affairs, so that when the report is sent to the branches to be voted on, the comrades will be ready to overthrow our earnest and sincere efforts to secure an honorable union without understanding the whole situation.

The convention at Indianapolis elected a committee of nine to confer with the committee from the S. L. P. to arrange a plan for union of the two parties; until such report had been placed before the membership, I again reiterate that the N. E. Board had no jurisdiction in the matter. The membership, through its delegates at Indianapolis, evidently had enough faith in the comrades elected to consummate a union to believe that not one step would be retraced from what they considered right and just; and nothing was done at that conference which does not clearly show that the comrades who sat for three long, weary days and nights hard at work on the many intricate questions were persons of broadest mind and character, who held the principles of Socialism high above anything else in connection with our movement.

One thing is to be regretted, however; the two members of our committee on union who affixed their names to the manifesto took no part in the proceedings at the conference and violated the great trust given to them by the Indianapolis convention. Comrade Berger did not come at all, claiming sickness at home; but had he been anxious to have our full quota at the conference a telegram sent to the secretary of our committee at the time his co-delegate, Comrade Heath, left Milwaukee, would have been ample time to have telegraphed to the comrade who received the next highest vote, requesting him to attend in place of Comrade Berger.

Then there is Comrade Heath, who, after sitting with the conference all day Sunday, March 25th, hearing and taking part in the preliminary discussion, refused to act any longer in conjunction with your committee, after we had unanimously agreed (even Comrade Stedman, who also signed the manifesto) to submit two names to a referendum vote. The manifesto clearly states that the conference committee of eighteen failed in performing its true work in two salient points, viz., in regard to name, and secondly, regarding the referendum on the name.

In relation to the first point let me state that according to the instructions passed at the convention, which, by the way, was the minority report, that we urge the name Social Democratic Party. This your committee did with all the argument and oratory at their command, the debate on that question lasting all day Sunday; but both committees were of a steadfast opinion, and all the argument from now till doomsday could not have convinced our S. L. P. friends on the committee that our name was the best.

Therefore, after one whole day of earnest and hard work, it was decided that each committee should hold a separate meeting and discuss the question of name. This was done; your committee adjourning to the Occidental Hotel, where the whole thing was thrashed over again until midnight, when it was decided that we submit the name Social Democratic Party and let the S. L. P. committee submit a name if they chose to.

Right here I will state that Comrade Stedman was in favor of the proposition and agreed heartily with your committee on this point, I can't understand how he has come to the conclusion to sign the manifesto just issued.

The National Executive Board is trying to show up your committee as having violated its trust by allowing the question of name to be settled by a majority vote of both parties.

I must deny that statement, for in the report you will see that simply as a provision, not to have unity overthrow in case a concurrent majority vote fails, we have submitted the following proposition: "Are you in favor of a majority vote of both parties deciding the question of name in case the vote fails to receive a concurrent majority of both parties?"

This question now being referred to the membership of both parties for set-

tlement, who shall say that the democratic principle of allowing the membership to decide this question is not proper and just?

Let the comrades understand that if a concurrent majority fails on the question of name, all negotiations are off, unity is buried, and the hopes of a united movement are blown away like chaff before the wind.

From what I have been able to learn, had some of our learned comrades used better judgment, tactics and the proper spirit since the convention, the name Social Democratic Party, although perhaps failing to receive the concurrent majority vote, would positively have received a large enough majority on a joint vote to insure the name of the united movement being the Social Democratic Party; even now it is not too late if our comrades use the proper judgment.

Such action as that displayed in the manifesto is not going to gain votes for our name, but to the contrary, is doing it a positive injury.

As to what took place at the hotel in Indianapolis, the statements of Comrades Edwards and Gordon are true (as I was present at that meeting) with but one exception, and that is the statement of Comrade Benham.

I deny that Comrade Benham made any promise whatever, but, to the contrary, would not take any definite stand; stating that the rest of the committee, referring to Comrades Harriman and Hilquit, could promise what they saw fit, but he (Benham) would not stand for any promises, and would not be bound by anything they said. He gave no personal pledge, which I am sure Comrades Chase, Marely, Carey, Martin and others who were present, will corroborate if interviewed on this point.

Therefore it is bad policy and dangerous for any person to swear to an affidavit if he is not perfectly sure that his statements in such affidavit are absolutely correct.

Now as to the pledges made by Comrades Harriman and Hilquit, will state that after they had promised their moral support to work for the name S. D. Party, with the understanding that that was to be an argument to be used by Comrade Berger in influencing Comrade Debs to accept the nomination. But immediately upon leaving the room, we were confronted by Comrades McCartney, Haile and Thomas, who advised us of the acceptance of the nomination by Comrade Debs.

This news coming immediately after leaving the conference where Comrade Berger stated it would take him possibly two hours to convince Comrade Debs to accept, was received with alarm, not only by the S. L. P. members of the conference, but by some of the S. D. P. comrades, who immediately inquired whether the whole thing was a put up job to get the S. L. P. delegates to agree to stand by our name; after explanation all present were satisfied that it was not.

Therefore as the compact was made to influence Comrade Debs to accept and as he had already accepted while we were making the agreement in our room, the S. L. P. delegates did not consider their promises binding whatever.

Where the mistake was made was in the conference not meeting again, at 11:30 that evening as agreed upon, when the matter could have been settled then and there.

The whole affair was a misunderstanding between the two committees, and when properly explained to your committee on union they were satisfied to continue negotiations.

Another statement to be repudiated is the one referring to Comrade Hayes' action at the conference. While I do not remember at this moment whether he did or did not speak in favor of the name "S. D. P.," I will positively state that he did vote for the name "Social Democratic Party," and was the only one on the committee from the other side who voted with us. He broke no pledges, and stood by what he said at the Indianapolis convention. It is therefore very unjust for our National Executive Board to publicly make such a statement against Comrade Hayes.

What an enormous blunder and what a discredit is heaped upon the N. E. Board when they openly state that the S. L. P. comrades are likely to hand in a fictitious vote. This is an open insult to every member of the S. L. P., and I, for one, shall not stand for it. I am convinced that the S. L. P. comrades are just as good, honest, sincere, earnest and devoted to the principles of Socialism as are the Social Democrats. Therefore, let those people who "live in glass houses" refrain from throwing stones at others.

Two more points and I am done. One is the antagonistic spirit in which the manifesto is written, referring to our choice for the vice-presidency, Comrade Job Harriman, as "Mr." (and also Comrade Benham), when we should at least address such earnest workers in the Socialist cause as "Comrades." And finally, no better argument could have been presented by any comrade that Chicago is not the place where the Executive Board of the unity party shall have its headquarters than the spirit and antagonism shown in the issue of this manifesto.

Union is desirable. Union is wanted and union will be accomplished, al-

though a few who think they control this movement can try to sidetrack it by bringing forth their personal enmities.

The Socialists of this country will no longer tolerate a handful of men to dictate to them what they shall do, but are intelligent enough and understand fully well what is the best step to be taken for the advancement of the cause of Socialism. Our Executive Board asks is union desirable? when in the city of Chicago the S. D. P. and S. L. P. have united in the campaign just closed under the name S. L. P. Milwaukee also united in the campaign just closed under the name S. D. P. Other places like Cleveland, Ohio, and Newark, N. J., are now in campaign united. The New York State agitation committee is working in unison with the S. L. P., while in many places throughout the country the branches of both parties are carrying on together their work of agitation.

This explanation of the true facts in the case is not handed out with any other spirit than that of a true and sincere Socialist and to show the comrades of the S. D. P. the position taken by your committee on union and that taken by your National Executive Board.

Truly said, you are the arbiters; and I for one have enough confidence in my comrades to know that the proper stand will be taken by them, and those who are in the wrong will be most severely criticized and censured as the case warrants it.

WM. BUTSCHER.

The Situation

Comrades: There is nothing in a name. A name "should not stand in the way of Socialist unity." Those are the phrases we hear now often from members of the S. L. P., and from some of our own comrades, who are ready to sacrifice our name for unity's sake. Many arguments were given for the name, Social Democratic Party, and the best I heard were certainly J. Carey's, at our last meeting, but there is still some vacancy left, which I intend partly to fill out. If a name should not stand in the way of union, why do the S. L. P. comrades make such a fight for the change of it? If our party would have made our name a condition sine qua non, as the majority report on the name question wanted, there could have been some dissatisfaction from the S. L. P. comrades. They could say that it was humiliating for them to accept such conditions. But, although instructed by their constituents to do so, our delegates to the Indianapolis convention showed good judgment and accepted the minority report, extending by that a brotherly hand to the organization of the S. L. P. We all expected that the S. L. P. comrades would now take the second step towards us, show that they grasped the situation, and would drop all discussions about the name. Whether the members of the S. L. P. committee did promise or did not to work for our name, they could clearly understand that the rank and file of our party could not be induced to change the party name; they could understand that the acceptance of the minority report was on "a form," a diplomatic way of not offending the S. L. P. comrades and in the same time pressing our point. I do not know what kind of "deals" have been made about the names and candidates, in what words the promises were made or not made; one thing is clear to everyone—the members of the S. L. P. conference committee created the impression that they would work for our name, and as a proof that they tried it we can cite the fact that their own New York comrades met them with great dissatisfaction. The three members of the S. L. P. conference committee (I understand that Max Hayes kept his word and cast his vote against the name U. S. P.), certainly deserve a great deal of criticism. Even if their constituency showed dissatisfaction with their stand, they should have kept up the impression they had made on our convention and rather resign from the committee than be conscious of having acted, not like men, but like diplomats and politicians in the capitalist sense of these words.

But whatever name their action deserves, the Social Democratic Party has nothing to tremble for. I have entire faith in the good judgment of our comrades to have voted for our party name, to have voted down point 3, and also cast a big "No" against the most anarchistic plan of conducting the press affair of a party that ever came to my knowledge.

The common sense of the rank and file would have brought the whole situation to a satisfactory one. But, alas! The members of the party propose and the executive committee disposes. Here comes the great mistake of all executive committees. They always have too little confidence in the rank and file and are always inclined to too much "leading" instead of "following." I think that the referendum proposed by our executive committee is, mildly expressed, a step in the wrong direction; that it makes the situation more complicated than ever, and that many a faithful comrade, who stands with his whole soul for Socialism and for our party, will feel that a great mistake has been made.

Because a few members of the S. L. P. conference committee did not take the stand we had a right to expect from

them to break up a movement for unity, where thousands of simple honest workmen are concerned, who are not very smart in diplomacy, but have a keen sense of righteousness and honesty, would be ridiculous. Our own conference committee did not show the good judgment we expected from them, and after all we are all human and are all liable to make mistakes. But to base a question of unity of Socialist forces on mistakes made by a few personalities would be entirely wrong. To break off our relations with the S. L. P. in such an abrupt manner as our executive committee proposes to us would not prove that we are far-sighted enough to grasp the situation.

Such an action would certainly prevent union, not for years, but for scores of years to come; it would make any new steps towards union almost impossible. But if everything goes the regular way—how different. Let us suppose that both parties vote on the name; our party without doubt voting for ours, the S. L. P. comrades voting for the "United Socialist Party." Such a disagreement would bring the conference committee together, and if they could not unite on one name, there would be no unity, but there would be no bad feeling and union only postponed.

With the referendum proposed by our executive, the situation is very complicated indeed. But never despair. Our party is too strong to be staggered even by harder blows. The way out of it is clear.

I would advise all comrades to vote "yes" on the proposition of the executive, adding at once their vote—

1. For the name Social Democratic Party.

2. Against proposition 3, which advises to accept the majority of both parties as ruling.

3. Against the whole matter about the party press.

This would prove to our executive committee that our party is not in danger and that, although not accepting the path they offer us out of the difficulty, in spirit we ask them and have no doubt that it was only their faithfulness, their deep love for our movement which dictated to them the somewhat hasty action.

Mrs. A. Konikow.

Boston, Mass.

Democracy and Socialism

Editor of the Herald: As to the present name of our party being set aside, and another name adopted, would, I am sure, be a sad case of social suicide. Let us retain our present name, Social Democrat, and not divorce the word democracy from socialism, because we are truly a democratic party. And through its principles we expect to construct the system of Socialism. I love the name because W. J. Bryan and "democrats" so-called do not believe in its principles. It is a name that is invisibly tattooed on every Socialist. If he has not got it, he is not a Socialist. But you may say there is a Democratic party, and we should not lose that name. To that question I would say there is not a Democratic party; there is a party that assumes that name, but its principles are not democratic, neither will they be so, until it is compelled to prolong its life by adopting as a plank direct legislation, which will only be used to inject a feeling into its old supporter.

Let us stand for the name Social Democracy!

Marion, Ind.

Edward Meyer.

Dissatisfied With Terms

Editor of The Herald: I would like to be informed by what authority and consistency the national executive decided to leave the question of "unity" to a referendum vote, after the delegates with instructions given by a referendum vote of their respective locals unanimously voted for the affirmative of this question at the national convention. I am positively in favor of "unity," although not fully satisfied, with the terms the conference committee proposes.

Hilquit and the rest of the delegates of the S. L. P. may not have kept their promises; but that does not mean to express the traits and sentiments of the whole S. L. P. I know of many comrades of the S. L. P. who are in favor of both the name (S. D. P.) and the seat for the national executive (Chicago).

It is my opinion that instead of speaking against "unity," the national executive ought to have agitated for the adoption of all the good points the joint conference committee proposes, and for the abolition of the bad ones; and thereby have avoided the creation of diametrically opposite opinion in the ranks of the comrades of New York.

New York. Samuel B. Flashnick.

To Our Washington Readers

Comrade D. Burgess of New Whatcom, Wash., has been selected as organizer for the state and is prepared to assist the Socialists of Washington in organizing branches of the S. D. P. Correspondence addressed to him will receive prompt attention.

North Dakota Socialists

Socialists residing in North Dakota and desiring to organize for effective propaganda work in that state are requested to correspond with Math. Eidsness, Towner, N. D.

Pocket Library of Socialism

1. *Woman and the Social Problem.* By May West. Shows how the emancipation of women will only come with the emancipation of man through socialism.
2. *The Evolution of the Class Struggle.* By William H. North. A historical study showing how socialism is coming.
3. *Imprudent Marriage.* By Roscoe B. Brown. A masterly answer to the argument that "prudence" would be the laborer's friend.
4. *Packaging.* By A. M. Brown. A study of the Union Stock Yards, Chicago; how nature and man are alike scientifically exploited.
5. *Realism in Literature and Art.* By Clarence Darrow. Shows how the workers of modern art and literature are helping on the new social order.
6. *Single Tax vs. Socialism.* By A. M. Brown. Shows the inadequacy of the Single Tax as a remedy for the evils pointed out by Henry George.
7. *Wage-Labor and Capital.* By Karl Marx. The essence of the great philosopher's theory, in his own words.
8. *The Man Under the Machine.* By A. M. Brown. Tells how wage slavery began, what it is today, and how the workers are going to free themselves. A condensed handbook of socialism.
9. *The Mission of the Working Class.* By Rev. Charles H. Vail, author of "Modern Socialism."
10. *Morals and Socialism.* By Charles H. Vail. Shows how popular ideas of morals are manipulated in the interest of the capitalist class.
11. *Socialist Songs.* Sixteen good ones, set to music every one knows.
12. *After Capitalism What?* By Rev. William T. Brown. A logical historical study showing that socialism must come as the result of forces now at work.
13. *A Political Quack Doctor.* By W. A. Corey. A socialist view of the "Prohibition" movement.

SPECIAL OFFER—For one dollar we will send forty copies of the Pocket Library, all of one kind, as asserted as preferred.

SEND ORDERS TO
THEODORE DEBS
126 Washington St., CHICAGO

PRINCIPLES OF Scientific Socialism

By Rev. Charles H. Vail
Author "Modern Socialism" and "National Ownership of Railways."

- CONTENTS:**
- The Industrial Revolution. The Analysis of Value. The Origin of Surplus Value.
 - The Advantages of Socialism: Production, Distribution, Elimination of Unpleasant Conditions, Prevention of Waste, Elevation of Woman, Proper Care and Training of Children, Efficient Direction, Solution of the Monetary Question, Abolition of Taxation, Simplification of Government, Benefits to Capitalists, Benefits to Laborers.
 - The Evidence of the Moral Strength of Socialism: Solidarity and Aim; Abolition of Business Dishonesty; Restriction of Distance; Prevention of Prostitution; Elimination of Crime; Prevention of Intemperance, Insanity, etc.
 - Property—Its Cause and Cure. Wage Slavery vs. Chattel Slavery. Rent and Interest. The Law of Wages. The Law of Progress. Industrial Depressions and Commercial Crises. The Problem of Labor-Saving Machinery.
 - Popular Economic Errors: That Value is Determined by Capitalist Cost of Production; that the Interests of Laborers and Capitalists are identical; that Labor is Better Off Now Than Ever Before; that Cheap Prices are Beneficial to Labor; that Luxury Markets are Beneficial to Labor; that Land Nationalization Would Solve the Social Question; that the Cause of the Chief Cause of Economic Want; that Socialism Would Thwart Inventions and Improvements; that Socialism Would Destroy Individuality. Conclusion and Index.

12mo, 236 Pages; Paper, 50c; Cloth, \$1.00.

SEND ORDERS TO
THEODORE DEBS, 126 Washington St. CHICAGO

Headquarters for Literature.

- SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC.**
1. Liberty Debt. 5c.
 2. Merrie England. Blatchford. 10c.
 3. Municipal Socialism. Gordon. 5c.
 4. Prison Labor. Debs. 5c.
 5. Socialism and Slavery. Hyndman. 5c.
 6. Gov't Ownership of Railways. Gordon. 5c.
 7. Orations on Voltaire. Victor Hugo. 5c.
 8. Evolution of Industry. Watkins. 5c.
 9. Hard Times. Cause and Cure. Gordon. 5c.
 10. Women: Past, Present and Future. Bebel. 5c.
 11. The Red Light. Casan. 2c.
 12. The Pullman Strike. Carwardine. 2c.
 13. Co-Operative Commonwealth. Weyl. 5c.
 14. The New Economy. Gronlund. 5c.
- MECHANICAL AND ENGINEERING.**
15. Progressive Examination of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen. Hill. 50c.
 16. Locomotive Running Repairs. Hitchcock. 5c.
 17. Simple Lessons in Drawing for the Shop. Reynolds. 50c.
 18. Air Brake Practice. Phelan. \$1.00.
 19. Ready Reference. Alexander. \$1.50.
 20. Locomotive Running and Management. Heald. \$2.00.
 21. Compound Locomotives. Woods. \$2.00.
 22. Twenty Years with the Indicator. Pray. \$2.00.
 23. Hand-Book of the Locomotive. Roper. \$2.00.
 24. New Catechism of the Locomotive. Fowey. \$1.00.

Note.—Nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 in lots of 10 copies, 5 cents; in lots of 100 copies, \$1.50. No. 1 in lots of 25 copies, 50 cents; in lots of 100 copies, \$2.50. Send orders to:

DEBS PUBLISHING CO.,
TERRE HAUTE, IND.

NATIONAL FUND

The following is a list of comrades who have agreed, in response to the appeal of the National Executive Board, to contribute monthly for one year to the national fund. Other names will be added as they are received.

- | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| CONNECTICUT | NEW YORK |
| Finch, N. H. Hartford | Fales, I. C. Rochester |
| Holman, B. Hartford | Abbott, L. D. New York |
| ILLINOIS | Butcher, Wm. Brooklyn |
| Stedman, S. Chicago | Thomas, E. H. New York |
| Steele, C. Chicago | Kahn, Chas. New York |
| P. F. Ayer. Chicago | Heis, F. W. New York |
| "A Friend" Chicago | Loupoly, Jas. New York |
| Dr. J. H. Greer. Chicago | Pankov, J. New York |
| Mrs. C. Brown. Chicago | Weyl, Chas. New York |
| James Wright. Chicago | Mark Raphael. New York |
| INDIANA | Aaron N. Bodof New York |
| E. V. Debs. Terre Haute | Philip Gruber. New York |
| MASSACHUSETTS | Meade, T. F. Brooklyn |
| Flanders, F. B. Haverhill | NEW JERSEY |
| Cohen, A. Boston | Pankov, Carl Jersey City |
| Parker, Levi. W. Newton | Karl Lindner. Paterson |
| Monette, G. C. Brockton | "Comrade" Brooklyn |
| Rosworth, W. F. Brockton | OHIO |
| Tate, Peter. Everett | Revar, Jos. Cleveland |
| Hitchcock, D. G. Warren | Zorn, Julius. Cleveland |
| Goldman, S. Haverhill | Bran, F. New York |
| Hough, E. W. Newton | Altenberndt C. Cleveland |
| Chase, J. C. Haverhill | PENNSYLVANIA |
| Brown, J. W. Templeton | Lewis, J. H. Piquette |
| Grievance, C. B. Lancaster | F. W. Hirt. New York |
| Allen, Helen N. Lynn | TENNESSEE |
| Koehn, Dr. J. A. Lynn | Enloe, Dr. B. H. Nashville |
| Caray, Jas. F. Haverhill | Hamilton, W. A. Nashville |
| MICHIGAN | Mahoney, Wm. Nashville |
| Kalher, S. Grand Rapids | TEXAS |
| MINNESOTA | Pries, R. S. Austin |
| Geswein, F. Red Lake Falls | WISCONSIN |
| MISSOURI | Berg, V. L. Milwaukee |
| Fischer, Wm. St. Louis | Bocock, E. H. Milwaukee |
| Palmer, Harry. St. Louis | Ziegler, E. Milwaukee |
| Ersche, Wm. St. Louis | Doerder, John. Milwaukee |
| MARYLAND | Baumann, G. Milwaukee |
| Jacobson, E. Baltimore | Arnold, L. Milwaukee |
| NEW HAMPSHIRE | Malster, B. Milwaukee |
| Gordon, F. G. Manchester | Heumann, C. Milwaukee |
| Bowie, Geo. Manchester | Katze, J. Milwaukee |
| Mallen, C. H. Somersworth | Heath, B. Milwaukee |
| "Somersworth Branch" | Branch 4. Milwaukee |

The Union Label

on everything you buy is a guarantee that the producers thereof receive a fair rate of wages for its production. Insist on having the label.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

VOL. II. No. 46

CHICAGO, ILL., U. S. A., SATURDAY, MAY 5, 1900.

Whole No. 96.

BRYAN'S FINANCIAL POLICY AS A "STEP" TOWARD SOCIALISM

By Rev. Charles H. Vail.

Occasionally one meets a man who says he is a Bryanite-Socialist; that is, a man who claims to be a Socialist and a Bryanite at the same time. It is quite evident that a person occupying that position has not grasped the economic theories of either party, for they are mutually exclusive and move in contrary directions. That Bryan's trust policy is anti-socialistic is now generally conceded, but some seem to think that his financial policy is a step toward Socialism. They argue that the money trust, as they call it, is the greatest of all trusts, and that we should commence reform by destroying the money power. Bryan, they say, is "going our way" and we should abandon independent party action and join the silver democracy.

It is not my purpose in this article to show the absurdity of such tactics, but merely to consider the question of Bryan's financial policy as a step toward Socialism. It is my contention that Bryan's financial policy, like his trust policy, is a middle class reform, and consequently of no interest to Socialists or the working class—Socialism being primarily a working class movement. Not only would this measure not improve the condition of the working class but it would tend to rehabilitate the declining middle class, and is, therefore, decidedly anti-socialistic. Any measure that tends to re-establish the conditions of the past—the conditions of competitive industry—is reactionary.

Socialists believe in the organization of industry. They trace the industrial evolution through its various stages, and point out the fact that the trusts have come as the natural and inevitable outcome of the competitive system. The trust, then, is a step toward the Socialistic ideal—the complete unification of industry. Every measure that tends to facilitate the organization of industry is a step toward the final goal, but every measure that tends to check unification is decidedly anti-socialistic.

Now, let us inquire. What would be the effect of Bryan's financial policy? Mr. Bryan contends that what he calls the money trust is the greatest of all trusts, and that the first step toward the destruction of industrial trusts is to destroy the money power. If the destruction of the money power would lead to the dissolution of the trust system, then, surely, no one can claim that such a measure is a step toward Socialism. Mr. Bryan himself makes no such absurd claim, in fact, he contends that all trusts depend upon the money trust and that the destruction of this trust is the first step toward the destruction of all trusts. His plea for the destruction of the money power is for the purpose of striking a blow at the whole trust system, which, he holds, rests upon special legislation of which money privileges are foremost.

It is true that the ruling class have been able, by the manipulation of finances, to facilitate the concentration and organization of industry. The gold standard serves the interests of the large capitalists and hastens the downfall of the middle class. The money question, then, is merely one of interest to the capitalist class. The interests of the small proprietors are opposed to the interests of the large capitalists. In this struggle for supremacy both endeavor to enlist the support of the working class. But the working class is not interested in this capitalist family quarrel, especially, in the hopeless endeavor to preserve a class that belongs to a past era of economic development. The whole anti-trust movement, of which free silver is a part, is merely a movement in the interests of the class of small proprietors. As the present financial system has contributed to the centralization of industry, its destruction would only serve the interests of the middle class. Could the Bryan financial policy be carried out, it would tend to give a new lease of life to the competitive system. To be sure, it could not in itself re-establish the supremacy of the middle class, but the measure would tend in that direction, and is, therefore, reactionary.

Mr. Bryan as champion of the small proprietor class well knows what he is about. He makes no claim that the destruction of the money power is a step toward Socialism. Why, then, have any Socialists fallen into this error? Evidently because of the governmental feature connected with some portions of what is called financial reform. Many who are not well grounded in Socialist economics, seem to think that all kinds of governmental activity is socialistic. Of course, the free

coinage of silver does not come under this head, but many who advocate this do so as a step toward complete government monopoly. They think that anything that enlarges the sphere of government activity, or is a step in that direction, is socialistic. But this is far from the fact. Prof. Ely well says on this point, "Not all government activity can be called socialistic. If the purpose or the spirit of the activity, in question is to render the collectivity dominant in the economic sphere, then it must be designated as socialistic, otherwise, not. Those who have studied Socialism to little purpose who imagine that the Socialist approves of all activity of government whatsoever, and that he is ready to endorse any plan which will enlarge the functions of government." Those Socialists who are Bryanward inclined, or who are affected with any species of financial reform, would do well to consider the above statement. Prof. Ely, although not a Socialist, has a clear insight into what constitutes Socialism, and the things that tend in that direction.

Clear-cut Socialists are not interested in the so-called money question—this interests only the proprietary class. The large capitalists want the gold standard, the middle class free silver. The latter hope, by depreciating the money standard, to pay off their mortgaged indebtedness with a debased currency or inflated product worth but about half its selling price. The interests of the working class are not served by this scheme of indebted farmers, land speculators, silver barons and small producers and dealers, and they refuse to be used as a tool to fight the battles of their exploiters.

Under Socialism, the monetary question will solve itself. In fact Socialism would abolish all metallic money and substitute therefor a system of labor checks or vouchers based upon the product of labor. It is absurd to propose, as some do, the application of this principle to the present system of commodity production. Yet many support the free coinage doctrine with this end in view, and pretend to think that it is a step toward Socialism. But those who would take a step beyond Bryan and introduce the Socialist principle under the present system, have failed to grasp the nature of either capitalism or Socialism. Such a position is as illogical and impossible as it would be to endeavor to put the roof on a house before the frame was erected. Under capitalism, money is a merchandise; that is, it has an intrinsic base. Like the institutions of credit and banking, all are convenient methods of conducting one portion of the machinery of the present order. To transfer to a capitalist state any of these functions now performed by private capitalists is surely not necessarily a step in the direction of Socialism.

I am not interested, then, in the so-called nationalization of the present financial system, or in Bryan's amendment, or any other device that can be put in operation under the present system. All such schemes, at the best, are middle class demands. Socialize the economic power—the means of production and distribution—and the money power will disappear. All the time spent on such questions today is absolutely wasted. The Socialist who thinks that Bryan is "going our way" is woefully deceived. Bryanism is not a step toward Socialism. The standpoint from which he proceeds is that of the middle class interests against the interests of the upper capitalist class. All proposed revisions of the monetary system will be ineffective to remove injustice so long as the present system exists. It is impossible to establish an equitable financial system on a basis of an economic system which is usurpatory in character. If our financial reformers would investigate the question sufficiently to discover the dependence of financial institutions upon economic conditions much confusion would be avoided. Until they realize the economic basis of the financial system we shall have confusion worse confounded. Do not be deceived by Bryanistic sophistry. If you want to solve the monetary question, vote straight for Socialism.

Has Found One Exception

Dear Editor: Being S. D. P. organizer for the city of Chicago I come in contact with the membership frequently, and find that in the present crisis as regards union with the S. L. P. every member with whom I have talked (with one exception) is opposed to union at the present time. Fraternally, Wm. C. Horgan.

NOTES AND COMMENT

Success again! At Spring Valley, Ill., the Social Democratic party elected Comrade Joseph Kelly to the city council as alderman against the "coal company ticket." Later, in the school election, 500 votes were cast for the Social Democratic candidate against 700 for the "coal company ticket."

The man who reads the newspapers should be able to decide for himself whether Debs is a real factor in the presidential campaign. Already the Texas "pops" are quarreling over the question of fusing with the "dems" in support of Bryan or joining the Social Democratic party in support of Debs.

The following extract from a letter written by B. Berlyn, one of the oldest S. L. P. censors in Chicago, printed in the Workers' Call, is given to show the great degree of confidence which characterizes the present demand for union: "One thing must be insisted upon, that the candidate subordinates himself to the principles. We want a large Socialist vote for the principles of Socialism, aye, we want the majority, and we will get that majority much sooner by insisting that we want votes for the principles and not for any particular candidate. We should keep an eye on those who make a personal canvass. They may be all right, but the election of no one man can help the working class."

The Revgen, a Danish-Norwegian paper in this city that at the last presidential election supported Bryan, has declared for Debs and Harriman and the Social Democratic platform. An article in its last week's issue concludes as follows:

"The nomination of Debs and the agitation for him and his cause will guarantee that the coming presidential campaign will not be an out and out humbug-fight between the old parties but will force the social question to the front, as far as possible, and even if Debs will not this time be elected his candidacy will be the most effective stroke for Socialism ever witnessed in this country."

THREE GEMS FROM BENHAM

"I shall in the future be pleased to make some comments upon the idiosyncrasies and weaknesses of some of the 'giants' of today. They will none of them be so tall that they cannot be brought to their knees when their peculiarities are made known to the people."

"The manifesto furnishes a sweet morsel for every enemy of Socialism. All or any opposed to the Socialist movement could afford to pay almost any price for such a service in the cause of capitalism."

"Incidentally, would it not be very advantageous for the Republican party to have as many Democratic parties in the field as possible? And might not the Republican party so 'interest' the four signers of the manifesto that they would make the stand they have for 'Democratic' as against anything and everything?"

Rank Injustice to Women

I wish to refer to the article, "Women and Social Democracy," in The Herald of March 31. The attitude of the Socialists towards women is like water to a dying plant. But women have become so accustomed to their ridiculous, disgraceful, stupid, economical position, that most of them do not recognize or feel their position and actually imagine they enjoy the universal respect of men; so they do just as much as children and animals do. In this city, under a new charter (good in itself, but beginning with an untruth on the first page, where it says it was ratified by vote of the people, when actually it was only "men" and should be truthfully so stated) there was recently held an examination for municipal copyists in which women were graciously allowed to compete. There were almost exactly half of each sex. A woman came out No. 1 and most of the highest places were held by women; those men who had been and were then employed as municipal copyists could not (with four exceptions) pass this examination! But when it came to appointments, women were entirely passed over and men were chosen; for the time defeating the praiseworthy efforts towards justice and impartiality on the part of the civil service commission.

Women must work; no human being in good health and not deformed or crippled can be honorably excused from work; but for women as wives, to work at home as housekeepers for nothing but board, lodging and clothes is just giving the husband's employer the labor of two for the wages of one; this confusing of the duties of wife with that of cook, washerwoman, dressmaker, etc., is very beneficial to employers, but is one of the subtle, unnoticed leakages of labor, to which it is time men directed their attention.

All honor to Socialists, who are the only body of men who try to understand and put straight the defects in the economic position of women, as well as men. A. T.

San Francisco.

"GROWING AWAY FROM THE CHURCH" YET GIVING IT SUPPORT

By W. P. Borland

It has so often been asserted that "the masses"—meaning the wage earners—are growing away from the church, and so many good people have occupied themselves with the devising of schemes to bring back the erring ones to the vineyard of the Lord, that it has come to be accepted as a truth in a great many quarters that workmen are far from being ardent supporters of religion.

This is one of those great falsehoods which comes to assume the garb of truth solely because of reiteration. As a matter of fact, workmen are much more ardent supporters of religion, according to their means, than are the Christian faddists who worry so much about the salvation of their (the workmen's) souls, as witness the Salvation Army, which is supported almost entirely by poor working people, and which has developed into theocracy of such wealth and power as to recently cause a split in the ranks of the leaders over the administration of the spoils wrung from the rank and file by this highly efficient soul-saving apparatus. Witness also the Roman Catholic Church, which is essentially a poor man's church, so far as the agencies for its financial support are concerned.

Workingmen, in truth, render much greater financial support to the church than they ought. If they would as a class devote as much of their attention and their means to temporal matters affecting their welfare as they devote to religion, they would stand some show of speedily realizing here on earth some of the blessings which the priests and prophets have promised them in the hereafter.

Let any person who wishes to satisfy himself of the truth of this assertion run through the schedule of cost of living by families, contained in the sixth and seventh annual reports of the United States Labor Commissioner. In the schedules of "expenditures other than for food" will be found some figures which I imagine will come as a revelation to many of those who worry so much over the indifference of workmen to religion. Taking the first five hundred families in each of the four leading industries dealt with—glass, woolen, cotton and iron—and comparing their expenditure for labor organizations with their expenditure for religion, we are able to construct a table, as follows:

	Annual expenditure labor unions, 500 families.	Annual expenditure religion, 500 families.
Trades—		
Glass workers...	\$4,791	\$3,067
Woolen workers...	93	3,368
Cotton workers...	52	3,787
Iron workers...	371	2,516
Total	\$5,307	\$12,738

These figures indicate that these two thousand families taken together spend nearly two and a half times as much annually to support religion as they spend to support labor unions, and this average will hold good throughout the more than eight thousand families treated of in the schedules. Leaving the glass workers out of the above table it will be seen that the remaining fifteen hundred families spend nearly nineteen times as much annually for religion as they spend for labor unions. The glass workers are the only ones that spend more for their unions than they spend for their religion, and it is well known that they are a solidly organized and comparatively well paid class.

It is a significant fact that the poorest paid workers of the lot, the cotton workers, spend more for religion than do the glass workers, or any of the others, while their expenditure for labor unions is the smallest of the lot, being but \$52 for the 500 families, or about 10 cents per year per family. The woolen workers come next, and the iron workers next, in point of wages received, amount paid for unions and amount paid for religion. It is safe to say that were the figures reversed for these three classes of workers, so that the large amounts would stand for the unions and the small ones for religion, their material condition would be much improved. There is not the least doubt, however, that if these workers were reproached with the meagerness of their support to labor unions they would answer that they could not afford to pay more, and they would undoubtedly point to the size of their religious contributions as one of the causes of this inability. The average man is a queer animal. He derives more satisfaction from laying up treasures in heaven than from securing decent conditions of existence here on earth.

Burley, Wash.

THE GREAT CHAIN OF PROTEST

The purport of the hour is vast.
The world wants justice; it demands
United hearts, united hands.
The day of charity is past.

Men have outgrown the worthless creed
Which bade them deem it God's
good will
That labor sweat and starve to fill
And glut the purse of idle greed.

They have outgrown the poor content
That breeds oppression. Forged by
pain,
Mind links to mind in one great
chain
Of protest and of argument.

And, by the hand of progress hurled,
This mighty chain of human
thought,
In silence and in anguish wrought,
Encompasses the pulsing world.

And he who will not form a link
Of new conditions soon to be
Ere long must stand aghast and see
Old systems toppling down the brink.

They cannot and they shall not last—
The broader impulse of the day
Will gain and grow and sweep away
The rank injustice of the past.

More labor for the selfish few,
More leisure for the burdened
class—
These things shall surely come to
pass
As old conditions change to new.

They change through toil and strain
and strife;
The worst but speeds the final best;
Work for all men, for all men rest,
And time to taste the joys of life.
—Ella Wheeler Wilcox.

Wayland's Monthly fills the bill exactly for a low-priced and effective means of propaganda among the masses, ignorant of social progress. The first number, just published, is an encyclopedia of information concerning New Zealand. The subscription price is 50 cents.

OUT-OF-PLACE POOR

When you look upon the world, and judge it from its standpoint of greatness, you wonder how it arrived at that condition. It is only the few who have money; the many are poor. Poverty is not greatness. Poverty is not riches, and yet all this magnificence is poverty's work. How do we know where it all comes from? By looking into the pockets of the rich and prosperous, you will find there, money, money, money! Where did they get it? From the poor man. His wife had so many less gowns, his children so many less shoes, and they all had so much less comfort. Time goes on, and churches, colleges, public libraries and other buildings grow more and more magnificent, and the poor man and his family grow more and more shrunken, timid and dependent. Dare they enter any of these buildings? Never! They would shrink to nothingness on entering. And if one had the temerity to enter, rich in the thought that his hands had placed that building there, that without him it could not have been, then some broadcloth brother, by his supercilious scrutiny would make him feel that he was not at home, that he was quite out of place.

Give your children all your spare pennies to build cathedrals. The gentleman in broadcloth, though he has money has many temptations to glitter. He must be satisfied, so must his wife.

The churches are doing a good work. They let you join their sanitarium and enjoy all its privileges for 25 cents a month. What more could you expect? You might, possibly, be unwilling to be classed as "city's poor" in the connection.

Twenty-five cents a month contributed by a number of people will equip any "hall" in a short time with paraphernalia for gymnastics, a library, and other requisites for mental and physical culture.

Poverty need not be ashamed, nor finch, when it receives its own.

M. R.

Comrade Charles Hallbeck of Branch 10, Chicago, desires the statement made in The Herald that members of this branch are in favor of union.

Social Democratic Herald

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board
JESSE COX, Chairman
SEYMOUR STEDMAN, Secretary
EUGENE V. DEBS, VICTOR L. BERGER
FREDERICK HEATH

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, 50 cents. Six months, 25 cents. No papers sent to any one on credit. If, without having subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and no bill will follow. Foreign subscriptions \$1.00.

Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

A. S. EDWARDS, Editor
THEODORE DEBS, National Sec'y-Treas.
126 Washington St., Chicago.

96 is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 97 your subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, MAY 5, 1900.

PALTRY CHARGES AGAINST THE BOARD

When the writers of circulars and letters or newspaper opinion attacking the integrity and official acts of the Executive Board, essay to prejudice the minds of members against the "Big Four," which, by the way, is the method they have adopted to promote what they call the "sacred cause of union"—whatever that may mean—they base their "honorable warfare" upon these grounds:

First—That the "manifesto is an illegal document."

Second—That it is "undemocratic" and "unauthorized."

Third—That the board had "no right" to issue a manifesto.

Fourth—That it is the "climax of a series of officious acts exceeding their powers."

Let these so-called justifiable reasons for diverting or attempting to divert the members of the Social Democratic party from a careful consideration of the causes that stand in the way of union to an unseemly and dishonorable attack on the board be passed calmly in review.

First—This is wholly dependent upon what is meant by the word "illegal." If anything is illegal that does not conform to and give support to the pre-convention plans of a few members of an eastern branch, then the action of the executive board comes within that category. But the writer's purpose evidently is to create the false impression with his readers that the executive board has exceeded the legitimate power conferred upon it by the laws of the organization. This position can not be maintained except by showing that the board has taken action in conflict with the constitution or declaration of principles, and this the circularizers for union have not attempted. The constitution and not the Haverhill Social Democrat is the law of the Social Democratic party.

Second—The charge that the board's action is "undemocratic" falls with the first. When the constitution expressly charges the board with the responsibility of supervising and empowering its members to "carry out the objects" of the organization, it assumes that crises might arise when the objects of the organization would be imperilled. Such an occasion came; the board took action, as it was bound to do or keep the members in ignorance of certain facts which, in the estimation of a dozen delegates to the Indianapolis convention, were fatal to a genuine union at the very outset. How "undemocratic" the course adopted by the board may be seen, not by passionate denunciation and abuse, but by recognizing (1) that as officials of the party they acted clearly within the requirements of the constitution, and (2) they submitted a proposition to the membership for a referendum vote, thus complying, as they have always done, with the democratic spirit and law of the party. This action is now denounced by those who get entangled in the meshes of their own verbosity as "undemocratic" and a "usurpation of power!" Those who make the charge do so, not because they for a moment believe it, but because they think it will serve their purpose of accomplishing fusion.

Third—If the board had no right to issue a manifesto at a time when its members, without a single exception, believed some action necessary to conserve the interests of the organization, then why have an executive board at all and why give such board instructions as to its duties? The appointment of a committee at Indianapolis to confer about union with another organization did not relegate our own to the limbo of perdition; the party did not expire when the convention adjourned; that committee was not the party. The board had an undoubted right to issue an address in behalf of an organization of whose rights and interests it was the legal and authorized custodian. As a matter of fact, while others were the pliant emissaries of the S. L. P. in an attempt to wreck the S. D. P., the executive board was engaged in a conscientious effort to prevent the wreck.

Fourth—No intelligent, thinking member of the Social Democratic party can be cajoled and hoodwinked by

the specious and paltry outcry from quarters where political ambition and finesse passes current for fidelity to Socialism, that the executive board of the party has been guilty of a series of "officious" acts. They who seek to justify their suspicions of others are always clever in the distortion of language to serve their purposes. The board has been "guilty" of a few official acts. Its administration has been so free from offensive officiousness as to sometimes leave its members open to criticism on the ground of laxity of purpose. Twice in the interest of the party the board has felt called upon to act: First, in the case of an independent political movement in New York and now in the instance before us. The conviction is rapidly spreading that as the members of the board were right in the first case, so are they in this.

The cry of the circular writers and others against the "undemocratic" course of the board, who have never desired to "conduct" or "boss" the Social Democratic party, but only to serve it, will not prevail. It is paltry and impertinent.

A Plea for a Truce

Comrades: The threatened disruption and alienation of the Socialist forces of the United States, coming as it does on the eve of a national campaign from which we all hoped for great results, must certainly be disheartening to every Socialist in the country.

This being the case, our evident duty is to set about averting the impending evil. Instead of spending a season in petty bickering and squabbling, had we not best face about, cease lamenting the vanished might-have-been and arraigning our fellows; and buckle to, regardless of party affiliations, and bestir ourselves to set things right again?

It seems to me that, unless party members in various places fail to do their manifest duty, a truce for the political purpose of furthering the coming campaign could be easily agreed upon and would meet with the approval and heartfelt support of almost the entire membership of both parties.

The S. L. P. people in the aggregate have certainly evinced a desire for a fair and honorable union and most of us of the S. D. P. feel likewise; so why can we not agree at least to hang together until after next November.

There is plainly no immediate solution of the difficulties now before us.

There is certainly much to be said for both sides to the squabble. And the violent partisanship now rampant bodes ill, not only for national Socialist unity, but even for party integrity.

The next thing on the tapis is dangerously likely to be wholesale secessions of state and local organizations from both parties and concomitant with such an occurrence we may consistently expect one or more new sets of candidates to appear in the field.

There is no need to say much of what would follow. The Socialist vote would surely be so divided as to set back the movement the period of a presidential term.

You Socialists, whose battle-cry is "Socialism in our own time," what think you of this? Are you willing to thus lose the ground which we have so lately gained and for which we have battled so long and so valiantly in the past?

It is quite impossible to do anything now before the vote on union is taken, but had we not better provide for the aftermath? If the vote is against union should not steps be at once taken to provide for a harmonious political cooperation with the S. L. P. during the presidential campaign? If for union, what had we best do to propitiate the dissenting branches of the S. D. P. if any verge on secession?

To get all concerned to agree to an armistice to endure until after November should be no difficult task. It is not as though any of us had any fault to find with the principles of either candidate or the platform. We are all agreed that whatever their minor shortcomings or frailties, they stand like a regiment for that for which we all stand—Socialism, Socialism unadulterated and Socialism soon. And each party has given us one of the candidates.

Why can we not, in so far as may be possible, let all lie dormant until after the election? After then would be time enough to come to a final reckoning. Do you pro- or anti-unionists fear that if things are left so long in status quo the antagonistic forces would abate in brotherliness? Perhaps; but have you a sufficient plan to secure their immediate reconciliation? Will it be more conducive to ultimate harmony to break the S. D. P. into warring factions? Or does your wisdom lead you to the belief that an utter break with the S. L. P. would culminate in a love feast or lead to aught but a withdrawal of Harriman as Debs' running mate?

Comrades, contrary assertions notwithstanding, we can ill afford to risk these dangers. Whatever may be our personal opinions as to the merits or demerits of this current controversy, we all feel in our heart of hearts that through Debs and Harriman and our rational selves, the Socialist movement may now make a stride in this country which will put it far and away beyond hurt or injury from the strife of fac-

tional disturbances. Let us act accordingly. Let us call a truce. Until November let us bury the hatchet. After then let us fight it out, tooth and nail, if you will—but a truce until then. And let the people of this country see what we will achieve in the portentous days of next November. Who's next? Let us hear from others.

Victor R. Loughead,
St. Louis, Mo.

Comrade Gordon Sums Up

Comrades: It is true that I was one, if not the first, Socialist Democrat to advocate a union with the S. L. P. And it seems to be equally true that I made a huge mistake. Neither the S. L. P. nor a large number of the S. D. P. were ready for a union. It is true also that I regard the movement as a hundred times greater than the name. When I found that a large section of the S. D. P. would not unite unless the name S. D. P. was retained I became a strong advocate of our name. At the convention I pointed out that I was in favor of a union. I realized that trouble would come in New York and Massachusetts. I stated to many S. D. P. and S. L. P. members that I was ready to take myself out of the way in favor of a union. I am now, I did not abuse any S. L. P. members in my speech. I simply stated that certain members were just as bad as De Leon and that being true there was no abuse, and those I referred to are not wanted by the S. D. P. of Haverhill or Boston. The "peace conference" was called by me, aided by Comrade Maily. Both Maily and Carey, who fully know all the inside facts of that conference, know quite well that Berger was about the last man to be told about it. Both Carey and Maily know also that in my affidavit I simply told the truth. Let the S. L. P. ask these two comrades as to whether they think I stated the truth or not. Comrade Hayes was wanted at the conference and Maily will remember that I asked him to invite Hayes.

It was comrade Maily who made the agreement at the "peace conference" in favor of the S. D. P. name, and he used the argument that the S. D. P. was to concede Harriman for vice president and the S. L. P. was to concede the name. Let Comrade Maily make a statement as to the truth of this. It may or it may not be true that the Social Democrats in Haverhill, Brockton, Boston, New York, etc., have little regard as to what I say, but if any of them have so informed Benham, then they are certainly playing a double part.

Carey, Maily, myself and others prevailed upon Harriman on his return to the convention hall Friday night to accept the nomination, and a little later, when Berger came to the hall, he (Berger) was informed of this, and proceeded to nominate Harriman. That's the way it happened, and because of that Benham tries to make out a case against Berger. Edwards had nothing to do about "engineering" the "conference." Maily and I alone are responsible for that. Edwards was invited to attend. Let the S. L. P. members who have read my affidavit ask Comrades Carey and Maily whether it was true or not. Hilquit and Harriman did pledge themselves to stand for the name S. D. P. at the conference, and they so pledged themselves before Berger had refused to see Debs. Upon Benham's refusal to support the name S. D. P., Berger declared he would not see Debs. Then the argument was made to Berger that as Hilquit and Harriman were to stand for the name, the name would be saved. I did not see the "manifesto" until it was published, and do not know to this day who wrote it. The Milwaukee comrades know full well that I stood almost alone in that city in advocating a union. The whole sum and substance of the thing is this: Harriman and Hilquit both intended to stand for the name S. D. P. When they met the rank and file in New York they were charged with being a party to "being swallowed up" by the S. D. P. The rank and file even used Berger's paper to prove that the S. L. P. had surrendered to the S. D. P. They felt compelled against the storm that broke over their heads to take a different stand. The mistake which they made was in, first, making any pledge, and, second, when they found their own membership stood they should have issued a statement, either publicly to the S. D. P. or privately to those to whom they had made pledges, stating the difficulties. Had they done this, many things that did happen would never have been made public. It is no doubt true that the old S. L. P. spirit still exists. And it is equally true that both the S. L. P. and S. D. P. leaders largely mistrust each other. Again, it is true that both of us have been playing for position in all the negotiations that have taken place. It follows that almost any organic union proposed (at this time) is bound to be a failure.

A political union can be arranged by the states. If this political union along the lines proposed by Comrade Debs can not be arranged, then it is a waste of time to talk about any organic union.

I have only one word to say to my S. D. P. comrades: Let the S. L. P. have a monopoly of calling names, and

let us remember that calling names is never an argument.

Comrade Benham says I was half the time for a union and the other half abusing S. L. P. comrades. Does any one who attended the Indianapolis convention remember any such thing? The only comrades that I said one word against, even in an indirect way, were the very comrades that are not wanted in the "United Socialist" party by Carey, Chase, Putney, et al. In fact, all of the Massachusetts comrades know these S. L. P. people of both sexes much better than I, and want them still less.

F. G. R. Gordon.

The Right of the Manifesto

If our National Executive Board has usurped authority, by all means let it be condemned. If it has tried to "thwart the will of the majority," let its action be overthrown. If it has committed "treason" to the Socialist movement, let it be recalled.

This I say, as every true Socialist must.

But those "ifs" must be proven, and the burden of proof is upon those who make the charges. Certainly they have not yet proven them. So far they have done nothing but shriek their baseless accusations, and try to make us believe them true by frequent repetition.

What are the facts? A committee of nine on union is elected by the S. D. P. convention. That committee is given certain definite instructions. It is instructed on three different points: (1) That it shall urge the selection of the name S. D. P.; (2) that after the conference it shall submit all reports and recommendations of the committees to referendum vote; (3) that the question of party name shall be submitted to referendum vote of each party voting separately; and if the name S. D. P. does not receive a majority of each party, voting separately, the negotiations for union shall drop, then and there. All other questions may be re-submitted; but if the party name does not receive the concurrent vote of both parties, then the matter of union drops, for the present.

The last two of these instructions the committee of the S. D. P., when it met in conference with the S. L. P. committee in New York, openly and flagrantly violated. Instead of submitting "all reports," as they were instructed, they straightway agreed with the S. L. P. committee to SUPPRESS ALL MINORITY REPORTS UNLESS THEY WERE SIGNED BY FIVE MEMBERS; that is a MAJORITY OF EITHER COMMITTEE. Four of our members could not submit a minority report, according to their ruling! If they had the temerity to do so, they "would have to get it before the membership the best way they knew how." After the adjournment of the conference, a minority of the S. D. P. did send in its report to the committee who had the matter in charge, and the committee returned the report with the statement that it could not be published.

In the second place, the instructions of the convention were plain and unmistakable that all negotiations were to be forthwith dropped, if the name S. D. P. did not receive a majority of both parties voting separately. The convention distinctly prescribed this kind of vote. This the S. D. P. committee utterly ignored, and agreed with the S. L. P. committee to submit a third proposition which took the final decision out of the hands of our own party and placed it with "the majority of both parties voting together." The S. D. P. committee had no earthly right to agree to submit that third proposition. It is quite true, as they plead in self-defense, that the membership has the right and the power to reject that proposition. Certainly it has; but that is not the point. The point is that the committee had no right to submit it for the membership to reject. It had no right to take into its own hands the power of shutting off minorities and submitting propositions, contrary to the directions of the convention.

Here, then, you have the real culprits, the real usurpers of authority. It is they, and not the National Executive Committee, whom they are now so loudly accusing, who have exceeded their authority, and it is they, and not the National Executive Committee, who should be condemned.

This committee of nine is responsible to the convention for the submitting of a report in accordance with its instructions. The convention having adjourned, the National Executive Committee, as the representative head of the party when conventions are not in session, must hold the committee to a performance of its duty.

Upon the adjournment of the conference in New York, the N. E. C. finds that the instructions of the convention have been disobeyed in two important particulars by its own committee, and that certain agreements entered into by the representatives of the S. L. P. who were present at our convention have been broken. Upon finding this new state of affairs, the N. E. C. issues a manifesto, laying the facts before the membership, and saying: "Here are some facts which you did not know before, and which our convention did not know when it took action. Upon these facts, do you wish to go further with the

negotiations? If you do, vote yes, and the reports of the conference will then be acted upon. If you don't, say no, and the whole matter will drop." Now, in all soberness, what right has the N. E. C. usurped in submitting this proposition to the membership?

The claim that the N. E. C. did wrong because it issued the manifesto before receiving the official report of the committee on union is a mere technical quibble. The contents of the majority report, and the whole history of the conference, were known to the N. E. C., through the verbal reports of two members of that committee, Comrades Stedman and Heath, and my own written report as secretary of the S. D. P. committee, and through the reports in the German papers which had chronicled the events of the conference from day to day as they took place. All the facts were known to them, just as well as if they had received the official report. The existence of our party was threatened, and prompt action was an absolute necessity. If they had not taken that action, they would have proved themselves unfit to serve as the executive head of a party like ours.

Instead of trying to "thwart the will of the majority," they seek to ascertain it.

Now, as to the "treason" of it. Were an immediate amalgamation of the S. D. P. with the anti-De Leon faction of S. L. P. in any way essential to the progress of the Socialist movement in this country, or even conducive to it, then undoubtedly any action that would seem to prevent or even delay that amalgamation would be treason to the cause. No such necessity, however, is revealed by the closest study of the situation, and even its desirability is questionable.

The S. D. P. was getting along all right before the question of union was ever heard of; and was, and I believe even yet is, destined to become the Socialist party of the country. With its 5,000 members in good standing gained in twenty months, with branches organized in thirty-two different states, with its own press and its own corps of speakers and writers, with its splendid showing at the polls both East and West, it has a brief but glorious record behind it and a brilliant future before it. Its success has demonstrated that it was on the right track, and all that is necessary is that it should be allowed to continue to grow and develop naturally and without interruption along the lines it has laid down for itself, that it may ere long become a power in the land that will make the oppressor tremble. Anything that would arrest its development or throw it off the track is, to my mind, the real treason; and thus the proposed amalgamation would most certainly accomplish.

The two organizations have entirely different conceptions of the movement. The S. D. P., holding ever in view as its aim the conversion of this republic into a co-operative commonwealth, has a conception of a great national movement which shall include the exploited and the oppressed of every state in the union, and lays its plans, locates its headquarters and adapts its agitation accordingly. The S. L. P., if one may judge from its actions, conceives Socialist work to consist in attacking individuals, who become prominent in its ranks. That this is as true of the anti-DeLeonites as of the DeLeonites, may be seen from the following quotation from the letter of Benham in The Herald of April 21: "I shall in the future be pleased to make some comments upon the idiosyncrasies and weaknesses of some of the 'giants' of to-day. They will none of them be so tall that they can not be brought to their knees." Social Democrats have neither time nor inclination to bring comrades to their knees. They prefer to spend their time in educating and organizing. With such widely different conceptions of Socialist work, an amalgamation of the two parties now would simply give us a house divided against itself, unable to stand. The fresh and vigorous start which the American Socialist movement has taken would be nipped in the bud. This I say, and not the action of the N. E. C., is the real treason.

Where does the report of the conference committee, if adopted, leave the S. D. P.? Our N. E. C. blotted out; our national organ abolished; the national scope and character of our movement destroyed and dwarfed into an affair of the Atlantic seaboard, our national headquarters arbitrarily removed from its central location and placed in a little seventh-rate city in Massachusetts, and half a continent away from our candidate for President just at the time when it is necessary for him to keep in close touch with it—the management of the national affairs of the party taken out of the hands of those who had the ability to bring the party up from nothing to its present standing, and placed in the hands of an entirely new and inexperienced set of men at a most critical time—just as we are entering upon our first national campaign. It is true they permit us to have a national campaign committee located at Chicago, upon which some of the members of our N. E. C. may serve. They may have the privilege of raising all the money and doing all the hard work of the campaign, but the moment the elections are over they must turn over their

books and accounts to the Springfield Executive Committee and—pass out of existence—and with them, I tell you, comrades, will pass the last vestige and semblance of our young and promising Social Democratic Party. We shall have been malevolently assimilated.

And how eager they seem to be to unite with us upon this basis! One can not help being reminded of the eagerness of a hungry wolf to unite himself with a lamb. Even before our convention they had sent out the cry that our rank and file should unite with them "over the heads of their leaders." Their efforts now to incite our members to "turn down" our N. E. C. are open and undisguised. To a Socialist there is something revolting in the ghoul-like gleam with which their papers pounce upon every hasty word, every ill-considered circular, every hysterical cry of "reason" from any of our members and publish and gloat over them. It is inexpressibly sad. Clearly there still exist the reasons which demanded our organization as a separate party three years ago, and they still demand our continuance as a separate body for the time being, though uniting with other Socialists at the polls.

Margaret Haile.

A Statement

Comrades of the S. D. P.:

The Social Democratic Herald of April 7, 1900, contained a "manifesto" signed by four members of the national executive board, the evident object of which is to prevent a union of Socialist forces. The claims on which this document is based are the actions of those present at the so-called "peace conference" at Indianapolis, in connection with the work of the conference committee at its sessions in New York city.

The "peace conference" was simply the efforts of a few individuals to try and overcome obstacles in the way of securing what the overwhelming majority of the national convention desired. The "peace conference" was not authorized by the convention, and made no report to it. It was instigated by S. D. P. members whose only object was the unification of forces against a common foe. Those present from the S. L. P. were Harriman, Hillquit and Benham. From the S. D. P. Gordon, Edwards, Berger, Mailly, Butcher, Carey, Chase and Martin. Of the latter, Chase, Carey and Butcher were members of the conference committee and present at its sessions in New York.

Having read the "manifesto" and the various published statements, and possessing a personal knowledge as to what took place in the "peace conference," and the conference committee, or both, we desire to say that we consider the "manifesto" issued by the four members of the national executive board to have been uncalled for, and a most unfortunate document, calculated to arouse distrust, suspicion and enmity without just foundation. We further believe that the report of the majority of the conference committee offers full scope for expressing our opinions. In all its details it is probably satisfactory to few, but, as a whole, it presents a practical basis for what all honest, fair-minded Socialists desire—union of class-conscious Socialists to fight capitalism.

The way to secure the adoption of the name Social Democratic party is by honorable argument. Let us prove ourselves worthy of the name.

Fraternally,

Chas. R. Martin,
Wm. Butcher,
William Mailly,
John C. Chase,
James F. Carey.

Debs as a Rival of Bryan

St. Louis Globe-Democrat: "The Bryanites who were expressing forebodings recently as to the possibility that the candidacy of Debs would injure their favorite are being vindicated in many quarters these days. Several more or less prominent supporters of the Nebraskan in 1896 have been saying recently that they are going to drop him this year and take up Debs in his place."

"Thus, as many shrewd democrats feared, the candidature of Debs will be a menace to Bryan's chances. Some of Debs' friends are predicting that he will get several hundred thousand votes, while a few of them are saying he will get more votes than were given to the populist Weaver in 1892, which was over 1,000,000. All these votes, of course, will come from the element who otherwise would support the democratic candidate. Thus the talk that the Socialist nominee put up a few weeks ago at Indianapolis would injure the man who is to be nominated by the Kansas City convention is seen to be very far from being a joke. Every vote that Debs secures will be a vote taken from his old friend Bryan, and Debs may be relied on to make a particularly active canvass this year."

New Ideas, Seattle, Wash., says: "Not that we love Bryan less, but Debs more. Mr. Bryan is a great statesman, an orator, but he lacks a few of the fundamental principles necessary for the advancement of the laboring class, while Mr. Debs falls in line with a platform, and can be put into execution, that will cut the tangled mess with blessings for all, not a few."

NEW BRANCHES

The new branches of the Social Democratic party organized since a week ago, are located at
Chicago, Ill.
White City, Kan.
Black Lick, Pa.
Phoenix, Arizona.
Bayard, Kan.
Quincy Point, Mass.
Dedham, Mass.
Kansas City, Mo. (2)

To Our Washington Readers

Comrade D. Burgess of New Whatcom, Wash., has been selected as organizer for the state and is prepared to assist the Socialists of Washington in organizing branches of the S. D. P. Correspondence addressed to him will receive prompt attention.

North Dakota Socialists

Socialists residing in North Dakota and desiring to organize for effective propaganda work in that state are requested to correspond with Math. Eidsness, Towner, N. D.

Michigan Socialists

All Social Democrats and all unattached Socialists residing in Michigan are requested to write at once to Henry Ramsey, 84 Railroad street, Battle Creek, Mich., and thus aid in placing a Social Democratic state ticket in the field this fall.

California Socialists

Socialists resident in California and not members of the Social Democratic party are requested to communicate with John Carter, 929 Twenty-second street, San Francisco.

Attention, Nebraska

Persons living in Nebraska and accepting the principles of Socialism are requested to communicate with T. A. Edwards, 3220 California street, Omaha, with a view to the organization of branches of the Social Democratic party.

Arizona Socialists

In every community should correspond with M. J. Casper, Box 178, Globe, Tucson, Ariz. We have plans for keeping organizers in the field to organize branches in every town in Arizona before November; 500 Socialists pledging 25 cents per month each will do it. Don't miss it—write at once.

To Our Connecticut Readers

All unattached Socialists in the state of Connecticut are requested to write Louis Schlaf, 26 Spring street, Rockville, for information concerning the organization of branches.

Southern California, Attention

All Socialists in the seven southern counties of Southern California should now get to work and so far as possible form branches in every voting precinct. To further this end communicate at once with James T. VanRensselaer, 1618 Tabor street, Los Angeles, Cal.

To Texas Socialists

For purpose of State organization, the Bonham Social Democratic Branch requests that every Socialist in Texas who reads this notice, will please send name and address to the undersigned. Please attend to this at once. W. E. Farmer, Bonham, Texas.

All Socialist papers please publish.

Oregon Socialists, Attention

You are requested to communicate with J. D. Stevens, Box 204, Portland, organizer for the S. D. P., with a view to instituting branches of the party in your community. The future belongs to Socialism. Lend a hand and get your state thoroughly organized.

Some S. L. P. Resolutions

The resolutions which follow were adopted at an S. L. P. meeting last Sunday in Chicago, at which less than half a dozen Social Democrats were present. They were presented by T. J. Morgan.

Whereas, The S. D. P. and the S. L. P., each assembled in their respective national conventions, selected committees to formulate a plan for the union of all Socialists in the United States into one Socialist party; and, Whereas, Said committee performed the duty assigned to them and prepared a joint report to be voted upon by a referendum vote of the members of both parties; therefore,

Resolved, That this meeting of Chicago Socialists of both parties hereby approve of the proposed union of Socialists; and

Resolved, That as Socialists we declare for the fullest recognition of the principle of self-government and the use of the referendum as the best method of ascertaining the individual and collective will of associated Socialists on the question of union. Therefore, we declare that all assumption of leadership exceeding the limits of proper suggestion, that all claims of individual members, committees or officials to superior intelligence, which are set up as a warrant for forestalling, controlling or

defeating the free will of the membership, violates Socialist principles and injures the cause of Socialism, and we fraternally suggest that the membership of the general Socialist parties seek for information in the official reports of the several conventions and the report of the joint committee, and from these legitimate resources draw their own conclusions and make their judgment known by the referendum; and

Resolved, That pending the vote for union this meeting hereby ratifies the nomination of Eugene V. Debs and Job Harriman as Socialist candidates for President and Vice President of the United States.

A Gross Outrage

Elmer Vandervoort is a man of middle age, living in Chicago, who some years ago while employed as a railroad brakeman was crippled for life. Of late he has been trying to eke out a living by selling newspapers on the street. To do this he was required to have a permit from the powers that be. While engaged a few days ago in pursuing his precarious vocation a ruffianly policeman ordered him off the street, and though informed by Vandervoort that he had a permit, the minion of the law compelled this poor man to move on. Later, while Vandervoort with a friend was passing up the street he was accosted by the same policeman, now accompanied by another in plain clothes, and without cause, or provocation whatever, both he and his friend were arrested and thrown into a cell. They were locked up from 7 in the evening to 11:30, then taken before a brutal justice and on representations made by the police that they were obstructing the sidewalk, forced to pay a fine of \$11. The men had no recourse, because of their poverty, and the administration of justice for the fees there is in it was triumphant.

TO ILLINOIS SOCIAL DEMOCRATS

In accordance with a resolution passed on April 11, 1900, by the Chicago Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party, you are hereby notified that there will be held a convention of the Social Democratic Party of Illinois, for the purpose of nominating the following state officers, to be voted for on Tuesday, Nov. 6, 1900: Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of State, Auditor of Public Accounts, Attorney General, State Treasurer, Three Trustees of the Illinois State University, also 24 Presidential Electors, and other officers.

This convention will meet at No. 594 East 63d Street, Chicago, Ill., on Sunday, May 13, 1900, at 10 o'clock a. m.

The representation of said convention will be by delegates chosen as follows:

First.—Each branch shall be entitled to as many representatives as there are individual members in good standing, any representative if selected shall be entitled to one (1) vote for each member whose name is signed to his credential; and provided further, that no member shall sign his name to more than one credential.

Second.—Branches not sending their own representatives may select those of other branches of this state to represent them; provided that in each case the representative shall hold the proper credential with the signature of members attached as herein provided.

Third.—No member shall be qualified to serve as representative or entitled to representation who has not been a member of the Party at least thirty (30) days prior to the opening day of the convention.

Fourth.—All signatures of members attached to credentials, as herein provided, shall be certified to by the chairman or secretary of their respective branches.

J. H. GREER,

Chairman.

CHAS. H. SOELKE,

Secretary.

THE PLATFORM

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness depend upon equal political and economic rights.

In our economic development an industrial revolution has taken place, the individual tool of former years having become the social tool of the present. The individual tool was owned by the worker who employed himself and was master of his product. The social tool, the machine, is owned by the capitalist and the worker is dependent upon him for employment. The capitalist thus becomes the master of the worker and is able to appropriate to himself a large share of the product of his labor.

Capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people; but the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system will necessitate the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare.

The present system of social production and private ownership is rapidly converting society into two antagonistic classes—i. e., the capitalist class and the propertyless class. The middle class, once the most powerful of this great nation, is disappearing in the mill of competition. The issue is now between the two classes first named. Our political liberty is now of little value to the masses unless used to acquire economic liberty.

Independent political action and the trade union movement are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its political, the other its economic wing,

LOCAL BRANCHES

Notices of Branch Meetings Inserted for 25 Cents per Month

MICHIGAN

Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evening, commencing at 8 o'clock. Admission free. Educational meetings (for members) every Tuesday evening. Sociology, Economics, Public Speaking, etc.

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock at Woodman's Hall, 1234 Spring St. J. Franco, 700 Dayton Ave., Secretary.

Branch No. 2, Alameda, California, holds free public meetings every 2d and 4th Sunday, 8 p. m. at Forester's Hall, 608 Park St. and Santa Clara Ave. Business and Educational meetings (for members) 1st and 3rd Monday, 8 p. m. at 24th and E. Alameda. Allan A. Crockett, Secretary, 1610 Walnut St.

Branch No. 1, Denver, meets every Sunday at 3:00 p. m. at 1115 California Ave., Chas. M. Davis, Secretary, 1629 17th Street.

Branch No. 2, Goldfield, meets every Sunday at 7:30 p. m., at City Hall. Chas. La Camp, Secretary.

CONNECTICUT

The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at Turn Hall, Rockville. L. Seaf, Secretary.

Branch No. 1, New Haven, meets every Tuesday evening, at 180 State St., at 8 p. m. Cornelius Mahoney, Secretary, 165 Frank St.

Branch No. 4, Rockville, Conn., meets first and third Thursday at Turn Hall meeting room, Village street. Secretary, Richard Niederwerfer, Box 700.

ILLINOIS

Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 23 Dearborn St.

Branch No. 1, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening. Thomas Kirwin, Secretary, 204 Westworth Ave.

Branch No. 2 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays at 8 p. m. at Nagel's Hall, 635 Blue Island Ave. Vaclav Jelinek, Secretary, 605 Blue Island Ave.

Branch No. 3 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Mondays at 8 p. m. at Dunder's place, 1050 W. 18th place. Joseph Dunder, Secretary.

Branch No. 5, Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays at 8 p. m. at Andr. Munk's, 40 String St. Paul Chlapacka, Secretary, 874 Noble St.

Branch No. 6 (German), Chicago, meets every first Saturday each month at 8 o'clock at Nagel's Hall, 635 Blue Island Ave. near 18th St. Albin Geisler, Secretary, 724 18th St.

Branch No. 9, Chicago, meets at 1145 W. 63rd St., first and third Sundays at 8 p. m. S. L. Westcott, Secretary, 5245 Center Ave.

INDIANA

Branch No. 4, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichwein's Hall, corner Market and Noble Sts.

Branch No. 2, Hiteam, meets every fourth Friday in the month at opera house. S. E. Jamieson, chairman. James Fisher, organizer; Joseph Schollacut, secretary.

Branch No. 2, Covington, meets first and third Wednesday evenings and second and fourth Sunday afternoons of each month. Meetings should be held every third meeting in month. Good speakers. Secretary, F. C. Stumpf, 201 8th street.

MARYLAND

Branch No. 1, Baltimore, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m. at Carpenter's Hall, 600 E. Baltimore St. Public invited.

Branch No. 2, Baltimore, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at Wenzel's Hotel, 228 W. Camden St. Good speakers. Public invited. Levin T. Jones, Secretary, 232 W. Harre st.

MASSACHUSETTS

The Massachusetts State Committee meets the first Saturday of each month at 74 Washington St., Boston. All dues and monies intended for the State Committee should be sent to the financial secretary, A. McDonald, 104 W. Springfield St., Boston. All other correspondence should be addressed to the Corresponding Secretary, Margaret Hall, 5 Glenwood St., Roxbury.

Branch No. 2, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Mondays of each month at Springfield Turner Hall. H. Schlichting, Organizer, 57, Sumner St.

Branch No. 5, Lynn, permanent headquarters, 71 Monroe St. Business meeting every Monday night at 7:30. Open house. Public invited. Harry Gutimer, Sec., 425 Essex St.

Branch No. 6, Brooklyn, meets the second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at 8 p. m. for business at Socialist Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Center Sts. Every comrade is expected to attend one meeting a month. Public invited. Secretary, 23 Crown St.

Branch No. 15, East Boston, meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 90 Chelsea St. Miss Jenny Segal, Secretary, 30 Chelsea St.

Branch No. 16, Newburyport, meets the second Monday of each month at Laster's Hall, 1 State St. T. H. Chinnell, Secretary, 16 Collins St. A. L. Binyer, 238 Merrimac St.

Branch No. 21, Chelsea, permanent headquarters, Room 2, Foster Office Building. Open every evening. Business meetings every Thursday at 8 p. m. Public invited.

and both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system.

Therefore the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be:

First—The organization of the working class into a political party to conquer the public powers now controlled by capitalists.

Second—The abolition of wage-slavery by the establishment of a national system of co-operative industry, based upon the social or common ownership of the means of production and distribution, to be administered by society in the common interest of all its members, and the complete emancipation of the socially useful classes from the domination of capitalism.

The working class and all those in sympathy with their historic mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America.

The control of political power by the Social Democratic party will be tantamount to the abolition of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting the millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international Socialism, the brotherhood of man.

As steps in that direction, we make the following demands:

First—Revision of our federal constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to complete control of government by the people irrespective of sex.

Second—The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

Third—The public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones; all means of transportation, and communication; all water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

Fourth—The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal, and other mines, and all oil and gas wells.

Fifth—The reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

Sixth—The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

Seventh—Useful inventions to be free, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

Eighth—Labor legislation to be national, instead of local, and international when possible.

Ninth—National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.

Tenth—Equal civil and political rights, for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

Eleventh—The adoption of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

Twelfth—Abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

MICHIGAN

Branch No. 1, Battle Creek, Mich., meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of each month, at 8 p. m. at 10 W. Main Street, in the International Congress Hall. All are cordially invited. L. C. Rogers, Secretary.

MINNESOTA

Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Geeswein, on Main St. A. Kingsbury, Secretary.

KANSAS

St. Louis headquarters, Room 7, 22 N. Fourth St. Address all communications to E. Val Funnam, Secretary. For information concerning ward branches, inquire at the above address.

Branch No. 7, Kansas City, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1200 Union Ave. G. J. Storr, Secretary, 1230 W. 9th St.

MONTANA

Branch No. 2 meets first and third Sundays of each month at G. W. Wood's home, Chico, Mont.

NEW JERSEY

Branch No. 1, Secaucus, N. J., meets every 2d, 4th, 6th and 8th Sunday of the month. For particulars address Paul Eberding, 1295 Kaighn's Avenue.

Branch No. 4 (German), Paterson, N. J., meets first and third Mondays at 8 p. m. at Helvetia Hall, 44-46 Van Houten St. Karl Lindner, Secretary, 246 Edmond St.

NEW YORK

The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York and vicinity meets first and third Tuesdays of every month in Willis's Hall, 35 E. 4th St. Elizabeth H. Thomas, Secretary.

Branch No. 1, New York, meets every first and third Thursday at 112 Clinton St. A. Guyer, Secretary, 125 Suffolk St.

Branch No. 2, 4th Assembly District, meets second and fourth Wednesdays of the month at 1092 Second Ave. at the "Central." Henry Lang, Secretary, 234 E. 60th St.

Branch No. 4, West Side Branch, New York, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of every third Friday and third Wednesday of every Saturday at 8 p. m. at 58 Moore St. Visitors welcome. Committee desiring to organize should communicate with Secretary, Sol. Freeman, 190 Boerum St.

Branch No. 10, 4th Assembly District, meets every first and third Wednesday of the month in the rooms of The Voice of Labor, 423 Grand St. Jacob Fankler, Chairman, 129 Division St.

Branch No. 12, Brooklyn, headquarters, 351 Rutledge St. Meets every third Thursday at 8:15 sharp. All persons interested are invited to attend these meetings in every district in the city. Wm. Butcher, Secretary, 251 Rutledge St.

Branch No. 20, regular meetings are held first and third Friday of the month, at Webster Hall, 160th St. and Third Ave. Borough of Brooklyn, E. Spranger, Secretary, 317 E. 10th St. All persons interested in Socialism and the S. D. P. are invited to attend.

OHIO

Branch No. 2, Cleveland, meets in Ohlsen's Hall, 6 York St., second and fourth Sundays at 8 p. m. Lectures, discussions, business meetings—first and third Friday at 8 p. m.

Branch No. 3, Cleveland, meets first and third Sundays in each month at 8 p. m. in Ohlsen's Hall, 6 York St. Lectures and discussions.

Branch No. 4, Cincinnati, meets at Richman Hall, southeast corner 9th and Elm Sts., every Sunday at 2 p. m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Joe. Jasin, Secretary, 1410 Central Avenue.

Branch No. 5, Dayton, meets every 2d and 4th Friday evening, in Hall 27, Central Trades Council Block. Everyone interested in Socialism invited. J. O. Schure, Chairman, W. Harringer, Secretary, P. O. Box 294.

Branch No. 8, Cincinnati, meets every second and fourth Saturday in Workingmen's Hall, 1212 Walnut St. F. Hamel, Secretary, 1204 Frink St.

Branch No. 11, Germantown, Columbus. Ed Greiner, Secretary, 306 Mohawk St.

PENNSYLVANIA

Branch No. 2, Erie, meets every Sunday, 8 p. m., at K. of L. Hall, 716 State St. Chairman, Joseph Blum, Secretary, J. E. Perry, 119 Sassafras St.

Branch No. 4, Pittsburg, meets every Thursday evening at 7:30 p. m. at Funt Hall, S. 34th and Josephine Sts. W. Bohn, President, 24 Ad-dison St. J. H. Lewis, Secretary, 2112 Jane St.

Branch No. 5 (Jewish), Philadelphia, meets every Friday at 423 S. Third St., at 7:30. Discussion from 8 to 9. J. Gerson, Secretary.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee Central Committee meets on the first Monday of each month at 8 p. m. sharp at 221 W. Water St. Eugene H. Rooney, Secretary, John Doerfer, Treasurer.

Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Tuesday evening of the month at the Ethical Society Building, 155 Jefferson St. Meetings always held at 8 o'clock. Edward Tuttle, Chairman, Eugene H. Rooney, Secretary.

Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Friday in Geisler's Hall, corner Green Bay and Concordia Aves.

Branch No. 3, Sheboygan, meets every fourth Thursday of the month at Gustav Burgard's Hall on Pennsylvania Ave. R. Schoen, Secretary-Treasurer, 8 1/2th St.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday each month at Miller's Hall, corner 23d and Brown Sts. George Moerschel, Secretary, 81 25th St.

Branch No. 9, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at R. Sigel's Hall, southeast corner Orchard St. and 9th Ave. O. Wild, Secretary.

Branch No. 11, Milwaukee, meets the second Wednesday of each month in the office of the Wisconsin Vorwaerts, 614 State St.

Branch No. 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of each month at Kraus' Hall, 11 Ashland St., at 8 p. m. Secretary, Rudolph Loeschman, 1125 23rd St.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LIBRARY

FUSION AND CONFUSION

An Instructive Fable Without a Moral.

And it came to pass that a few old hawks having lost their power as birds of prey, but retaining their desire for spring chickens, decided to coax their inexperienced young and hopeful creatures into their (the hawk's) nest, by means of crafty designs. With this purpose in view the hawks one nice day addressed the inhabitants of the nearest chicken coop, saying: "Dear fellow birds: We hawks were always fond of you chickens. Appearances are deceptive. If we did attack you in open battle now and then, it was because we loved you rather too strongly. And much ought to be forgiven to those who loved much. We and you are birds, although not of the same feather. Let us now all flock together into our hospitable nest and live in harmony in the interests of the airy kingdom of our common race." Thus the hawks spake, and many of the chickens were delighted to the extreme to hear their old adversaries utter such sweet words of reconciliation. These chickens agreed to a union with the hawks under the term that the latter should agree to rechristen their nest and call it henceforth "Chicken Coop." The hawks agreed to that, and some other terms imposed upon them by their new allies. So all was well. But the hawks, once having gained the consent of the chickens to a union, broke their pledges. And then—But what happened then, or rather what will happen can be only a matter of conjecture, as the fable is still being enacted before our very eyes. Will the chickens be simple-minded enough to allow themselves to be swallowed up by the crafty hawks or will they come to their senses and safely remain in their own coop? The future will show it.

Let us, however, leave allegories for the present and try to express our attitude towards the historical events inaugurated in Indianapolis and brought to confusion in New York. The Social Democratic Party started its existence under the brightest auspices. The old middle class parties have no vital principles to incorporate, and political parties without principles are bodies without a living soul in them. The day is approaching fast and furious when the struggle will be waged only between two great parties—the capitalistic party and the party of proletarians. The first will represent the anachronistic principle of anarchism, while the second will incorporate the thoroughly modern and scientific principle of socialism. The first party will consist of a small class without any useful function in society to perform, the second of all toiling humanity. The marvelous growth and development of the S. D. P. proved that it is a national as well as an international political organization of the proletariat of the United States. We do not want to antagonize anybody or offend any one. We feel fraternally towards all sincere, public-spirited, idealistic men, and especially so towards radical thinkers of the Socialistic stamp. But truth is dearer than Plato. The predecessor of the S. D. P. and its contemporary, the S. L. P., proved its inability to win the conference and sympathy of the people of the United States, whatever the cause of it may be. The S. L. P., petrified in the early Lassalle tactics and practices, tactics and practices long ago discarded by the S. D. P. of Germany. Bossism, heresy hunting, intolerance, the preponderance of personalities over principles and a great deal of authoritative utopianism, made the S. L. P. especially obnoxious to the strongly developed individuality of the American proletarian. Things in the S. L. P. went from bad to worse. The party was rent asunder by internal dissensions and personal animosities. One faction retained the legal right to the name of the party. The other faction was compelled either to start a new third Socialistic party without any justification for it or join the S. D. P. At this juncture the S. L. P. made overtures about union to the S. D. P. Nothing was more natural. That faction of S. L. P. had no other alternative. There was absolutely no cause whatever for any members of the S. D. P. to turn hysterical on that account. All sincere Socialists always were and will be fraternally welcomed into the folds of the S. D. P. as individuals. The disorganized S. L. P., however, wanted to join the S. D. P. as an organization. And there is where the gravity of the problem presents itself. The S. L. P. in the first instance, is now in a state of disorganization and has, therefore, no right to be recognized as an organization. Secondly, the S. L. P. as an organization proved to be a disastrous failure, and it would be suicidal for the S. D. P. to absorb in itself the germs of dissolution permeating the body politic of the S. L. P. We do not want the S. D. P. to degenerate into an exclusive sect, but we do not want also that the S. D. P. enter into a compact with the S. L. P. or any other Socialistic party as a party. There are all kinds of Socialists—religious Socialists, state Socialists, authoritative Socialists, Utopian Socialists, Socialists in general, anarchistic Socialists, single tax and free silver Socialists, and no end of confusionists who style themselves Socialists. There is no harm done if they are accepted into the party individually. They will eventually either be educated up

to the clear-cut Social Democratic ideas or drop out. But if they enter as an organization they must necessarily implant confusion and discord into the rank and file and in this way form rather an element of weakness than strength. The S. D. P. is not in any way identical with the S. L. P. as an organization. The S. L. P. had always its popes, its dogmas, its sectarian narrowness. The S. D. P. does not want any of these things. The S. D. P. stands for the inauguration of democratic principles in the domain of economic social activity. It has its own field, its own mission. The S. D. P. is not Utopian; it is an evolutionary as well as a revolutionary party. It is the party of all the people who work for a living. The S. L. P. spent all their energy in erecting altars to idols and then tearing them down; in personal invectives and small machiavellianism. The history of the S. L. P. and the events in New York supplement each other.

Now, what shall we, the rank and file of the S. D. P., do? Let us keep cool and express ourselves against any fusion and confusion. The S. D. P. is growing and vigorous, and will surely work out its own salvation. The best elements of the dying S. L. P. will come our way anyhow, and for the rest of them we do not care.

I. LADOFF.

MAKE IT UNANIMOUS FOR UNION

Again our party is confronted with the question: Shall there be unity with the S. L. P. or not? We are told that our conference committee have acted contrary to their instructions; that revolt is gaining headway in the party. We are certainly in a critical condition, but will we better the condition by voting no union? Can we afford to bear the burden of responsibility for defeating union? Do we not rather encounter a still greater possibility of revolt, and give impetus to another party who might gather strength from dissensions among the S. D. P.? I believe so. To me it seems a calamity that the question of union is made an issue in the party by the manifesto of the national executive committee. We as a party cannot afford that failure of union shall be laid at our door.

Vote for union and the name Social Democratic party. And then, if there is no union, it is not our fault. The conference committee has submitted no proposition or made any agreement which does not give to the majority of the S. D. P. the opportunity to stand by its honored name, or reject any proposition which would make a majority of the joint parties vote decisive.

Better by far that union should fail, by failure on name, or some other of the propositions, than a vote point-blank against union.

If we do not want to abide by a name which our party votes in opposition to, yet receives a majority of the combined vote of the two parties, all we have to do is to vote against the third proposition, as to name.

I believe our conference committee did the best they could under the circumstances. Though our national convention decided that a separate vote—each party by itself—should be the rule on all questions, please remember that there is a higher authority than the national convention or national executive committee; and to the highest court of the party our committee has agreed to submit the matter, viz.—the general vote of the party. Are we afraid to trust the good sense of our rank and file? If not, then vote solidly for union.

The lack of keeping faith by our comrades of the S. L. P. seems to be charged by those who were busy in holding side-room meetings to fix things. Such efforts never turn out well. I know of three delegates at our national convention whose combined credential vote was at least three hundred, who were for standing by our party name, and argued as I did to instruct our conference committee to stand by the name Social Democrat; these three delegates were very busy in consulting with the S. L. P. subcommittee, and no doubt thought things were well fixed, and when it came to a vote, voted for the minority recommendation to simply urge our party name.

The convention should have been flat-footed and voted for just what they wanted, and if union then failed the responsibility would have rested on the S. L. P. and not on us.

While union is desirable, I maintain our S. L. P. friends, by asking us to take a new name, they are for the sake of pride and a little prestige for themselves, asking us to do the cause of Socialism, for this year, at least, harm; and for the good of our cause we should refuse, even though the result is no union.

Now, I am not arguing for our name because I love it for itself alone, or of its applicability from a dictionary definition when applied to the Socialist movement. It does not matter much what a word means; but it is all important as to what the people think a word or name means.

To the members of the S. D. P. and S. L. P. it is taken for granted that it means with us so far as the number of votes to be secured, that the result is the same whatever the name is to be. But we are less than 10,000 votes, and

we expect to get 1,000,000 at the coming election. Under the name Social Democrat, Socialism has got such an advertisement in this country as never before in the history of the movement. We have as a candidate for president a man with not only a great national reputation, but of international fame. One who, with the exception of a few crazy De Leonites, is universally honored as a man of ability, and integrity of character, whose voice has sounded the principles of Socialism throughout the length and breadth of this nation; in the name of Social Democracy. And at this time to change our name would lead to confusion and doubt when we are looking for accessions of strength to our cause. To yield to the request of our S. L. P. friends would, I believe, result in greater loss than any help they can bring to us.

Whether our name be Social Democrat or United Socialist, in many states we have got to put up a fight to get a place on the official ballots. If Social Democrat, we have got to fight the democratic capitalist party; and that is a part of our program. The people expect it. We are after the scalps of all capitalist parties. If our name is to be United Socialist party we have got to fight the De Leonites. Great Scots! What a spectacle! A United Socialist party fighting before capitalist officials, another Socialist party, for position. The situation would make us ridiculous. Our experience has been that we succeed best when we ignore the De Leonites. When they fight us, we are the gainers. When we get into a wrangle with them, we belittle ourselves and our cause.

We oppose capitalism and capitalist parties, and have no time to waste in fighting other Socialist factions.

So I say let us be unanimous for union with the S. L. P. and our party name. Let us take up each proposition submitted by the conference committee and vote as intelligently as we can, ready to make all reasonable concessions. Let no one's desire to retain a hitherto important position influence us against a union of the two parties. Whatever a majority of the members of the Social Democratic party choose for a name, that name is good enough for me. If our party by a majority vote choose to accept a name having the largest number on joint ballot of the two parties, like Barkis, I'm willin'. To our S. L. P. friends who want a new name anyway, I will say you can't find a better name than ours; do your duty and vote for Social Democrat.

Squire E. Putney.

Somerville, Mass.

THE TRANSFIGURATION

A bare, cheerless room, incumbered with old, worn-out furniture; a hard-working wife, bending wearily over a small, rickety stove; the whole pervaded with that atmosphere of grime and dullness which seems to hang permanently over the dwellings of the poor; this was the home in which John Carvel stood, one morning in the spring. In absolute keeping with his surroundings, rough and rusty as they, with dull, lusterless eyes, and gross, homely features—a typical laboring man; one of whom the better situated look down upon as one of another species, fashioned with other clay, coarser than their own, absolutely devoid of all those higher instincts that distinguish men from the brutes. He was preparing to go to work, but had tarried a moment to examine a small packet left by the postman.

When he had removed the paper covering a small pamphlet was disclosed to view, on the face of which was the printed word "Socialism." A look of disgust and disappointment came over his face. Socialism! What was that to him? What was it, anyhow? He threw down the book, hastily put on his coat and left the house.

Two miles to the workshop. The road ran through cultivated fields, relieved here and there by little patches of woodland. April was shedding its bloom on all nature; the air was light and free, filled with the fragrance of early morning. The trees and shrubs were gay with blossoms, while here and there a precocious daisy peeped out from the grass to drink in the sunbeams. But what was all that to John? John was thinking, of his debts, perhaps, or his work, or perhaps he was not even thinking at all; such might have been the observation of the passer-by, seeing him plodding along with bowed head and empty gaze. Soon he reached the scene of his work, and he sat down to his task. The long, monotonous hours moved slowly forward as he bent over the bench in the same attitude which he had taken the day before, and the day before that, and all the days, weeks, months and years since first he had come to labor in the mill. The same mechanical movement of the hands, the same action until the human automaton and the machine of steel seemed confounded into one mechanism, propelled by some unknown power. At noon there was a respite, a short interval, in which John indulged in a few moments' conversation with his fellows. What did they talk about? It matters not. The work was now resumed until the evening.

John had lived through many such days. With one or two exceptions they were but prototypes one of the other.

Perhaps John did not even know that life could be any different, and yet today he was more tired and oppressed than usual. The hours dragged with a heavier pace; the buzzing wheels seemed to sing a dizzier song, and as the day drew to a close a feeling of deeper gloom seemed to have entered his heart. Work was over. On his way home he crossed the path of a friend. Struck by the look of unutterable woe and haggardness which darkened the man's face, he stopped him and inquired the cause of his trouble. "Discharged," he answered; "a hasty word; I tried to make it up, but it was no use. I don't know what to tell them at home." "What are you going to do?" asked John. "Do?" A gesture, half of anguish half of anger, was the answer as the man hurried away. These were common occurrences in the big mill town, and after condoling a little in his heart with his unfortunate friend, John proceeded on his way. Nevertheless as he walked the thought pursued him—what should he do were he also discharged or deprived of work? Who would take care of the family at home? The sun was sinking to the horizon, filtering through the trees, rays of orange and red. In the sky, here and there, a few tinted clouds were floating in a sea of blue and gold. A hush was descending over the face of the world, spreading its blessing of peace and rest upon the fields and flowers. The buds and blossoms were beginning to nod their drowsy heads in the evening breeze and the buzzing insects of the sunlight had already retired to rest. At a certain spot a gurgling brook crossed the road, eddying and whirling around its pebbles in noisy glee. When John reached the little rustic bridge which spanned the tiny streamlet he paused for a moment and looked down into the water. Here it was dark and glossy; there, reflecting with a silver luster the tints of the heavens; farther on, white with foam. The picture was peaceful, quiet, enchanting. Suddenly, as he gazed, half absently at the rippling water, a song burst out into the air. A hidden nightingale from a neighboring tree was pouring forth its evening melody. For a few moments the music endured, floating down sweeter and softer until it died away into the silence.

As from a dream John Carvel awoke, and without stopping again he hurried to his home. The same dull scene as the morning; the same gloomy interior, the same rickety chairs and coarse, ugly utensils. Tired, weary, and sad, with an inexpressible feeling of misery in his heart, John sank down into a seat beside the table. Almost touching his hand lay the little pamphlet which he had thrown down so disdainfully before. "Socialism." The title seemed to stand out on the white cover almost defiantly. Socialism—what was it? Listlessly John took the book and opened it. He read on a few lines, greatly surprised to see how easily he understood it. He continued, and soon became absorbed in its contents to an extraordinary degree. Once he put down the book and stopped for a moment to reflect. All was quiet in the house; outside only a few pale gleams still streaked the somber sky. It was now supper time. After going through the evening meal as usual, John again took up his pamphlet and read on. He seemed to be under the spell of some fascination; now and then he would stop and remain for some time plunged, as it were, in a deep reverie; then he would resume his reading with more ardor than before. As he sat there in the lamplight, the observer who could have seen him would have greatly marveled at the expression which had gradually settled upon the worn visage. The hours succeeded each other silently as time crept slowly through the night, and soon the first rays of dawn shot into the room, paling the light of the dying lamp. Astonished, John looked up. The book fell from his hands. He raised his head and shaded his eyes, dazzled by the light. When he opened them again a new expression was there. The dull, sordid features had disappeared; the brutish look was gone. Intelligence, earnestness and a profound joy beamed from the sparkling eyes, and from John Carvel's old self looked forth a new man. Almost reverently he picked up the little sheet and placed it by the extinguished lamp. The light had come. He walked to the window to breathe in the fresh morning air. The sun had just risen and was flooding all nature with a wealth of red brightness, while the birds sang joyously their chorus of welcome to the coming day. And on that day John Carvel went out into the world, to labor, to struggle and to live.

Nemo.

The Sixth Annual Issue of

The Labour Annual

is now ready, edited and published by Joseph Edwards, Wallasey, Cheshire, England

The "American Section" (edited by Leonard D. Abbott) contains the following: "A Year's Work as Socialist Mayor," by John C. Chase; "A Year as Socialist Legislator," by James P. Carey; "Socialism in America During 1899," etc. There are full lists of American reformers, organizations and books. In all, there are over 60 original articles, and 46 portraits, including Carey, Goldman, Herron, Mayor Jones and John Swin ton. Cloth 50 cts.; Paper 35 cts.

Send orders to LEONARD D. ABBOTT

236 W. 71st Street, New York

Have your card inserted in the BRANCH DIRECTORY, 25 Cents per Month. It will help you in the work in your locality.

Pocket Library of Socialism

1. Woman and the Social Problem. By MAY WOOD SIMONS. Shows that the emancipation of women will only come with the emancipation of men through socialism.
2. The Evolution of the Class Struggle. By WILLIAM H. NICHOLS. A historical study showing how socialism is coming.
3. Imprisoned Harbinger. By ROBERT BLATCHFORD. A masterly narrative to the argument that "prisonism" would help the laborer.
4. Packingtown. By A. M. SIMONS. A study of the Union Stock Yards in Chicago; how nature and man are alike scientifically exploited.
5. Realism in Literature and Art. By CLARENCE B. DABLOW. Shows how the workers of modern art and literature are helping on the new social order.
6. Single Tax vs. Socialism. By A. M. SIMONS. Shows the inadequacy of the Single Tax as a remedy for the evils pointed out by Henry George.
7. Wage-Labor and Capitalism. By EARL MARK. The essence of the great philosopher's theory, in his own words.
8. The Man Under the Machine. By A. M. SIMONS. Tells how wage slavery began, what it is today and how the workers are going to free themselves. A condensed handbook of socialism.
9. The Mission of the Working Class. By JOHN CARVEL. A study of the "Modern Socialism," etc.
10. Morals and Socialism. By CHARLES H. KENN. Shows how popular ideas of morals are maintained in the interest of the capitalist class.
11. Socialist Songs. Sixteen good ones, at times every one knows.
12. After Capitalism What? By RAY WILLIAM T. Shows a logical and historical study showing that socialism must come as the result of forces now at work.
13. A Political Quack Doctor. By W. A. CORRY. A socialist who is a "Prohibition" movement.

SPECIAL OFFER—For each dollar we will mail forty copies of the Pocket Library, all of one kind as assorted as preferred.

SEND ORDERS TO

THEODORE DEBS

126 Washington St., CHICAGO

The Book You Need

PRINCIPLES OF

Scientific Socialism

By Rev. Charles H. Vall

Author "Modern Socialism" and "National Ownership of Railways."

CONTENTS:

- The Industrial Revolution. The Analysis of Value. The Origin of Surplus Value.
- The Advantages of Socialism: Production, Distribution, Elimination of Useless Vocations, Prevention of Waste, Elevation of Women, Proper Care and Training of Children, Efficient Direction, Solution of the Monetary Question, Abolition of Taxation, Simplification of Government, Benefits to Capitalists, Benefits to Laborers.
- The Evidence of the Moral Strength of Socialism: Its Moral Aim; Abolition of Business Dishonesty; Restriction of Divorce; Prevention of Prostitution; Elimination of Crime; Prevention of Intemperance, Jealousy, etc.
- Poverty—Its Cause and Cure. Wage Slavery vs. Chattel Slavery. Rent and Interest. The Law of Wages. The Law of Progress. Industrial Depression and Commercial Crisis. The Problem of Labor-Saving Machinery.
- Popular Economic Errors: That Value is Determined by Capitalist Cost of Production; that the Interests of Laborers and Capitalists are identical; that Labor is Better Off Now Than Ever Before; that Cheap Prices are Beneficial to Labor; that Foreign Markets are Beneficial to Labor; that Luxury is Beneficial to Labor; that Land Nationalization would solve the Social Question; that Extremism is the Chief Cause of Economic Want; that Socialism would thwart inventions and improvements; that Socialism would destroy individuality. Conclusion and Index.

12mo, 228 Pages; Paper, 35c; Cloth, \$1.00.

SEND ORDERS TO

THEODORE DEBS, 126 Washington St., CHICAGO

Headquarters for Literature.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC.

1. Liberty, Debs, 50c.
2. Morris England, Blatchford, 10c.
3. Municipal Socialism, Gordon, 5c.
4. Prison Labor, Debs, 10c.
5. Socialism and Slavery, Hyndman, 5c.
6. Gov't Ownership of Railways, Gordon, 5c.
7. Oration on Voltaire, Victor Hugo, 5c.
8. Evolution of Industry, Watkins, 5c.
9. Hard Times, Gordon and Curran, 5c.
10. Women: Past, Present and Future, Debs, 10c.
11. The Red Light, Casson, 25c.
12. The Pullman Strike, Curran, 25c.
13. Co-operative Commonwealth, Gordon, 10c.
14. The New Economy, Gordon, 10c.

MECHANICAL AND ENGINEERING.

15. Progressive Education of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, Hill, 50c.
16. Locomotive Running Repairs, Hitchcock, 5c.
17. Simple Lessons in Drawing for the Shop, Reynolds, 30c.
18. Air Brake Practice, Phelan, \$1.00.
19. Ready Reference, Alexander, \$1.00.
20. Locomotive Running and Management, Reynolds, 50c.
21. Compound Locomotives, Woods, \$2.00.
22. Twenty Years with the Indicator, Fry, \$2.00.
23. Hand-Book of the Locomotive, Roper, \$2.00.
24. New Catechism of the Locomotive, Ford, \$1.50.

Note.—Nos. 1, 3, 4, 6, 7 and 8 in lots of 10 copies, 50 cents; in lots of 100 copies, \$1.50. No. 2 in lots of 25 copies, 80 cents; in lots of 100 copies, \$2.50. Send orders to

DEBS PUBLISHING CO.,

TERRE HAUTE, IND.

NATIONAL FUND

The following is a list of comrades who have agreed, in response to the appeal of the National Executive Board, to contribute monthly for one year to the national fund. Other names will be added as they are received.

- | CONNECTICUT | NEW YORK |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Finch, N.H., Hartford | Falm, L.D., New York |
| Holman, B., Hartford | Abbott, L.D., New York |
| ILLINOIS | Butcher, Wm., Brooklyn |
| Stedman, S., Chicago | Thomas, E.H., New York |
| James Cox, Chicago | Kahn, Arthur, New York |
| P.P. Ayer, Chicago | Hill, E.W., New York |
| "A Friend," Chicago | Louplov, Jaa., New York |
| Dr. J. H. Greer, Chicago | Panken, J., New York |
| Mrs. C. Brown, Chicago | Weyl, Clara, New York |
| Friend, Chicago | Mark Kaplan, New York |
| James Wright, Chicago | Aaron N. Bodoh, New York |
| INDIANA | Philip Gruber, New York |
| E. V. Debs, Terre Haute | Sander, Wm., New York |
| MASSACHUSETTS | Meacham, New York |
| Flanders, P.B., Haverhill | NEW JERSEY |
| Cohen, A., Boston | Pankoff, Carl, Jersey City |
| Parker, Levi, W. Newton | Karl Lindner, Jersey City |
| Monette, G. L., Brockton | "Comrade," Jersey City |
| Bowditch, W. E., Brockton | OHIO |
| Tate, Peter, Everett | Bevar, Jos., Cleveland |
| Hitchcock, D. G., Warren | Zorn, Julius, Cleveland |
| Goldman, S., Haverhill | Braun, F., Cleveland |
| Hough, E. W., Newton | Alzbeur, C. C., Cleveland |
| Chase, Jno. C., Haverhill | PENNSYLVANIA |
| Brown, J. W., Templeton | Lewis, J. H., Pittsburgh |
| Allen, Helen, N. Lynn | F. W. Hirt, Pittsburgh |
| Keown, Dr. J. A., Lynn | NEW YORK |
| Carry, Jas. F., Haverhill | Elson, Dr. B.B., New York |
| MICHIGAN | Hamilton, W. A., New York |
| Keller, S., Grand Rapids | Mahoney, Wm., New York |
| MINNESOTA | Price, E. B., New York |
| Georvain, F. Red Lake Falls | WISCONSIN |
| MISOURI | Berger, V. L., Milwaukee |
| Fisher, Wm., St. Louis | Rooney, E. H., Milwaukee |
| Fellner, Henry, St. Louis | Ziegel, F., Milwaukee |
| Roeschke, Wm., St. Louis | Doerrner, John, Milwaukee |
| MARYLAND | Arnold, L., Milwaukee |
| Jacobson, E. H., Baltimore | Heimann, C., Milwaukee |
| NEW HAMPSHIRE | Tuttle, H., Milwaukee |
| Gordon, F. G. Manchester | Heath, F., Milwaukee |
| Boriss, Geo., Manchester | Branch 4, Milwaukee |
| Mallen, C. H., Manchester | "Barnsworth Branch" |

The Union Label

on everything you buy is a guarantee that the producers thereof receive a fair rate of wages for its production. Insist on having the

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

VOL. II. No. 47

CHICAGO, ILL., U. S. A., SATURDAY, MAY 12, 1900.

Whole No. 97.

THE EVOLUTION AND THE REVOLUTION OF TRUSTS

Before the Brooklyn Co-operative club, which meets at the home of Eugene V. Brewster, Rev. Charles H. Vail recently spoke on the "Evolution and Revolution of Trusts." From the address the following passages are taken:

"In order to thoroughly understand the revolution of industry which the trusts have effected, we need to trace the processes of industrial evolution which have culminated in these great organizations of capital. Industry has passed through several stages of development. Beginning with the handicraft stage of the middle ages it passed through the manufacturing stage and on into the factory stage which began in the last third of the eighteenth century. This last period was introduced by a series of inventions and improvements which completely revolutionized industry. The production of this period, being based upon mechanical invention and a far-reaching division of labor, is essentially social production. The change in the form of production which resulted from the industrial revolution wrought the downfall of the small producer and reduced the once independent handicraftsman to the level of a wage slave. The result of turning the limited implements of production into mighty powers, precluded individual ownership on the part of the workers. Not only had the tools become social in character; that is, such as could only be operated by co-operative labor, but the vast cost of the new implements rendered their possession by the laborers impossible. This condition necessarily gave rise to the capitalist class, the owners of the instruments of production. As a result of this appropriation of the means of livelihood the laborers were reduced to servitude and dependence.

"When the tools first became social in character they were owned by individual capitalists. But the development of industry soon necessitated the massing of large capital, and as it became difficult for the individual to furnish the requisite means the joint stock company arose. The next phase of this evolution was the union of these companies into trusts. The rapid trustification of industry during the last few years has been phenomenal. The trust, however, is a perfectly natural and logical outcome of competitive industry. It is the result of the efficiency of capital in large masses. Associated capital and machinery are requisite to efficient and economical production. These great organizations of capital make possible the saving of labor by dispensing with the services of armies of advertisers, drummers, canvassers, clerks, etc., who only exist for the purpose of attracting the attention of the public to various competing firms.

"The reason why the trust is regarded by many as an evil is because society, as at present constituted, is not benefited by all this economy in production and distribution. The saving thus effected goes into the pockets of the capitalists who have monopolized the control of industry. If the organization of industry is effective in reducing the cost of production, and society as a whole is not benefited by the improved method, the trouble is not with the principle of combination but with its private ownership and control. If the people wish to enjoy the benefits of the trusts they must own them. As the principle of combination, which is the embodiment of the trust, is sound, it ought to be extended to the whole social order. We protest, however, against leaving such an effective principle in the hands of private individuals to be exploited for private profit. We demand that every industry shall be systematized and organized; in other words, trustified; and we further demand that all industries shall be collectively owned and operated for the benefit of all the people. When the trust is socialized the evils which result from private ownership will disappear, leaving only the benefits which result from co-operation. Socialists, then,

see to perfect the trust, extend it and utilize it for the benefit of all.

"The revolution of industry wrought by the evolution of trusts is resulting in the downfall of the middle class of small producers and distributors, just as the introduction of the machine wrought the downfall of hand labor. As the laborers cried out against the machine, so the middle class are crying out against the trust. But the trust, like the machine, is the natural product of industrial evolution. The trust is the great labor displacer used by big capitalists in eliminating the small fry. It is no wonder then that this class of small producers should cry, 'Down with the trusts.' To succeed they must have the aid of the laboring class, and so have endeavored to beguile the workers into supporting this middle-class policy. It is the old trick of using the working class as a tool to fight the battles of the masters. But fortunately the working class is awakening to its own interests, and perceives that this denunciation, by the middle class, of the trust, is not in behalf of labor, however loud the professions, but in behalf of its own existence. This outcry does not mean the betterment of labor. The tools of production today are social and can only be operated by co-operative labor. This fact precludes the possibility of individual ownership of the tools by the laborers. The destruction of the trusts, then, does not mean that the instruments of production can be owned by the laborers; it only means that these instruments could then be owned by smaller combinations of capital; that is, by the middle class.

"If the middle-class program were carried out it would simply mean an increase in the number of exploiters. Labor would still be dependent, the same as now, upon those who own the means of production. Is there anyone so foolish as to contend that labor would be better off by increasing the number of parasites? The whole anti-trust movement is in the interest of the class of small proprietors who are being pinched by modern industry. The triumph of this class would in no way improve the lot of the workers, they would still be non-possessing dependents whose labor-power would be bought in the open market at its competitive value. The method of the small employer is precisely like that of the large, and the smaller the field of operation the more profit he must extract from labor in order to live in idleness. The laboring class, then, are not interested in the preservation of the middle class and their wasteful system of industrial competition. The very fact that competition is being supplanted by combination, evidences that the former is wasteful and injurious. The middle-class policy is absurd. There is no possibility of returning to any of the stages out of which we have evolved. Nothing could be more Utopian than the free competition of the past. That condition has forever passed away into innocuous desuetude. The passing of industry from the hand-stage into the era of social organized labor meant the death of the old competitive order. Monopoly has come and come to stay—the people must own the trusts or the trusts will own the people.

"We welcome the trust, not as a finality but as a step toward Socialism. The trust is doing excellent work in organizing industry and preparing the way for the co-operative commonwealth. It is a pioneer of progress—an unconscious forerunner of Socialism. As the trusts are social instruments, they should be owned in common. This is the only way to abolish the incongruity between social production and capitalist appropriation. The place of the present despotic system of industry we propose a social democracy. Social or industrial democracy is in the line of economic evolution, and is certain of attainment. Every careful discernor of the times knows that the social revolution is at hand. Every vote cast for Socialism hastens the day of economic emancipation."

France

The men and women employed in shops in Paris have at last formed a union. They complain that though nominally they are supposed to leave at 8 in the evening, yet in many cases they have to stay much later. The shopmen and shopwomen have much to complain of; their hours are long, their food bad, and, if they live in the house, their sleeping accommodation is detestable, and the women are subject to other perils which are not exaggerated in Zola's "Le Bonheur des Dames." The position of the men and women employed in the Socialist stores in Belgium seems to be very good, and it would be advisable if similar stores could be started

There is a strike at Carmaux among the miners, and they are having a very hard fight with the masters.

The Assumptionist Fathers have been ordered by the Pope to give up their scurrilous newspaper, La Croix. So they have obeyed his Holiness' command, not by discontinuing the paper, but by selling it to a syndicate. And this is a sample of obedience to the Pope's orders.

Summer is here, but thousands of the city children will not see nature this summer, except when it rains, or when the sun gets at a proper angle to shine down in their alley.

RALLYING SONG

Inscribed to S. D. P. Branches
By H. S. Geneva Lake

The storm is on us, ship ahoy!
Rally, boys, rally!
But never mind the sly decoy,
Rally, rally, rally!
Our ship is raked on all her sides,
Sail on, sail on, whate'er betides,
Rally, boys, rally.
The night is dark, the stars are few,
Rally, boys, rally!
These crises, they are never new,
Rally, rally, rally!
Our captain, crew, all hands on deck,
The light is there, though but a speck,
Rally, boys, rally.

The storm will rage, no matter, though,
Rally, boys, rally!
We have the commonwealth in tow,
Rally, rally, rally!
Around the campfires yet to be
We'll tell of how we sailed the sea,
All ropes made taut, our fair flag free,
Maned by the brave Democracy,
Rally, boys, rally.

Olympia, Wash., April 26, 1900.

Art in a Ditch

Wm. Morris says that art is "the expression of man's joy in labor." What a definition of art? Do you think there is very much joy in digging a sewer ditch at 50 cents a day? Can you see much of art in a man's life who is compelled to live on less than \$200 for a year?

Under the private contract system of labor in one of the cities of Ohio last year, the contractor put laborers in competition with each other for the work of digging a sewer by the foot, with the result, as I told the civil engineer of that city, that those laborers received less than 50 cents a day. In another city of Ohio laborers on the street improvement and repair received less than \$200 for their year's work, the labor market being so overstocked that they could only be employed less than half time in order that all might have a little work. Yet in that same city there are men who used the streets and piled up in profits hundreds of thousands of dollars, wholly unconscious of their guilt in using streets kept up at the cost of the lives of other men.—Samuel M. Jones, Toledo.

International Congress

Our comrades of the French Socialist Comité d'Entente have issued a circular of invitation to the great International Socialist Congress to be held in Paris this year. The Congress is fixed for the 23d to the 28th of September next. It sets out the conditions under which the Congress has been called, the basis of representation, and the questions which are to be considered. All working-class organizations will be entitled to be represented at the Congress which accept the principles of Socialism, i. e., the socialization of the means of production, and the conquest of political power by the workers organized in a distinct proletarian party; and all trade unions which, while not taking an active part in the political movement, recognize the class war and the necessity for political action. Among the subjects set down for consideration are: International organization; the constitution and organization of the working-class party in the different countries; the expropriation of the bourgeoisie; the socialization of the means of production; international peace, militarism, the abolition of standing armies; colonial politics, and trusts. There is every reason to hope for a large, important, and successful congress.

Belgium

A vigorous speech was made the other day at the Maison du Peuple at La Louviere by the Abbe Daens in favor of old-age pensions. The government has made some proposals, but they are quite inadequate.

The Socialists at Antwerp have determined to run several candidates at the general election; they were going to agree on a joint list with the Liberals, but they have decided to act independently.

The Maison du Peuple of Brussels has just published its accounts for the last six months of 1899, the profits come to £8,600. After allowing for depreciation and for propaganda funds, part of the profits are returned to purchasers. But the institution has done even more good by putting a stop to the credit system and at the same time selling only goods of the best quality.

Bulgaria

It is reported from Budapest that a Socialist movement is developing in Bulgaria and that the peasants are refusing to pay taxes. But it is very doubtful if this is a Socialist revolt, as Socialism in the Balkan Peninsula is a purely academic movement, and it is much more likely that the trouble there is agrarian and anti-dynastic.

SUCCESS OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATS IN ELECTION AT MARION, IND.

The center of interest for Social Democrats in Indiana, on May 1 was Marion, Ind. As a result of the local election in that place the party now has two representatives in the city council, who will retain their seats for four years. Comrade J. W. Kelley received a majority of seven in a ward usually having a Republican majority of 300, while Comrade Croke, in a three-cornered fight between Republicans, Democrats and Social Democrats, carried his ward with a majority of 45.

The Marion Daily Chronicle (Rep.) in an appreciative editorial said: "The existence of socialistic sentiment is a thing to which the Chronicle has time and again called attention, but it has always been received by the majority of readers with incredulity. To the observer the growth of this sentiment for years has been clear. Over and over again the Chronicle has spoken of it. All over Christendom Socialism has been growing and growing for a quarter of a century. The growth has been steady. In Germany Socialists command more votes at the polls and more votes in parliament than any other political party. It has no majority, it is true, but it has a plurality, and it has been rapidly on the increase. The London and Paris councils are under the domination of that sentiment. The growth in this country has been none the less constant, though it has not been so apparent on the surface. There are several causes for this which have been mentioned in these columns more than once, and which will have attention again.

"Another factor in the First ward is the popularity of Mr. Kelley. All who know him believe in his sincerity. The same may be said of his opponent, it is true, but the latter is not so well known. Here it is proper to say of Mr. Kelley

that all who know him have absolute confidence that he will do what he believes right, regardless of all other considerations. To what degree he will reduce his ideas to practical work for the advancement of the city remains to be seen, but everybody knows that he will do just what he believes he ought to do. Then, too, he brings to bear upon his work not only a conscientious regard for duty, but also a keen intelligence which is known only to those who come closely in contact with him.

"The election of Mr. Croke was predicted by some active Republicans, and yet it was thought that the division of the opposition vote would give Mr. Jones a plurality. Mr. Croke's election is due to the same influence that elected Mr. Kelley. Among the workmen in the Evans factory, and everywhere where he is known, he is very popular, is said to be very intelligent, and it was freely predicted that among those in his neighborhood he would command a solid vote. In addition to his personal popularity he brings to bear a general information on current social questions which few persons possess, and in argument there are not many who can cope with him. That he is most popular among those who know him best is a tribute to his personality that equals anything that can be said of anybody. In this contest, too, Socialistic sentiment was a factor which is to be considered in such contests far more than most people are willing to admit. It is a fact, and a potent one, and is not to be pooh-poohed out of existence."

The workmen of Marion have honored themselves in this electing representatives of their party, and the Herald extends hearty congratulations to the comrades on this signal success in their first campaign.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATS

CELEBRATE MAY DAY

Last Sunday afternoon witnessed a May Day celebration at Milwaukee under the auspices of Social Democrats. It was inaugurated with a parade followed by a mass meeting at Schlitz Park, with speeches by Seymour Stedman of Chicago and Dr. Titus Voelkel of Milwaukee.

The parade formed in front of the Exposition building shortly after 1 o'clock and marched down State street to Third with members of the Federated Trades council at the head, preceded only by Bach's band, which led the participants in the demonstration to the park. There were nearly fifty members of the Trades Council in line, and the Molders' Union followed with about 150 men represented.

The Carriage and Wagon Makers' Union, whose members are now out on a strike for the recognition of the union, were then seen in line, with almost the entire union membership of 150 men, and the fifteen branches of the Social Democracy in the different parts of the city followed with nearly 200 men, the remainder of the members of the branches being scattered among the various labor unions in line.

The Brewers' Union, with a membership of nearly 500 marchers, followed with Mayr's band at the head, and after them came stationary engineers and firemen, who in turn were followed by the men of the Brewery Teamsters' Union, who brought up the rear of the parade with the exception of members of various unions which were not officially participants in the demonstration.

As the parade marched on Third from State to Chestnut, Winnebago, Eleventh and Walnut streets, there were numerous banners carried by the various organizations, among which was one inscribed, "Debs for President," "Shorter Hours, Higher Wages, Mean Better Morals and Nobler Manhood." Banners with such inscriptions as "When Brains Vote, Ideas, Not Men, Rule," and "To-day the Trust, To-morrow the Deluge," were common. "Why Are You Against Socialism? Because You Know So Little About It," was followed by "Do Not Talk Politics in the Union, by Order of the Boss," was the inscription displayed by one of the paraders. All along the line of march there were cheers from the people who had turned out to see the demonstration.

The program opened at Schlitz park at about 4 o'clock and after music by Bach's orchestra, Miss Metha Bochart recited William Morris' "The March of the Workers," followed by Charles Mackay's, "Call for Revolution," as an encore. The Socialist Maennerchor rendered two musical numbers and Comrade Stedman then gave a short address.

"The demonstration to-day," he said,

"is an expression of the sentiment of the world that there are no clans or sects in the world of laboring men. There is a struggle on the part of all humanity for the economic independence of every man, woman and child, and it was not always the case that workmen could get together as they have done to-day. A few years ago we had the strike at Homestead. As a result of that strike Pinkertonism was done away with, but the capitalists found at Chicago, a few years later, that the national soldiers could do their work even better than did Pinkerton. Now we have the government by injunction developing, until a judge in New York has enjoined workmen from giving financial assistance to their striking fellows.

"The educational facilities are being curtailed. Why? The ignorant are the most servile tools of the plutocracy and there is no chance for Socialism among the most depraved and ignorant of the world. We find the great powers of government used to curtail the liberty of workmen. It will refuse aid to the workmen, but its strength is given to the men of the prevailing class, the rich. It will not give a bounty to the striking miners of the Coeur d'Alene as it does to the sugar trust. The capitalist organizes the trust, and laws and franchises are passed for his assistance. Trades unions do not seem to recognize the necessity of bringing the government to aid their class. If the men of the shops showed their power at the polls the legislators would shift their assistance to the workmen instead of giving it to the employers. When you once come together at the ballot box you will find that the employers will grant what you ask, to perpetuate their own existence. Our success would not be the success of the classes, but the destruction of all classes. When people realize our wishes they will come to us and there will be a new social system prevailing and freedom for all."

Gains at Terre Haute

Terre Haute comrades polled 223 votes for James A. Hatchell, 207 for John C. Kingery, and 210 for James E. Wall for councilmen at large. Slight interest was taken in the election, as but 60 per cent of the vote was cast. The comrades made no extra effort in this election, as we are saving our energy and finances for the fall election. The highest vote polled in 1898 (county election) was 260, lowest 56, an average of about 80 for the city. Our gain is about 140 straight Socialist votes. Look out for Hoosierdom! Jas. Oneal.

The Social Democrats at Jacksonville, Ill., organized a branch January 1, 1900, and fought their first political battle on the 17th of April. They elected two members of the board of education, Comrades H. Hering and Benj. J. Miller.

Social Democratic Herald

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board
JESSE COX, Chairman
SEYMOUR STEEDMAN, Secretary
EUGENE V. DEBS, VICTOR L. BEBOK, Treasurer
FREDERICK HEATH

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, 50 cents. Six months, 25 cents. No papers sent to any one on credit. If, without having subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and no bill will follow. Foreign subscriptions \$1.00.

Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

A. S. EDWARDS, Editor
THEODORE DEBS, National Sec'y-Treas.
126 Washington St., Chicago.

97 is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 98 your subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, MAY 12, 1900.

THE REFERENDUM

On the question submitted to the membership in the Herald of April 7, "Is union between the Social Democratic Party and the Socialist Labor Party faction desirable?" it is possible to give only the aggregate vote for and against the union proposed; next week a detailed and tabulated report by branches will be published. The total vote received is 2,152, divided as follows:

For union . . . 939
Against union . . . 1,213

Theodore Debs,
National Secretary.

EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETING

At a meeting of the executive board held May 6, the resignation of Jesse Cox was accepted with expressions of great appreciation for his faithful and constant attention to the requirements of the position he has filled with complete satisfaction to all acquainted with him and the demands made upon him during the past two years.

When you buy an article worth \$25 or over, something out of the usual run of household goods, you get a friend who understands that particular line of goods to go along with you. Why? You acknowledge in so doing that the capitalistic system of production as opposed to the socialistic system, does not stimulate to action the best efforts of the workingman. The goods were made to sell; not to wear, to eat, or to arouse admiration.

A good price will sometimes buy a fine article, but all cheaper articles of the same line are imitations more or less like the good article, according to the price paid. Thus there are fifty makes of pianos, the same of bicycles, typewriters, carriages, watches, etc., all equally "honest goods"—according to the salesman.

During the past three centuries we have had what we consider a large number of master painters, musicians, authors and scientific men, who have struggled to the front in spite of the capitalistic system that has developed during that time. They have fought against poverty, custom and the demands of relatives who wanted to see them "get along" in the business world, and yet they stand out as bright stars in a dark sky. We do not know what architecture, painting, music and science have in store for the twentieth century man and woman.

One of the Social Democrats elected to the city council of Brockton, Mass., against the expressed will of the members of his branch, voted in favor of a private franchise on the ground that his constituency, irrespective of the wishes of his comrades in the S. D. P., also favored it. The result was an acceptance of his resignation from public office by the branch, but the capitalistic members of the council stood by him and he declined to retire from the council. He was then expelled from membership in the Social Democratic Party.

One of the organizations identified with the progressive labor movement is the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, which is represented in Chicago by several branches, one of which, No. 77, meets the last Sunday in the month at 3 p. m., at Ehlert's Hall, corner of Eighteenth and Loomis streets. This organization has a record of fifteen years. The secretary of Branch 77 is F. Rose, 857 W. Twenty-first street, who will be glad to give any information desired.

Everywhere the work of the newer branches is characterized by the same energy and enthusiasm that has marked the record of the older ones in the past. At Coffeen, Ill., our comrades polled 37 straight Socialist votes at the township election last week, and for village justice Comrade Champe received 102 votes against 212 for his demo-republican opponent.

THE FUTURE OF DEMOCRACY

No thorough student of American politics will deny the statement that there has never been any real democracy in America. There were many things quite admirable in the old party of Jefferson and Jackson, and there is indeed much that is admirable in the present Democratic party of Bryan, Alged, George Fred Williams, etc. But the word "democratic" does not always mean democracy any more than the word convict means rogue. The Republican party to-day claims to be as democratic as the Democratic party, but the Republican party is just as anti-democratic as it is anti-republican. So is the Democratic party. Both of these parties mean the perpetration of the present wage system of capitalism—the Republican party representing the capitalistic class and the Democratic party representing the great but rapidly disappearing middle class. The Republican party believes in fostering and assisting those grand industrial organizations known as trusts, while the Democratic party believes in harassing, restricting or destroying them. Unconsciously the corrupt Republican party is doing valuable work for the cause of Socialism, and unconsciously the Democratic party is doing much to retard the advance of Socialism. To again put the Democratic party in power would be to take a step backward. To retain the Republican party in power for four more years would be to take a step forward. Capitalism and trusts are natural products of industrial evolution and the very best thing that could be is four more years of uninterrupted capitalism. Then its natural life will have been spent. When a doctor is consulted about a boil that has just appeared upon his patient he naturally concludes that there are impurities in the blood that must be removed. He could easily drive the boil away, but it would be only for a short time, because the impurities would still remain and must some time be removed. The best thing would be to bring the bothersome nuisance to a natural head—not to prolong the suffering or to temporarily relieve it.

The Democratic party would drive the boil away temporarily only to see it reappear later bringing with it more terrible consequences. The small capitalists, or the middle class, who control the Democratic party, would gladly crush the trust and become exploiters themselves, but they will never succeed. The big capitalists of the Republican party will not permit it, and it is well.

As to the elections this fall, it looks as though there would be four sets of candidates in the field besides the regular Socialist candidates—McKinley and Bryan, an anti-imperialistic Republican, and a gold Democrat. I doubt if the Populists will cut much figure. Most of them will join the Socialists, and the others will support Bryan. It looks as though Admiral Dewey will be the gold Democratic nomination, and if he does he may defeat McKinley. But one of the two will surely be elected, and with four more years of capitalism, the way will be prepared for the incoming co-operative commonwealth, for Socialism, which I think will carry the election in 1904. It is very plain that the duty of all Socialists this year is to stand by the Socialist candidates. It is almost wicked to do otherwise. With a million votes to their credit next November, the party will be filled with new energy and supreme confidence in the future.

The future of democracy in America, therefore, depends upon what Socialists do this year. The larger their vote the sooner will come the democracy of the future.

EUGENE V. BREWSTER.
Brooklyn, N. Y.

A B C OF SOCIALISM

Every man has a right to work to keep himself alive without let or hindrance from any other man.

Every worker has a right to all he has produced.

Every man has a right to work under such conditions as will give him the most for the least.

The trusts have demonstrated that co-operation produces most for the least outlay.

Society creates all values, therefore all values belong to society for the good of all.

Society gives all value to all inventions.

If there were no society, a corner lot in San Francisco would have no value.

If there were but one man, his million-acre farm, with its millions of cattle, would be worthless as pebbles. Nay more, his own life would have no value, it would not be worth the living.

If there were no boarders, the landlord would buy no butter and the dairy would have no value.

Socialism holds that these truths are self-evident and it therefore boldly proclaims that all franchises, all laws that give individuals the control of values are legalized robbery—the cause of all trusts, all wars, all poverty, and most of the crimes that have buried so many, so-called civilizations—they are the source of the danger now threatening human liberty.

Socialism, however, does not propose to meddle with the dead past. It wishes to think no more of those old wars and horrid tales. Its ways are peace and good will.

It will address itself to the present—It will construct and operate railroads at cost and let Huntington charge \$5.90 or \$5 to San Francisco, and get it if he can.

It will use checks as a universal clearing house, and let banks loan money at 186 per cent if they can.

Labor will farm its own lands and let Lux and Miller farm their millions alone, if they can.

Ten days of this will teach the haughty millionaire that his riches are nothing but a cunning legal contrivance borrowed from bloody Rome, which enables him to lawfully seize and hold the products of other men's toil.

In Brockton, Mass., 21,000 people produced over \$21,000,000 of shoes at factory price. This is over \$5,000 for every shoemaker, who took \$600 of his own product for his pay and turned over \$4,400 to his master for the privilege of working. Brockton is now Socialist and the arrogant master will be poor as soon as the workmen leave his mill to co-operate in one of their own. His mill will be as worthless as Huntington's railroad, but as the boss goes down, the people will rise; they will keep that \$4,400.

This is Socialism, or universal co-operation. To say it will do away with all incentive to labor, is simply to say, John Jones cares more for his family alone than he does for the whole world, his own family included.

Depend upon it, men are too selfish to let this good thing go by. It will enable every man to produce the most for the least and to keep his own product.

Then the great instinct to which Christ appealed, "Do as you would be done by," will be supreme—nay, it is supreme even now, for in spite of all the evil and anguish engendered by legislation, for every bad deed men do, there are ten good ones; otherwise the race would perish.

When all products can be had at cost the saloon will cease to be, for it is run only for profit.

The movement is international and we are coming a hundred million strong.—M. V. Rork.
Fresno, Cal.

SOCIALISM'S PROPHECY

An address delivered by Harry F. Dyruff, on April 30, 1900, before the Franklin Literary Society of Brooklyn, N. Y.

I have been asked to speak on the subject of Socialism's Prophecy, and I think it best in the few minutes allotted to me to explain to you in my crude and humble way the ideas of Socialism. From that you will see what Socialism is and after seeing what it is you cannot help but seeing its inevitableness. Socialism's Prophecy is, that we will have Socialism and will elect a Socialist national ticket within the next decade. One of the finest definitions of Socialism, is one which appeared in the N. Y. Journal last week, which you have probably read, yet I think it is worthy of repetition. It was written by my comrade and friend, Eugene V. Brewster, and is headed, "Socialism—A Definition" (with apologies). "Socialism is a system not to be appalled, corrupted or compromised. It knows no baseness, it covers at no danger, it oppresses no weakness. Fearless, generous and humane, it rebukes the arrogant, cherishes honor and sympathizes with the humble. It asks nothing but what it concedes; it concedes nothing but what it demands. Destructive only of Despotism it is the sole conservator of Liberty, Labor and Justice. It is the ripe fruit of democracy, the law of nature pervading the land. It droppeth like the gentle rain from Heaven upon the place beneath equalizing opportunity, dispelling inequality, and restoring to every person his natural manhood. It breathes into the soul of Labor the life of the new world and raises it from the level of the beast. It restores to the producer his stolen implements of production, equitably distributes his products, and transforms the lowly slave into ripe and beauteous manhood. It not only appeals to selfish materialism, but to the highest moral and intellectual attributes known to our nature, yielding bread in abundance to the starving, moral food for the idealistic, and the highest conception of justice to all. The ignorant, the vulgar, the base in spirit, may denounce it as a dangerous thing, but in the social and industrial evolution Socialism shall show to all the world that its principles are eternal, its laws immutable, its claims indisputable and its consummation inevitable. It is an actual dream of the future paradise and sees in the present only a hideous nightmare. It seeks not to remedy or reform, but demands a peaceful revolution from slavery to equality, from tyranny to justice, from base and ignoble degradation to common happiness and contentment. It is noble, it is sublime—the perfection of human endeavor, that, recognizing the mutuality of all true human interests, quickens the pulses of the statesman, nerves the pen of the scholar, invigorates the voice of the orator, and doubles the energy of the toiler."

Socialism to me is all that is beautiful and beneficial—the brotherhood of man. To the materialistic it is an ideal form of managing our affairs for the best interests of all. The ignorant look upon us as revolutionists; they only

compliment us with their abuse. Our main idea is, that the collectivity (that is all the people collectively) should own all the instruments of production and distribution. Some claim that this is not practical and some say if it is practical that it will not be realized for hundreds of years. They say let us try and get as much temporary relief as possible. I say no let us have a permanent and speedy cure. If you aim high, you may hit the middle, if you aim a little above the bottom you won't strike much higher than the bottom. The arrow of achievement in its flight always falls a prey to the law of gravitation. Some say, let us break up these huge monopolies, the trusts, and all will be right. That is one of the most foolish arguments I have ever heard. To go back to old methods of competition and waste, a system where the object is to steal from your neighbor, steal his trade, steal his reputation; a system of the greatest roguery and the greatest chievery, getting the best of everything. Why do we not break up the postoffice? That is a monopoly. It is true it could be managed much better than it is, but why? Because now the railroads compel the government to pay exorbitant prices for carrying the mail, private monopolies control the prices of even such small things as the paper used for stamps and the card board used for postal, and private monopolies control the price of everything else used by the postoffice, yet even as it is, is it not managed far better than any competitive business? And it would pay a much larger revenue did it not do so much educational work in carrying your books, newspapers and other educational matter for almost nothing? And how did the government get control of the postoffice? The same way as we propose to get control of all other monopolies now in private hands. At first, mail was delivered by private messengers. Then a few of them in one place got together and formed a little company, a few more somewhere else formed another company, and so on until there were many private companies. Finally all these companies got together and combined; when their combination had been perfected, the government seized it by taking to itself all rights of delivering mail. Just compare the methods of the postoffice with those of the competitive business methods. Supposing you wanted to send out about twenty-five Christmas presents and you hired a messenger and paid him fifty cents apiece to deliver them, \$12.50 in all. Next door to you Jones had about twenty-five Christmas presents to deliver, and he paid \$12.50, and his neighbor had twenty-five presents to be delivered, and so on. Now, supposing you and Jones and another neighbor got together and hired one man to deliver the seventy-five presents and you paid him \$5 for doing it. Instead of \$37.50, which you three paid before, you pay only \$5, and save \$32.50. Now supposing you found that every man on your block had about twenty-five presents to be delivered and you called a meeting of them all in your parlor some evening and you said, now we each have about twenty-five Christmas presents to deliver and I find that many of us have presents going to the same house or the house next door, and so you said let us all combine and hire ten men for \$100 to deliver all of our presents, which they could do in one day, because they would leave five or six in one house and five or six next door and so on. If there were 100 of you, you would save the difference between \$100, which you pay the ten men, and \$12.50, the total which you would have to pay to have each one's present delivered separately. You see by systematizing the work you would save the unnecessary labor of many men. Some would say, well, that throws just so many out of work. What we want to do is to give men work, give employment to labor. If that's all they want to do why not let them all build a big tank on the seashore and work all day filling it with water and at night let all the water run out again or dig a big hole in the ground and then fill it up again. That would be giving employment to labor. But that would be waste, it would be useless labor, non-producing labor. If the commonwealth owned the soil we could take that same energy, that same labor and set it to work on some unoccupied field and produce bread for those that are now starving, or if the commonwealth owned the machinery of production we could take that same labor and set it to work in the now idle factories to make clothes for those who now have none. What we must do is to eliminate this waste of labor and energy, this non-producing labor and set it to work producing something instead of killing time with useless non-producing employment. To go back to co-operation, if John Smith and I can save labor and push six large stones from our yard in one day by pushing them out both together and only one each a day by slowly rolling them out each alone, is it not better for us to co-operate? Combination, co-operation is a good thing. The trusts are a good thing; they are a fine co-operative system. But it is the co-operation of the few to the detriment of the many. Why not let us all co-operate? Let us all get in the trusts or own the trusts and co-operate for the mutual benefit of us all. Some say, how can you get info

the trusts? They won't let you in. Let the government take them as it did the postoffice. They have fattened on special privileges granted them by the government or community, they have in reality been created by the community and the community is entitled to own that which it has created. Some say if we had ideal socialism there would be no incentive of gain. That seems to be the chief objection to Socialism. When they say this, they have it in their minds that money is the only incentive of gain. Really, money is only one of many. There are the incentives of leaving your name to posterity, of gaining the admiration of your fellowmen, of being admired as great poets, great painters, sculptors, actors, etc. The love of money is only one incentive and under our system it would be the love of the miser only, for money would be of no value except to look at. The opposer of Socialism teaches that man would rather do wrong than right; we say man would rather do right than wrong, that if he had plenty to eat, plenty of clothes to wear and a place to sleep, that man would not steal or cheat. You know you would rather not take the living of the storekeeper next door to you away if it was not that by doing it you would have more food and clothes for yourself and family. You would rather live in peace with your neighbor if you could do so and both have enough of the necessities of life. Man is at heart good, and you know it. Another great objection comes from the so-called middle class. They say: I do not want to give up what I've saved and share it with Jones who has not saved anything. There is not one of them, gentlemen, who would not give up a little house and lot for the promise of the government, to insure him and his, a chance to earn a living. Even if there be a few that wouldn't; their house and lot will be finally taken by the larger capitalist, anyway, so they cannot lose any more through Socialism, and they have everything to gain through it. And to close, let me say, in the words of the poet, Macaulay:

"We need no aid of barricade to show a front to wrong,
We have a citadel in Truth more durable and strong.
Calm words, great thoughts, unflinching faith
Have never striven in vain,
They've won our battle many a time, and so they shall again."

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

Austria

The 11,000 miners at Kladno have had to go back to work on the master's terms, after being on strike for nearly three months. It is the old story of a strike being entered into without adequate preparation. Strike is war, and it is no use fighting, however just the cause, if you are not well organized beforehand. It is said that the men are going to form a strong union.

The weavers at Warnsdorf have also gone back to work, and have succeeded in obtaining the ten-hour day.

The new Polish Socialist paper published at Lemberg—the Naprzod (Forward)—is struggling with the Censor. It has already been seized four times, though it is barely a month old. A French journalist under the Empire said that it was the Censor who enabled a man to show if he was skillful or not. With a free press anyone could write, but if it was a muzzled press then it required a clever man to write and yet keep within the law.

The Socialists at Lemberg have held a great demonstration in favor of universal suffrage.

Efforts are being made in Vienna to establish a woman's club.

Bishop Lobos, of Tarnow, is dead. He was interesting as a survival of an old-fashioned ecclesiastic; he never dabbled with Socialism, but in his pastorals he used always to refer to Socialists as allies of the Devil and as inspired by evil spirits. And yet the poor old man saw Socialism increase in his diocese in Galicia.

Germany

A new hall has been built at Berlin—the German name is very long, as usual—but the object of the hall is to provide a place for offices of the various trade unions, and there is also a large hall, which can be used for meetings. The place will be managed by the different trade unions, and will be very similar to the Paris Bourse de Travail.

The annual congress of the German Socialist Party will be held in September at Mayence, in Rhenish Prussia. In Easter week there were several local congresses of Socialists, as, for example, the Wurtemberg Congress at Stuttgart, the Saxon at Dresden, and the German Poles at Berlin.

It is said that Dr. Arons, the lecturer who was dismissed by the Prussian government for being a Socialist, will be the candidate of the party at Magdeburg for the seat which is vacant through Oertel's death. The choice, however, has not been finally made.

Italy

Ciccotti has been selected as the Socialist candidate for one of the divisions of Milan, and up till now there is no other candidate.

Subscribe for the Herald.

NEW BRANCHES

The new branches of the Social Democratic party organized since a week ago, are located at

Buntingville, Cal.
Lowell, Mass.
North Ontario, Cal.
Saginaw, Mich.
Evansville, Ind.
Muscatine, Iowa.
Louisville, Ky.
East Braintree, Mass.
Independence, Mo.
Madison, Maine.
Somerville, Conn.
Logan, Utah.

New Hampshire Convention

The Social Democratic Party of New Hampshire will hold a state convention on Saturday, May 12, 1900, at 10 o'clock a. m., at City Hall, Manchester, N. H., for the purpose of nominating presidential electors and a full state ticket; also to nominate two candidates for congress and to transact such other business as may come before the convention.

F. G. R. Gordon, Chairman.
Daniel Fisher, Secretary.

In Aristocratic Pasadena

We send greeting to comrades throughout the land and wish them to know that we are doing a little something to help the cause along and that Socialism is gaining ground even here in wealthy and aristocratic Pasadena. At the municipal election in April we had candidates in the field for three trustees, the first time in its history that the city ever had a Socialist ticket. Out of 1,254, the whole number of votes cast, one of our candidates received 61, one 65 and one 93, an average of 6 per cent, thus giving us a standing as a political party. As I said, this is the first time a Socialist ticket was ever run in the city; four years ago, at the general election, I am told there was one vote for the S. L. P. We feel encouraged. We are at present holding weekly meetings at the board of trade rooms and hope to be in good shape for the campaign of 1900, and poll a good, respectable vote for Debs and Harriman. And in closing I cannot refrain from speaking a good word for these able men and true Socialists. Debs created unbounded enthusiasm when here by his masterly presentation of our principles, and Harriman has lived among us for many years and we all know him to be true blue. Nothing will give me, and many others here, greater pleasure than to have an opportunity to cast a ballot for this ticket.

O. T. Fellows.
Pasadena, Cal.

The following county ticket has been nominated by the Social Democrats of Butler county, Missouri:

Representative—Carl Knecht.
Sheriff—A. C. Ford.
Collector—B. R. Armstrong.
Treasurer—J. C. Roberts.
Assessor—R. C. Edwell.
Public Administrator—J. I. Simpson.
Judge Western District—H. C. McCullough.
Judge Eastern District—G. W. Clemm.

To Tennessee Socialists: For the purpose of organizing branches and putting a ticket out this fall, the undersigned urges that you write to him at once. Also send him a list of all unattached Socialists. Wm. L. Hamilton, Organizer Branch No. 1, 323 Russell street, Nashville, Tenn.

A successful college or university president nowadays is one who can beg the largest donations.

To Our Washington Readers

Comrade D. Burgess of New Whatcom, Wash., has been selected as organizer for the state and is prepared to assist the Socialists of Washington in organizing branches of the S. D. P. Correspondence addressed to him will receive prompt attention.

North Dakota Socialists

Socialists residing in North Dakota and desiring to organize for effective propaganda work in that state are requested to correspond with Math. Eidsness, Towner, N. D.

Michigan Socialists

All Social Democrats and all unattached Socialists residing in Michigan are requested to write at once to Henry Ramsey, 84 Railroad street, Battle Creek, Mich., and thus aid in placing a Social Democratic state ticket in the field this fall.

California Socialists

Socialists resident in California and not members of the Social Democratic party are requested to communicate with John Carter, 929 Twenty-second street, San Francisco.

Attention, Nebraska

Persons living in Nebraska and accepting the principles of Socialism are requested to communicate with T. A. Edwards, 3220 California street, Omaha, with a view to the organization of branches of the Social Democratic party.

Arizona Socialists

In every community should correspond with M. J. Casper, Box 178, Globe, Tucson, Ariz. We have plans for keeping organizers in the field to organize branches in every town in Arizona before November; 500 Socialists pledging 25 cents per month each will do it. Don't miss it—write at once.

To Our Connecticut Readers

All unattached Socialists in the state of Connecticut are requested to write Louis Schlaf, 26 Spring street, Rockville, for information concerning the organization of branches.

Southern California, Attention

All Socialists in the seven southern counties of Southern California should now get to work and so far as possible form branches in every voting precinct. To further this end communicate at once with James T. VanRensselaer, 1618 Tabor street, Los Angeles, Cal.

To Texas Socialists

For purpose of State organization, the Bonham Social Democratic Branch requests that every Socialist in Texas who reads this notice, will please send name and address to the undersigned. Please attend to this at once. W. E. Farmer, Bonham, Texas.

All Socialist papers please publish.

Oregon Socialists, Attention

You are requested to communicate with J. D. Stevens, Box 204, Portland, organizer for the S. D. P., with a view to instituting branches of the party in your community. The future belongs to Socialism. Lend a hand and get your state thoroughly organized.

PRACTICAL SOCIALISM

By Charles Treuch

Would a socialistic form of government effect a substantial and beneficial change in the condition of the working classes? Though this question has been often answered before, further explanation may not be out of order, at a time when Socialism is regarded with deadly aversion by capitalists who pay liberally to have it reviled and misrepresented. Nor ought it to be forgotten that a thousand evil prophecies have been uttered against it, none of which have yet been fulfilled.

Socialism may be broadly defined as a system of human government by which the distinction between labor and capital is abolished, and the bounty which the Creator intended for all is divided among all. Its purpose is, also, to do away with the prevailing system of capitalism which gorges the few and condemns the many to rags and starvation.

A western farmer asked me, a few weeks ago, if Socialism would enable him to make improvements on his farm without the immediate liability of having his rent raised. He is, now, a tenant at will of an Irish landlord, who collects rack-rents over an area of seventy thousand acres.

Socialism, I answered, is peculiarly adapted to the needs of all farmers, especially those who pay rent to absentee landlords. In the first place, your rent would amount to a mere fractional part of what you pay to the present owner. In the next place, all tariffs would be abolished, as well as extortionate freight charges. You would, further, be rid of the horde of monopolists, robbers and deadbeats that are now riding upon the back of industry.

Under the regime of Socialism your farming implements, clothing, and all other commodities would be purchasable at cost prices. Even the old feudal system is preferable to the modern one, in which you pay four enormous profits on every manufactured article you consume. Finally, you would have no taxes to pay; for the people, collectively owning every acre of land in the country, the rent therefrom would be amply sufficient to defray all the expenses of running the government.

After listening attentively to these statements the farmer frankly avowed that my arguments had made him a convert to Socialism. He further announced his intention of casting his ballot for Eugene V. Debs, whose plain title of "comrade" had, in his eyes, a more majestic sound than the proudest distinction which kings or potentates could confer.

Let us, now, pass from the prairies to a three-room tenement in one of the eastern states. Here, is an unusually intelligent artisan, whose face is an emblem of care and resignation. His wife and three children look as unhealthy as if they had come out of their graves. He knew, absolutely, nothing about Socialism, owing mainly to the political spy-system practiced in the factory in which he was employed. "Any man," he said, "who ventured to express any radical views on political economy was pretty sure of losing his job."

Heaving a deep sigh, he informed me that it was only by the strictest economy and self-denial that he and his wife, for ten tiresome years, had been enabled to exist. Would Socialism, he inquired, enable him to make ends meet and ease the burdens which rendered life intolerable.

"Most certainly it would," I replied. "Its leading features—are sufficiently plain. Socialism means the establishment of a free self-governing type of industry of the people, by the people, and for the people. The methods of production, distribution and exchange would be carried on by free associated workers. The entire surplus of production, which now falls to the capitalist, would be fairly divided among the operatives, thereby securing to each the full product of his labor."

Another important point should be clearly understood: it is, that a socialistic government would provide the working classes with the necessities of life at cost prices.

The sycophants and hirelings of capitalism tell you that Socialism is an impracticable dream, impossible to realize. But it is impossible for audacious lying to prevail against facts. It is worthy of notice that the elite of the workingmen, of probably, the best educated and most thoughtful nation in the world, have gone over to Socialism. In 1890 the Social Democracy polled 1,420,000 votes, and furnish the large contingent of forty-eight members to the German Reichstag.

Look again at London! Socialism, under the leadership of the famous John Burns, has achieved economic triumphs that are wonderful. The great metropolis, roused into activity by the resolute and menacing attitude of Socialism, provides municipal lodging houses, winter swimming baths, lavatories, laundries, bakeries, electric lights, savings banks and scores of other public utilities, which tend to relieve the cares and burdens of the laboring classes.

All these are examples of practical Socialism, through which classes will cease to exist. Its advent, in the near future, is as inevitable as the rising of tomorrow's sun.

THE SLAUGHTER OF THE INNOCENT

By W. W. Passage.

The following is a local news item copied from the February 28, 1900, issue of one of the great New York dailies:

"Thirty-eight dead babies in the morgue were mute evidence that yesterday was the coldest day of the winter. One of them, two days old, found in front of No. 247 West Forty-sixth street, had been actually frozen to death. It was wrapped only in a thin piece of muslin. The other bodies were 'unclaimed' dead, their parents being too poor to bury them."

What awful significance has this when we stop to consider that it is the record for but one day, and one city of many! Thirty-eight innocent babes, starved, frozen or perished from lack of medical attention; consigned to unnamed and unknown graves, in a city which boasts of scores of millionaires!

We read with feelings of horror of the ancient custom of the mother standing on the banks of the River Ganges, and, impelled by religious superstition, casting her babe into the dark water, where ferocious crocodiles waited to crush out the young life into which was concentrated that sacred maternal love of offspring, that instinctive, burning passion so intense, both in mankind and the lower animals, that no physical or material sacrifice is great enough to prevent its gratification.

But what difference whether the babe be torn from its mother's loving heart to satisfy the wrath or caprice of a heathen god or in obedience to the equally cruel demands of economic necessity—the god of commerce? Just this, and only this: The former was the ignorant act of a fanatical, barbaric social order; the latter is the conscious neglect of a more barbaric—because conscious—social order, which its chartering sponsors call "Christian civilization."

Merciful God, what a hideous caricature of Christianity! What a burlesque upon civilization! Suppose the parents of these babes were dissipated and improvident, or even worse. Has organized society no concern that the penalty falls upon their helpless offspring? Has the cancer of commercialism so eaten out the soul of our people that they have no pity, no sentiment, no strong arm of justice and no courage to stretch it forth in protection of these innocent babes and defiantly tax down to the last sou, if necessary, the surplus of those who spend \$50 each for caskets in which to bury pet dogs?

If the injunction "Go sell what thou hast and give to the poor" does not mean at least that so long as anybody has a surplus none should suffer from lack of the necessities of life, then the incident recorded in the scriptures has no meaning at all, and better be omitted from the religious ceremonies of those who, blinded by party idolatry or personal gain, are ever conspiring to prevent the economic emancipation of mankind. Let them have an expurgated edition of the bible, as well as of other great books, so that they may no longer claim the genuine edition as the source of their grotesque inspiration, and thus bring it into disrepute.

Brooklyn, N. Y., March 6, 1900.

The Union Label

on everything you buy is a guarantee that the producers thereof receive a fair rate of wages for its production

Insist on having the label

LOCAL BRANCHES

Notices of Branch Meetings Inserted for 25 Cents per Month

CALIFORNIA

Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evenings, commencing at 8. Admission free. Educational meetings (for members) every Tuesday evening. Sociology, Economics, Public Speaking, etc. Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening.

Membership, with advantage of Educational Course and Social Democratic Herald free to each member, 25 cents per month. Apply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk street.

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock at Woodman's Hall, 1234 Spring St. J. Frank, 700 Dayton Ave., Secretary.

Branch No. 3, Alameda, California, holds free public meetings every 2d and 4th Sunday, 8 p. m. at Foresters' Hall, corner Park St. and Santa Clara Ave. Business and Educational meetings (for members) 1st and 3rd Mondays, 8 p. m. at 2405 Eccles Ave. Allan A. Crockett, Secretary, 1610 Walnut St.

COLORADO

Branch No. 1, Denver, meets every Sunday at 3:00 p. m. at 1715 California Ave. Chas. M. Davis, Secretary, 1629 17th Street.

Branch No. 2, Goldfield, meets every Sunday at 7:30 p. m. at City Hall. Chas. La Camp, Secretary.

CONNECTICUT

The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at Turn Hall, Rockville. L. Schlaf, Secretary.

Branch No. 3, New Haven, meets every Tuesday evening, at 196 State St., at 8 p. m. Cornelius Mabson, Secretary, 165 Frank St.

Branch No. 1, Rockville, Conn., meets first and third Thursdays at Turn Hall meeting room, Village street. Secretary, Richard Niederwieser, Box 760.

ILLINOIS

Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 53 Dearborn St.

Branch No. 1, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening. Thomas Kirwin, Secretary, 254 Westworth Ave.

Branch No. 3 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays at 3 p. m. at Nagi's Hall, Blue Island Ave. Václav Jelínek, Secretary, 606 Blue Island Ave.

Branch No. 3 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Mondays at 8 p. m. in Dunder's place, 1050 W. 11th place. Joseph Dunder, Secretary.

Branch No. 3, Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays of each month at Andr. Muzik's, 40 String St. Paul Chajecsky, Secretary, 364 Noble St.

Branch No. 8, Chicago, meets every first and third Saturdays each month at 8 o'clock at Nagi's Hall, 535 Blue Island Ave., near 18th St. Albin Giesler, Secretary, 726 W. 20th St.

Branch No. 8, (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays, at 9 p. m. at 5422 Lincoln Street. J. A. Ambros, Secretary, 4940 Wood Street.

Branch No. 9, Chicago, meets at 1145 W. 63rd st., first and third Sundays at 3 p. m. Roswell H. Johnson, Secretary, 652 E. 57th St.

INDIANA

Branch No. 6, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichwein's Hall, corner Market and Noble Sts.

IOWA

Branch No. 2, Hittman, meets every fourth Friday the month at opera house, 3 E. Jackson, chairman in James Fisher, organizer; Joseph Scholastic, secretary.

Branch No. 2, Covington, meets first and third Wednesday evenings and second and fourth Sunday afternoons of each month. All agitation meetings except third meeting in month. Good speakers. Secretary, F. C. Stumpf, 201 8th street.

MARYLAND

Branch No. 1, Baltimore, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m. at Carpenter's Hall, 560 E. Baltimore St. Public invited.

Branch No. 2, Baltimore, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at Weyland Hotel, 328 W. Camden St. Good speakers. Public invited. Lewis T. Jones, Secretary, 292 W. Barre st.

MASSACHUSETTS

The Massachusetts State Committee meets the first Saturday of each month at 724 Washington St., Boston. All dues and moneys intended for the State Committee should be sent to the financial secretary, A. McDonald, 104 W. Springfield St., Boston. All other correspondence should be addressed to the Corresponding Secretary, Margaret Hallie, 5 Glenwood St., Roxbury.

Branch No. 2, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Mondays of each month at Springfield Turner Hall, 1 E. Union St., Organizer 587, Sumner St.

Branch No. 5, Lynn, permanent headquarters, 71 Monroe St. Business meeting every Monday night at 7:30. Open house. Public invited. Harry Gotimer, Sec., 423 Essex St.

Branch No. 9, Brookton, meets the second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at 8 p. m. for business at Socialist Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Center Sts. Business is expected to attend one meeting a month. Frank S. Walsh, Secretary, 55 Green St.

Branch No. 15, East Boston, meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 90 Chelsea St. Miss Jenny Seal, Secretary, 99 Chelsea St.

Branch No. 18, Newburyport, meets the second Monday of each month, at Lester's Hall, 87 Pleasant St. T. H. Chisnell, Secretary, 16 Collins St. A. L. Binley, 288 Merrimack St.

Branch No. 21, Chelsea, permanent headquarters, Room 2, Postoffice Building. Open every evening. Business meetings every Thursday at 8 p. m. Public invited.

Branch No. 1, Battle Creek, Mich., meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of each month, at 3 p. m. at 10 W. Main Street, in the International Congress Hall. All are cordially invited. L. C. Rogers, Secretary.

MINNESOTA

Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Geaswein, on Main St. A. Kingsbury, Secretary.

MISSOURI

St. Louis headquarters, Room 7, 23 N. Fourth St. Address all communications to E. Val Putnam, Secretary. For information concerning ward branches, inquire at the above address.

Branch No. 7, Kansas City, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1300 Union Ave. G. J. Storz, Secretary, 1330 W. 9th St.

MONTANA

Branch No. 2 meets first and third Sundays of each month at G. W. Wood's home, Chico, Mont.

NEW JERSEY

Branch No. 1, Secretary, Michael W. Schor, 87 Livingston St.

Branch No. 5, Camden, N. J., meets every 2d Sunday of the month. For particulars address Paul Eberding, 1238 Knight's Avenue.

Branch No. 6 (German), Paterson, N. J., meets every 2nd and 4th Monday at 8 p. m. at Helzer's Hall, 34-36 Van Houten St. Karl Linder, Secretary, 245 Edmond St.

NEW YORK

The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York and vicinity meets first and third Tuesdays of every month in Wislitz's Hall, 25 E. 4th St. Elizabeth H. Thomas, Secretary.

East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every 2nd and 4th Thursday at 113 Clinton St. A. Guyer, Secretary, 168 Suffolk St.

Branch No. 3, 34th Assembly District, meets second and fourth Wednesdays of the month at 1069 Second Ave., at the "Central." Henry Lane, Secretary, 324 E. 6th St.

Branch No. 4, West Side Branch, New York, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of every month at headquarters, 188 W. 90th St. Elizabeth H. Thomas, Secretary.

Branch No. 5 Brooklyn, New York, meets every Saturday at 8 p. m. at 56 Moore St. Visitors welcome. Comrades desiring to organize should communicate with Secretary Sol. Freeman, 138 Berom St.

Branch No. 10, 4th Assembly District, meets every first and third Wednesdays of the month at the rooms of The Voice of Labor, 423 Grand St. J. P. Fink, Organizer, 139 Division St.

Branch No. 15, Brooklyn, meets first and third Tuesdays at 8:15 sharp. All persons interested are invited to attend these meetings and co-operate in organizing local branches in every district in the city. Wm. Butcher, Secretary, 361 Rutledge St.

Branch No. 20, regular meetings are held first and third Friday of the month, at Webster Hall, 140th St. and Third Ave. Borough of the Bronx, E. Spranger, Secretary, 317 E. 169th St. All persons interested in Socialism and the S. D. P. are invited to attend.

Branch No. 2, Cleveland, meets in Ohlsen's Hall, 6 York St., second and fourth Sundays at 8 p. m. Lectures, discussions, business meetings first and third Sundays at 8 p. m.

Branch No. 3, Cleveland, meets first and third Sundays in each month at 8 p. m. in Ohlsen's Hall, 6 York St. Lectures and discussions.

Branch No. 4, Cincinnati, meets at Richelieu Hall southeast corner 8th and Elm Sts., every Sunday at 2 p. m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Joe Janis, Secretary, 1410 Central Avenue.

Branch No. 3, Dayton, Ohio, meets every 2d and 4th Friday evening, in Hall 27, Central Trades Council Block. Everyone interested in Socialism invited. J. C. Schawe, Chairman, W. Barringer, Secretary, P. O. Box 24.

Branch No. 8, Cincinnati, meets every second and fourth Saturday in Workmen's Hall, 144 Walnut St. F. Hamel, Secretary, 1844 Front St.

Branch No. 11, Germantown, 2nd Greiner, Secretary, 806 Mohawk St.

PENNSYLVANIA

Branch No. 2, Erie, meets every Sunday, 3 p. m., at E. of L. Hall, 716 State St. Chairman, Joseph Stein, Secretary, J. K. Perry, 119 Sessanraas St.

Branch No. 4, Pittsburgh, meets every Thursday evening at 7:30 p. m. at Funk Hall, 5, 24th and Josephine Sts. W. Bohn, President, 24 Addison St. J. H. Lewis, Secretary, 2315 Jane St.

Branch No. 5 (Jewish), Philadelphia, meets every Friday at 423 S. Third St. at 7:30. Discussion from 8 to 9. I. Gerson, Secretary.

Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Tuesday evening of the month at the Ethical Society Building, 533 Jefferson St. Visitors always welcome. Howard Tuttle, Chairman, Eugene H. Rooney, Secretary.

Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Friday in Geatke's Hall, corner Green Bay and Concordia Ave.

Branch No. 4, Sheboygan, meets every fourth Thursday of the month at Gustav Burgard's Hall on Pennsylvania Ave. R. Schoen, Secretary-Treasurer, 8 1/2 St.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday each month at Moller's Hall, corner 23d and Brown Sts. George Moerschel, Secretary, 391 25th St.

Branch No. 9, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at R. Sigel's Hall at southeast corner Orchard St. and 9th Ave. O. Wild, Secretary.

Branch No. 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of each month at Krug's Hall, 11 and Center St. at 8 p. m. Secretary, Rudolph Loeschman, 1126 23rd St.

The Social Democratic

Red Book

PRICE 15 CENTS

Sent postpaid on receipt of price

Debs Publishing Co.

TERRE HAUTE, IND.



IF YOU SYMPATHIZE

WITH

TRADE UNIONS

You will encourage the sale

OF UNION LABEL GOODS

If you want Union Label Shoes demand the above Union Stamp. No shoe is Union made unless it bears the Union Stamp. No charge or royalty for the Union Stamp. Visit your shoe dealer and take no excuse. Send for latest list of factories. Subscribe for "The Union Boot and Shoe Worker," 50 cts per year.

Boot and Shoe Workers Union.

630 Atlantic Ave., Boston, Mass.

BRANCH SUPPLIES

Charters \$2.00
Membership Cards (per 100) 1.00
Membership Applications (100)25
Constitutions (each)03
Send orders with cash to Theodore Debs, 126 Washington Street, Chicago. No supplies sent on credit.

CAMPAIGN FUND

J. N. Wheeler.....Geneva, Ill..... \$1.00
Wm. Williams.....New Glarus, Wis..... .50
J. E. Collins.....New Glarus, Wis..... .50
Geo. Marshall.....Omaha, Neb..... 1.00
A. W. Anderson.....Divide, Mo..... 1.00
W. P. Borland.....Burley, Wash..... .50
Al. Pierson.....Jacksonville, Ill..... .50
\$6.50

PROPAGANDA FUND

B. Levinthal.....New York..... \$0.25
Branch No. 18.....New York..... .50
E. V. Pierce.....Illinois..... .50
Eugene V. Debs.....Indiana..... 1.50
J. S. Ziebler.....Illinois..... .50
Gilbert A. Monette.....Massachusetts..... 3.00
\$6.25

SAVE THE PARTY

To all loyal members of the S. D. P.: "Save the Party," should be the watchword from now on. We are passing through an ordeal that tries men and shows the stuff they are made of. Those who profess to view the perjury of the S. L. P. representatives as of little consequence must not forget that it was those promises that made it possible for the Indianapolis convention to continue its negotiations for unification after the revolt of Thursday night and the apparent splitting of the party into two factions. The assurances of the S. L. P. members was so solemnly given that our mistrust, born of long years of bitter experience, was allayed and the convention resumed Friday morning, joyous in the confidence that the party name would not be placed in jeopardy in the arranging of a union of forces. The real intentions of the S. L. P. was revealed, however, when the conference committee began its sessions.

The report of the meeting of the New York conference given readers of The Herald by Comrade Haile passed over the finale of the first session of the joint committee on conference. This is to be regretted, as our members were entitled to know just what took place there, and more especially as the episode I allude to was the one dramatic event of the entire conference—the nub, in fact, of the whole subsequent controversy. It unmasked the S. L. P. members and exposed their real ulterior motives in "coming courting" to their former hated rival, the S. D. P. I feel justified, therefore, in reviewing that portion of the proceedings, but will try to be as brief as possible.

The feeling ran high at Indianapolis when the minority report on unification was passed, and only a spark was needed to cause an explosion. The spark was furnished by Comrade Carey, who made no secret of his desire for a new party. When, after Debs had declined, he moved to indorse both the nominees of the S. L. P. there was a revolt such as is seldom witnessed in a national convention. Only a motion to adjourn finally saved the convention from breaking up in a riot. To all intents and purposes the party had split in twain and instead of three Socialist parties it looked very much as if there would from thenceforth be four. There was dejection on all faces, and one or two delegates even left for their homes feeling that they had actually witnessed the dissolution of the party that had been their pride and hope. That evening various attempts were made to harmonize the warring elements. One of the results of this distressing state of things was the final, reluctant consent of Eugene V. Debs to accept a presidential nomination in order that the party might be saved. Another was the pledge given by the S. L. P. representatives, Harriman, Hilquit and Hayes, to agree to a unification of the parties under the name, Social Democratic Party. They saw that there was no other way out, that if they did not yield this point that the plan for union would come to a stop, as the S. D. P. would itself divide into factions. This action of the S. L. P. members made it possible for the factions in our convention to come together again, and this, and Comrade Debs' acceptance of the presidential nomination made the final day's session a veritable love feast. A committee of nine on unification was named and so great was the trust in the assurances of the S. L. P. delegates that the party name would not be placed in jeopardy that the minority report was left undisturbed, it being felt that the intent of the convention was so clear and undisputed that no danger could be looked for from that source. When we of the committee of nine held a session after the convention was over, Hilquit of New York asked that the regular joint session of the two party committees be held in New York two weeks from that date. He wanted the deliberations held in his city, he said, because it was the head center of his party and it would thus be the easier to reconcile his people to the understanding about the name. He wanted the date fixed as he requested because he felt that two weeks' work would be sufficient to prepare his people for the name. One objection that we of the west (Hoehn excepted) had to the date asked for was that there was strong probability that Comrade Berger (who had received the highest number of votes when our committee was chosen) would be unable to attend, owing to the fact that he expected an increase in his family at about that date. Upon learning this, the S. L. P. members insisted the more, and enough of our committee thoughtlessly walked into the snare to give the proposition enough votes to carry it. I also wished for another date, as it would take me away from the Milwaukee campaign, which I had to desert already to be present at the convention in Indianapolis. The conference of the two committees, as you know, convened in New York, Sunday morning, two weeks later. After some preliminaries had been gone through, I was distressed to find that instead of legislating for the best interests of a future movement, a determination to dicker for partisan advantage, especially on the part of the S. L. P. members, began to manifest itself, and I finally arose and urged

that we drop all idea of party interests and direct all our efforts at doing the things that were wisest for the future. I think most of our committee felt the same as I did, but it soon became manifest that the S. L. P.'s did not. To my astonishment Benham led off with a long written speech on the subject of party name, in which he attacked the name, Social Democratic Party, in a pettifogging way. Some of the arguments were laughable, others were discreditable as coming from an avowed Socialist. It thus became evident that the S. L. P. intended to make the name an issue after all, and I was naturally indignant that our people should have been thus lured into our opponent's territory under false pretenses. I wondered what attitude Hilquit, Harriman and Hayes would take, and resolved that if they went back on their pledges that I would urge the withdrawal of our committee. When Benham had finished, Hilquit followed in his turn with an indorsement of Benham's arguments (the paper of Benham's had been prepared the night before, it appears, in a caucus held by the S. L. P. people. Our people held none, not supposing that we were there for sharp party bargainings). Later, Harriman, in a cautiously worded speech, also proved recreant to his pledges. As the floor had to be spoken for in advance, I then said that I wished to speak on the subject, but that I first wished to hear what Committeeman Hayes had to say (he having been loudest in his promises to work for the name, Social Democratic party). A moment later Hayes took up his hat and slipped quietly out of the hall, and he did not return during the balance of the session. It had now become late, and we had practically wasted a day in arguing over the name matter, when it had been understood that it was not to be subject for discussion. I therefore moved that the spectators, who almost crowded the hall to suffocation, be asked to retire, as I had a matter I wished to bring forward, that for the sake of the S. L. P. members I preferred to have discussed in the presence of the committee only. I assured the spectators that they would know all that took place in proper time, as the committee was having shorthand notes taken of the entire proceedings. When the crowd had retired I took the floor and reviewed the meeting at Indianapolis and the reasons urged for holding the conference in New York, charging bad faith and broken pledges. A hot debate ensued, Harriman and Hilquit making the excuses for their conduct already known to you. Finally, as it was already well into the evening, an adjournment had to be taken, as the hall was rented for another purpose. I supposed that the majority of our committee would refuse to go on with the conference because of the trick played upon us, but at a caucus we held later in the evening I found that this was not to be expected. One or two of the members did not seem to grasp the true significance of the situation, and Comrades Haile and Stedman, and also Lonergan, felt practically as I did, but wanted to go on with the conference and thus get the full measure of the S. L. P. game. Alas! they got it in full and heaping measure! They had the privilege of seeing the plan adroitly laid to take the movement as far away as possible from the environment in which it had grown to lusty strength, the headquarters tucked away in a corner in easy reach of New York, the Social Democratic Herald throttled, and the name wiped off the slate, etc., etc.

I told them in our caucus that they would be tricked at every point, and that the conference had turned out to be a battle of wits instead of a sober-minded meeting in the true interests of the Socialist movement. If they went ahead they must not count on me. I lay awake a good share of the night thinking the situation over, and in the morning announced my decision to have nothing more to do with the conference. I was not able to persuade the others to take a like stand, however, but I predicted to them just about what the outcome proved to be.

So much for the unreported part of the conference. Now to other matters. Messrs. Harriman and Hilquit in their joint letter say I was satisfied with their explanation as to their broken promises. This is not true, and I am forced to say that they knew it was not when they wrote it. Benham says Hayes did not attack the name S. D. P. But that was not Hayes' offense. Instead of supporting the name vigorously, as he promised, he printed a few perfunctory lines in his paper, and at the conference ran away when specially called on to express himself on the subject. His excuse is that he had to speak at certain meetings. What sort of an excuse is this? Harriman and Hilquit conveniently quote from the stenographic report of the conference. Why has that stenographic report been withheld from the members of both parties? The S. L. P. has the report, the stenographer being employed in Hilquit's office. Are there things in it (such, for instance, as the rabid speeches of Sieverman and Stone) that they wish to suppress?

Comrade Butcher says Comrade Berger violated a great trust by not attending the conference, and that he should have notified the committee that he could not be present, so some one

could be secured in his stead. This sounds well from a man whose vote helped make it impossible for Berger to be present. The fact is that Comrade Berger did not give up hope of being present until the committee was actually in session. I did not know when I left Milwaukee whether or not he might not be able to follow on a later train. It all depended on how matters went in his household. I told Butcher so when I reached New York. Perhaps he has forgotten.

The New York conference gave the lie to all the protestations of good and disinterested intentions made to us by the representatives of the S. L. P. and should put us on our guard in all future dealings with that party. We have in our keeping the integrity of the Social Democratic movement, and we must not undervalue the trust. The only way to an united Socialist movement in this country is through the steady, onward, self-respecting advance of the Social Democratic Party. These men who are so friendly and innocent now, that union will save their party from dissolution, were members and fellow-workers with our detractors, yet never raised a finger in protest. Why? Because at least some of them were themselves engaged in throwing mud at us. Did any one hear a protest from Job. Harriman, Moritz Hilquit? Or from Sieverman, Malkiel, LaMonte, Stone or Matchett? Only recently the last named referred to us as "a semi-socialistic party!" Harriman, until only recently, gave the attacks on us the sanction of his silence. He now asks us to believe that the S. L. P. on July 10 last put an end to the abuse of our party; but that is not true. "We put the man who was doing such work out of the party last July," he says (and this is still further untrue, as DeLeon was not put out of the party—the party split into two factions), "and repudiated his actions and methods." Is that true, Mr. Harriman? Let us see. Among those having seats of honor on the stage at the "Unification" meeting at Cooper Union shortly after the New York conference was Malkiel (my sentimental friend Butcher will probably insist that it is "Comrade" Malkiel). Now I want to quote briefly from an article of Malkiel's in the anti-DeLeon People of quite recent date, in which he calls the Social Democratic Party a middle-class party, made up of "Capitalist politicians out of a job, adventurers, political tricksters, working-men both honest and dishonest, etc." Debs, he says, was used as a cloak to get workingmen into the party, and then the fellow continues, "I will not refer to Debs or his personality, although much can be said which will throw a bright light upon subsequent events." Nor am I quoting the most miserable parts of his article, either. He speaks of our "unclean membership" and compares Debs with DeLeon!

The fact is that the split in the S. L. P. did not divide the sheep from the goats. It was a trial of strength for the mastery of the party machinery, and when the big fight was over the conduct of each faction showed how much alike they were. DeLeon called the Volkszeitung people "kangaroos," and the Volkszeitung people called the DeLeonites "skunks." And even though the Volkszeitung people were on their frenzy that is now demanding union at any cost (and yet surprising, considering the prominence of the persons who descend to it), is found in the statement issued by the majority of the conference committee. It holds that the manifesto of the national board was a usurpation and then gives out this great scintillation of statesmanship: "And though no other reason existed, THIS ONE alone justifies the members of the S. D. P. in voting yes on the question of union."

Think of it! Upon such a petty reason as this men like Butcher, Lonergan, Hoehn, Carey and Chase would hang the fate of the Social Democratic Party.

As I write I find that the S. L. P. is rushing in a vote of its members on the report of the majority of the conference. See the game and the fairness of it! This shuts off a vote on a possible minority report and is also calculated to impress some of our emotional members of the great desire of the S. L. P. for union. We have in our midst men who think more of the S. L. P. than they do of their own party, and these will doubtless see nothing unfair in this conduct of the other side. But even if the plan for unification falls through, the S. L. P. will have won any way! It will have succeeded in bringing dissension into the ranks of its rival, and this will give it a chance for a little longer life than it could have otherwise expected. It will have "mussed us up" in the midst of a presidential year, and just at a time when we were ready to sweep everything before us. The S. L. P. is a bird of ill-omen. It has brought trouble to everything it has come in contact with. It remains to be seen how seriously we shall suffer from our brief experience.

Frederic Heath.

CLUBBING OFFERS

The Herald and Appeal to Reason .70
" " " Public Ownership .70
" " " Co-operator .70
Order from THEODORE DEBS,
126 Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

THE PLATFORM

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness depend upon equal political and economic rights.

In our economic development an industrial revolution has taken place, the individual tool of former years having become the social tool of the present. The individual tool was owned by the worker who employed himself and was master of his product. The social tool, the machine, is owned by the capitalist and the worker is dependent upon him for employment. The capitalist thus becomes the master of himself a large share of the product of his labor.

Capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people; but the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system will necessitate the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare.

The present system of social production and private ownership is rapidly converting society into two antagonistic classes—i. e., the capitalist class and the propertyless class. The middle class, once the most powerful of this great nation, is disappearing in the mill of competition. The issue is now between the two classes first named. Our political liberty is now of little value to the masses unless used to acquire economic liberty.

Independent political action and the trade union movement are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its political, the other its economic wing, and both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system.

Therefore the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be:

First—The organization of the working class into a political party to conquer the public powers now controlled by capitalists.

Second—The abolition of wage-slavery by the establishment of a national system of co-operative industry, based upon the social or common ownership of the means of production and distribution, to be administered by society in the common interest of all its members, and the complete emancipation of the socially useful classes from the domination of capitalism.

The working class and all those in sympathy with their historic mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America.

The control of political power by the Social Democratic party will be tantamount to the abolition of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting the millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international Socialism, the brotherhood of man.

As steps in that direction, we make the following demands:

First—Revision of our federal constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to complete control of government by the people irrespective of sex.

Second—The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

Third—The public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones; all means of transportation, and communication; all water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

Fourth—The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal, and other mines, and all oil and gas wells.

Fifth—The reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

Sixth—The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

Seventh—Useful inventions to be free, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

Eighth—Labor legislation to be national, instead of local, and international when possible.

Ninth—National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.

Tenth—Equal civil and political rights, for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

Eleventh—The adoption of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

Twelfth—Abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

ATTITUDE TOWARD TRADES UNIONS

In accordance with our declaration of principles we declare that the trades union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the wage-working class. We recommend to the members of the Social Democratic party the following general rules:

First—Join the union of your respective trade.

Second—Assist in building up and strengthening the trade union movement.

Third—Support the union labels of all crafts.

Fourth—Educate your fellow-unionists on the question of Socialism and the labor movement, on economic and political lines.

Fifth—It shall be your duty to work for the unity of the labor movement, thereby recognizing the fact that the emancipation of the working class can only be achieved by the united efforts of this class.

Sixth—Educate the members of the unions in the principles of Socialism and induce them, individually, to affiliate with the Social Democratic party.

Seventh—Trades unions are by historical necessity organized on neutral grounds, as far as political affiliation is concerned. The trades union is the arena where all wage-workers may be brought together for joint action to resist the encroachments of capitalism on the economic field and to participate in the class struggle of the proletariat which will finally develop into the political alignment of the forces of labor in the struggle for proletarian emancipation.

The Sixth Annual Issue of

The Labour Annual

is now ready, edited and published by Joseph Edwards, Wallasey, Cheshire, England

The "American Section" (edited by Leonard D. Abbott) contains the following: "A Year's Work as Socialist Mayor," by John C. Chase; "A Year as Socialist Legislator," by James V. Carey; "Socialism in America During 1899," etc. There are full lists of American reformers, organizations and books. In all, there are over 60 original articles, and 46 portraits, including Carey, Goldman, Barron, Mayor Jones and John Swinburn. Price 60 cts., Paper 35 cts.

Send orders to LEONARD D. ABBOTT

234 W. 71st Street, New York

Have your card inserted in the BRANCH DIRECTORY, 25 Cents per Month. It will help you in the work in your locality.

Pocket Library of Socialism

1. Women and the Social Problem. By MAY WOOD BRIDGES. Shows that the emancipation of women will only come with the emancipation of man through socialism.
2. The Evolution of the Class Struggle. By WILLIAM H. WATTS. A historical study showing how socialism is coming.
3. Impassioned Struggles. By ROBERT LATHROP. A masterly answer to the argument that "prudence" would help the laborer.
4. Peckington's. By A. M. SIMONS. A study of the Union Stock Yards, Chicago; how nature and man are alike scientifically exploited.
5. Realism in Literature and Art. By CLARENCE D. DABROW. Shows how the workers of modern art and literature are helping on the new social order.
6. Single Tax vs. Socialism. By A. M. SIMONS. Shows the inadequacy of the Single Tax as a remedy for the evils pointed out by Henry George.
7. Wage-Labor and Capital. By KARL MARX. The essence of the great philosopher's theory, in his own words.
8. The Man Under the Machine. By A. M. SIMONS. Tells how wage slavery began, what it is today and how the workers are going to free themselves. A condensed handbook of socialism.
9. The Flimsiness of the Working Class. By REV. CHARLES H. VAIL, author of "Modern Socialism."
10. Morals and Socialism. By CHARLES H. VAIL. Shows how popular ideas of morals are manipulated in the interest of the capitalist class.
11. Socialist Science. Sixteen good ones, at times every one knows.
12. After Capitalism What? By REV. WILLIAM T. BROWN. A logical historical study showing that socialism must come as the result of forces now at work.
13. A Political Quack Doctor. By W. A. CORRY. A socialist view of the "Prohibition" movement.

Daintily printed, few cents each, post-paid.

SPECIAL OFFER—For one dollar we will mail forty copies of the Pocket Library, all of one kind or assorted as preferred.

SEND ORDERS TO

THEODORE DEBS

126 Washington St., CHICAGO

The Book You Need

PRINCIPLES OF

Scientific Socialism

By Rev. Charles H. Vail

Author "Modern Socialism" and "National Ownership of Railways."

CONTENTS:

- The Industrial Revolution. The Analysis of Value. The Origin of Surplus Value.
- The Advantages of Socialism: Production, Distribution, Elimination of Useless Vocations, Prevention of Waste, Elevation of Workers, Proper Care and Training of Children, Efficient Directors, Solution of the Monetary Question, Abolition of Taxation, Simplification of Government, Benefits to Capitalists, Benefits to Laborers.
- The Evils of the Moral Strength of Socialism: Its Spirit and Aim; Abolition of Business Dishonesty; Restriction of Divorce; Prevention of Prostitution; Elimination of Crime; Prevention of Intemperance, Insanity, etc.
- Poverty—Its Cause and Cure. Wage Slavery vs. Chattel Slavery. Rent and Interest. The Law of Wages. The Law of Progress. Industrial Depressions and Commercial Crises. The Problem of Labor-Saving Machinery.
- Popular Economic Errors: That Value is Determined by Capitalist Cost of Production; that the Interests of Laborers and Capitalists are identical; that Labor is Better Off Today Than Ever Before; that Cheap Prices are Beneficial to Labor; that Foreign Markets are Beneficial to Labor; that Luxury is Beneficial to Labor; that Land Nationalization Would End Social Grievances; that Extravagance is the Chief Cause of Economic Want; that Socialism Would Thwart Inventions and Improvements; that Socialism Would Destroy Individuality. Conclusion and Index.

12mo, 236 Pages; Paper, 35c; Cloth, \$1.00.

SEND ORDERS TO

THEODORE DEBS, 126 Washington St., CHICAGO

Headquarters for Literature.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC.

1. Liberty, Debs, 5c.
 2. Merrie England, Blatchford, 10c.
 3. Municipal Socialism, Gordon, 5c.
 4. Prison Labor, Debs, 5c.
 5. Socialism and Democracy, Hyndman, 5c.
 6. Gov't Ownership of Railways, Gordon, 5c.
 7. Oration on Voltaire, Victor Hugo, 5c.
 8. Evolution of Industry, Watkins, 5c.
 9. Hard Times: Cause and Cure, Gordon, 5c.
 10. Women: Past, Present and Future, Bebel, 5c.
 11. The Red Light, Casan, 25c.
 12. The Pullman Strike, Cardwaine, 25c.
 13. Co-Operative Commonwealth, Ground, 5c.
 14. The New Economy, Ground, 12c.
- MECHANICAL AND ENGINEERING.
15. Progressive Examination of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, Hill, 50c.
 16. Locomotive Running Repairs, Hitchcock, 50c.
 17. Simple Lessons in Drawing for the Shop, Reynolds, 35c.
 18. Air Brake Practice, Phelan, \$1.00.
 19. Ready Reference, Alexander, \$1.50.
 20. Locomotive Running and Management, Sinclair, \$2.00.
 21. Compound Locomotives, Woods, \$2.00.
 22. Twenty Years with the Indicator, Pray, \$2.00.
 23. Hand-Book of the Locomotive, Roper, \$1.50.
 24. New Catechism of the Locomotive, Forney, 65c.

Note.—Nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 in lots of 10 copies, 25 cents; in lots of 100 copies, \$1.50. No. 2 in lots of 10 copies, 50 cents; in lots of 100 copies, \$3.50. Send orders to

DEBS PUBLISHING CO.,

TERRE HAUTE, IND.

NATIONAL FUND

The following is a list of comrades who have agreed, in response to the appeal of the National Executive Board, to contribute monthly for one year to the national fund. Other names will be added as they are received.

- | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| CONNECTICUT | NEW YORK |
| Finsilver, N. H., Hartford | Fales, J. C., Beaconhurst |
| Holman, B., Hartford | Abbott, L. D., New York |
| ILLINOIS | Butcher, Wm., Brooklyn |
| Stedman, S., Chicago | Thomas, E. H., New York |
| Jones Cox, Chicago | Kahane, N. H., New York |
| P. F. Ayer, Chicago | Heis, F. W., New York |
| "A Friend", Chicago | Loupoloy, Jan., New York |
| Dr. J. H. Greer, Chicago | Panken, J., New York |
| Mrs. E. Brown, Chicago | Wapell, Chas., New York |
| "Friend", Chicago | Mark Raphael, New York |
| James Wright, Chicago | Aaron N. Sodom, New York |
| INDIANA | Philip Gruber, New York |
| E. V. Debs, Terre Haute | Bauer, Wm., New York |
| MASSACHUSETTS | Meade, T. F., Brooklyn |
| Flanders, P. B., Haverhill | NEW JERSEY |
| Cohen, A., Boston | Pankopf, Carl, Jersey City |
| Parker, Levi, W. Newton | Karl Lindner, Newark |
| Moore, C. C., Brooklyn | "Comrade", Newark |
| Boosworth, W. F., Brooklyn | OHIO |
| Tate, Peter, Everett | Beaver, Jos., Cleveland |
| Hitchcock, D. G., Warren | Brann, J., Cleveland |
| Goldman, S., Haverhill | Brann, F., Cleveland |
| Hough, E., W. Newton | Altman, C. Cleveland |
| Chase, J. C., Haverhill | PENNSYLVANIA |
| Brown, J. W., Templeton | Lewis, J. H., Pitsburgh |
| Grier, E., Amesbury | F. W. Hirt, Pitsburgh |
| Allen, Helen M., Lynn | TEXAS |
| Koehn, Dr. J. A., Lynn | Price, R. S., Houston |
| Carry, Jas. F., Haverhill | WISCONSIN |
| MINNESOTA | Berge, V. L., Milwaukee |
| Geiswein, F. Red Lake Falls | Borger, E. H., Milwaukee |
| MINNIDULI | Ziegler, E., Milwaukee |
| Fischer, Wm., St. Louis | Dorrier, John, Milwaukee |
| Fallner, Henry, St. Louis | Beumann, G., Milwaukee |
| Russell, Wm., St. Louis | Arnold, V., Milwaukee |
| MARYLAND | Meister, E., Milwaukee |
| Jacobson, A. N., Baltimore | Husmann, C., Milwaukee |
| NEW HAMPSHIRE | Heath, E., Milwaukee |
| Gordon, C. B., Manchester | Branch 4, Milwaukee |
| Brew, Geo., Manchester | |
| Mallen, C. H., Somersworth | |
| "Somersworth Branch" | |

The Union Label

on everything you buy is a guarantee that the producers thereof receive a fair rate of wages for its production. Insist on having the label.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

VOL. II. No. 48

CHICAGO, ILL., U.S.A., SATURDAY, MAY 19, 1900.

Whole No. 98.

ILLINOIS STATE CONVENTION A FULL TICKET NOMINATED

Seventy-five delegates representing the branches of the Social Democratic party of Illinois met in convention at 10 o'clock last Sunday morning, May 13, at Arena hall, 594 E. 63d street, Chicago, and nominated the following state ticket:

For Governor—James Beattie, Spring Valley, Ill.
For Lieutenant Governor—Al Pierson, Jacksonville, Ill.
For Secretary of State—Thomas G. Kerwin, Chicago.
For State Treasurer—Jacob Winnep, Chicago.

For Auditor of Public Accounts—James Wright, Chicago.
For Attorney General—Charles H. Soelke, Chicago.
For Trustees of State University—Mrs. Irene Stedman, Miss Ellen Edwards, F. J. Hlavacek.

The convention was called to order by Comrade Svoboda who read the call and made remarks appropriate to the occasion.

Comrade Philip Brown was elected temporary chairman and Comrade R. H. Johnson temporary secretary.

The following committees were then elected:

Rules—Edwards, Winnep, Bruell.
Credentials—Hlavacek, Ambroz, McSweeney, Miss Corinne Brown and Frelich.

Permanent Organization—Pierson, Bruell, Beattie, Ambroz, Hlavacek, Benson, Roderus, Winnep, Horgan.

After a brief recess the committee on rules reported. The committee on credentials reported 157 comrades entitled to representation.

The temporary chairman was made permanent and owing to the unavoidable absence of Temporary Secretary Johnson, Comrade James Wright was elected permanent secretary.

The following committee on platform was then elected: Mrs. Corinne Brown, Edwards, Winnep, Cox, McSweeney.

A recess was then taken for lunch. When the business of the convention was resumed, Comrade Corinne Brown, for the committee on platform, reported as follows:

The Platform

The Social Democratic party of the state of Illinois, in convention assembled, reaffirms the national platform adopted at Indianapolis, and declares its uncompromising adherence to the principles of International Socialism.

We demand that a law be passed enabling all municipal corporations to own and operate all such municipal industries as the supplying of light, heat, street railways and the transmission of information to the people at cost, and that if necessary the constitution be amended to enable such municipalities to raise money for the purpose.

We advocate public control and ownership of the liquor traffic.

We demand the abolition of the contract system in public works and the direct employment of labor by the state and municipality.

We demand that convicts in the various penal institutions be employed co-operatively in diversified industries for their own benefit and support and that none of their products be put upon the market.

We demand the extension of the state factory law to include the following provisions:

- The enactment of an educational section which shall prohibit the employment of children under 16 who can not read and write simple sentences in English.
- The establishment of the eight-hour day for all minors.
- Adequate safe-guarding of all dangerous machinery.
- A report by employers to the

state factory department of all accidents within twenty-four hours.

We demand the enforcement of that provision of the State Constitution which declares that adequate school facilities should be furnished all children between the ages of 6 and 21. School facilities include sufficient school room, normal trained teachers, free school books, food, clothing and shelter whenever necessary.

The nomination of candidates for the state ticket being in order, Comrade Jesse Cox presented the name of Comrade James Beattie, of Spring Valley, for governor. The nomination was received by the convention with rounds of applause and approved by acclamation.

Comrade Beattie is one of the most devoted members of the party in the state. Wherever known his reputation is that of a tireless worker in the interest of his class, honest, trustworthy and level-headed. Comrade Beattie holds the position of organizer for the United Mine Workers of Illinois, is a practical miner and has been identified with all the struggles of the miners in this state for years.

Comrade Al Pierson was nominated by acclamation for lieutenant governor. Comrade Thos. G. Kirwin was the unanimous choice of the convention for secretary of state.

For auditor of public accounts Comrade James Wright received a unanimous vote.

The convention's choice for attorney general was Comrade Chas. H. Soelke, who was nominated by acclamation.

Comrade Jacob Winnep received the unanimous vote of the delegates for state treasurer.

For trustees of the State University the following were chosen: Mrs. Irene Stedman, Miss Ellen Edwards and F. J. Hlavacek.

The following committee was then elected to select twenty-four presidential electors: Cox, Edwards, Svoboda.

Comrade Stedman then introduced the following resolution, which was adopted unanimously:

"Whereas, Mutual overtures have been made by the Social Democratic party and the Socialist Labor party looking toward the organic union of the two organizations; and whereas, the work and methods to perfect said organic union have not met with the approval of a large number of the different parties; and whereas, it is desirable to secure united and consolidated action in the impending campaign. Therefore, be it

Resolved, by the Social Democratic party assembled in their state convention, that they believe in political union in the state of Illinois, and therefore, and to this end, appoint a committee of seven, who shall have power to retire candidates from the state ticket of the Social Democratic party and substitute candidates of the Socialist Labor party therefore, provided there is a political union on national candidates."

Comrade R. H. Johnson was appointed as a committee of one representing the convention to convey the resolution to the state committee of the Socialist Labor party.

The chair appointed the following committee to carry out the instructions of the foregoing resolution: Corinne Brown, W. C. Horgan, R. H. Johnson, F. Svoboda, Seymour Stedman, Jas. Wright and Frank Roderus.

The following comrades to constitute the state campaign committee were then elected: Jos. Finn, F. Svoboda, Jacob Winnep, E. Anderson, S. Stedman, Philip Brown, Ellen Edwards, W. C. Horgan, H. H. Babka.

After a short address by Comrade McSweeney the convention adjourned, all the delegates being well satisfied with the work done.

Pennsylvania population increased 22.77 per cent, but school enrollment only 1.59 per cent.

There is enough and to spare for all in this country. The adult male labor properly organized could alone produce all the necessities and luxuries needed by working five hours a day. If justice ruled this would be the case, but Profit, not Justice, rules, and we go on stunting the moral and physical development of children and forcing women into toil amid surroundings that must inevitably produce a race of physical and moral degenerates. The economic system is responsible, but an economic system is only the creature of men, who have the power to create another if they will, and the burden of responsibility must be shared by every man who, by his vote, indorses men and policies that make such crimes against society and civilization possible.—From an address by Charles Dobbs, Louisville.

WHAT THEY THINK OF

The mason thinks of his trowel,
The shoemaker thinks of his awl,
The carpenter thinks of his level,
The woodman thinks of his maul;
But truth, which is more important,
Gets hardly a thought at all.

The merchant thinks of his ledger,
The lawyer thinks of his plea,
The doctor thinks of his patient,
The admiral thinks of the sea;
Do you think of truth and justice,
Of the right which makes men free?
—M. B. Diehl.

DEBS INTERVIEWED ON THE SOCIAL EVOLUTION

Eugene V. Debs, Social Democratic party candidate for president, in a recent interview said:

"The nomination came unexpectedly and unsought. I have all my life had my face set resolutely against officeholding and I attended the convention of the party, the first national convention it has ever had, as I have attended the conventions of other parties, strongly opposed to the use of my name for any office.

"The convention of the Social Democratic party was the only political convention that has ever met in which there was not a candidate and not a lobbyist in the interest of any candidate. This was in accord with the principles of the party, however, because when it succeeds to power there will be no \$50,000 office.

"The platform of the Social Democratic party in a nutshell is the collective ownership by the people of all the means of wealth production and distribution. It aims at industrial democracy just as we now have political democracy. That is, as we have political democracy theoretically; practically one man becomes the master of 10,000 because one man owns the means upon which 10,000 depend for employment.

"To inaugurate genuine democracy we must democratize industry as our fathers democratized politics a century and a half ago. This will result in the co-operative commonwealth, in which organized society will operate all industry in the interest of all the people. The declaration of independence will then have become a realized fact.

"The new social order is not Utopian, but scientific. It is not an ideal social system to which people are expected to adapt themselves, but it is a system evolving from the present one, which it will succeed in obedience to the laws of social evolution. Co-operation of society is the next stage in the economic development, and although not yet in existence a scientific analysis of present conditions proves that it is bound to come in the natural course of events. The trust is the forerunner of the social revolution. It represents the social principles of co-operative production, to which will be added the social principle of co-operative distribution. This means industrial co-operation as the basis of human brotherhood. The gigantic scale upon which all production and distribution is carried forward marks all these agencies for collective ownership in the interests of all the people. Rent, interest and profit will disappear. Wealth is not for the enrichment of one and the poverty and degradation of many.

"I believe the time is ripe for a party of this character. New issues, more vital than any that have ever been before the people, are crystallizing. As the lines between the laboring class and the capitalists become more sharply drawn and the great middle class is eliminated, our party will become larger and more powerful, and it must eventually succeed to power. When the time comes the wealth producing power of the country will be transferred to collective hands naturally and easily. The change will come by evolution."

Social Democracy and War

Emile Zola, in a striking article in the North American Review, expresses the belief that sooner or later war will have become a thing of the past. The chief reason for its disappearance, in his opinion, is that it will have become useless. "When speaking thus," he says, "I have in mind the democratic movement, the great Socialist movement, which, within the last hundred years, has made such advancement. In my way of thinking the real human struggle is no longer on the field of battle, but on that of labor; in industry, in agriculture, in fact in every human effort for production and prosperity." In the future state of society he is convinced that war will be unheard of, because "the reorganization of labor will everywhere bring greater solidarity and bind the different nations together either by arbitration or some other means of which we have as yet no conception. War cannot be a factor in this future state which the struggles of a closing century will link to the century about to dawn. It will be doomed to disappear, for it will be incompatible with the new condition of things."

RECALL OF REPRESENTATIVES THE BROCKTON INCIDENT

Recent occurrences in Massachusetts have led many of our members to ask "What is the use of having candidates for office sign a resignation? It has proved to be only an empty form. Why keep it up?"

It is true that the experience of Socialists in this country with the imperative mandate has been very unsatisfactory, yet it is a principle which it would not be well to abandon. Instead of dropping it, would it not be better to seek some way of making it effective? Surely it is possible to devise some new plan, or to so improve upon the present one, that a Socialist organization shall have control of those of its members whom it elects to office. The principle involved is that an elected candidate represents not himself, but his constituency, and is bound to obey the instructions of that constituency. The claim is made by opponents of Socialism that our application of this principle is unjust, as the branch does not by any means comprise the people whose votes have elected the candidate. True, but the branch or the organization within the particular district nominates the candidate and works for his election, arranges meetings, puts out literature, canvasses the district, and raises the money for all these expenses; but above all, the organization is responsible for and is the cause of his election because it represents the principles of Socialism, which principles, and not the individual candidate, triumph in the election. Social Democrats do not work for their candidates because they happen to be popular men, but because they embody the principles of their party. Accordingly, the candidate, before he is elected, pledges himself, in a written resignation, to resign from office if the party which elected him finds that he has not proved true to the trust it reposes in him.

In agitation meetings the question is often asked by well-meaning people seeking information: "What guaranty have we that Socialists, if elected, will not be just as bad as the other party politicians?" and we have always triumphantly answered them, "Our candidates are elected subject to recall. They sign their resignation before they are elected, and we can recall them at any time if they don't do what is right." But the wind has been taken out of our sails. On the first experiment, the imperative mandate has proved a failure. The right of recall remains with us; but, like many other of our rights, it cannot be exercised. We may call and recall all we like, but our representatives do not and need not respond. It is time for us to find out where we are at in regard to this important principle. If our candidates can do whatever they please as soon as they are elected, just the same as the capitalist politicians, we ought to so understand.

The Brockton case, which occurred within the past month, fully demonstrated the futility of the imperative mandate as a working principle at the present time. In the case of Alderman Perry, our Brockton comrades had a difficult and delicate problem to deal with, but they dealt with it like true Social Democrats. They met the issue square-

ly, and did their duty nobly. Perry, one of their elected aldermen, had been explicitly instructed by his branch to vote against the giving away of a certain public franchise, and had deliberately voted for it. The branch promptly tried his case, found him guilty, and demanded that he should resign. They presented his signed resignation to the board of aldermen of Brockton for their acceptance; but the board, while for the most part sympathizing with the action of the Social Democrats, did not feel called upon to accept the resignation. Nothing was left for the branch to do but to expel Mr. Perry, which they promptly did. Mr. Perry continues to serve as alderman for the remainder of his term, but he in no way represents the S. D. P. nor any other party. He is disowned by his former comrades; and this, together with the ever-present consciousness of a trust betrayed, must be his punishment. It is probable, too, that he will find it rather difficult to get elected to office again upon any kind of a ticket. People will fight shy of him. A man who is a traitor to one party will be a traitor to another.

The papers, in commenting upon the event, said it was the only instance of the kind that had ever occurred in this country, but that is a mistake. The case which occurred in Haverhill in 1898, however, was not satisfactory as a test of the value of the imperative mandate, because the resignation was not presented to the governing body for acceptance. When James F. Carey, who had been elected to the common council by the Socialist Labor Party, left that party before the expiration of his term of office, the remainder of the S. L. P. section of which he had been a member, demanded his resignation; but they were powerless, inasmuch as the resignation which he had signed and filed with the section had mysteriously disappeared. The section had nothing to present to the city government of Haverhill in the shape of a written resignation. This case was therefore not a test of the effectiveness of this safeguard of the rights of the democracy. The Haverhill instance proved its inefficiency to control the individual elected, or even to hold him in the party which elects him; but no more. The Brockton instance demonstrates its uselessness when presented to a governing body for acceptance.

What, then, is the best course for us to pursue? Shall we drop as useless the custom of requiring candidates to sign resignations, until we can get the measure adopted as a law of the land? Or shall we seek to raise the standard of character and honor in our organization, so that we may thus have some hold upon the candidates elected? Shall we seek to inculcate in our members the principles of honor and justice and a sense of moral obligation, at the same time that we are trying to teach the principles of scientific socialism? The two are certainly not incompatible. On the contrary, one is necessary to supplement the other.

It is a question worth considering, comrades.

Robert White.

RISE OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY ALARMS BOTH OLD PARTIES

The Indianapolis News has been taking a survey of the political field and sounds the following note of alarm:

"The unexpected growth of the Social Democracy in Indiana is giving the leaders of the two old parties considerable worry. They had not counted on the Social Democrats being a factor this time, but the results of a number of city elections last Tuesday has opened their eyes to what might happen if the new party continues to grow as it has grown since its national convention was held here a few weeks ago. It is said now that the Social Democracy leaders, a majority of whom live in the east, did not bring their convention here simply because the city is well located, but rather because they understood the conditions and felt that Indiana would be an excellent garden in which to plant their creed, on account of the state's thousands of organized laborers. The party has made a surprising showing in the gas belt in a short time, as is evident in the election of councilmen at Marion and Muncie and a large vote elsewhere.

"A politician who has just made a tour of a number of the gas belt cities, declares that they are becoming hotbeds of Social Democracy, and that new believers are added to the creed every day. Social Democracy workers are going quietly among the union men in some of the gas belt cities. It is understood that the new party is gaining more strength among the iron workers than with any other branch of labor, although there are many desertions from the two old parties among all of the unions. There

is little chance of the Social Democracy's filling any of the important offices this year as the victories have been in local fights, but the leaders of each of the two old parties fear that it will deprive them of votes that will be necessary to their success.

"Some Democrats say they have less to fear than the Republicans, as a majority of men now voting with the Social Democrats were against Bryan in '96, and that if they were against him this time, but not with the Republicans, that their chances have really improved. The Republican leaders are not saying much on the question, but their anxiety not to have Eugene Debs indorsed by the middle-of-the-road Populists at Cincinnati, next week, is sufficient indication that they are ready to take any means to check the growth of the Social Democracy. The loss of a few thousand votes might seriously cripple the Republicans in a fight like the one they expect this year, and it is said that they are getting ready to put their best speakers and workers in the places where the new party is gaining strength at their expense."

Organized Labor Vote

"Mr. Debs and his friends who are helping him to organize the Social Democratic party are the only sensible leaders that organized labor has. Organized labor has been paving the air against both old parties from time immemorial and has catered to first one and then the other, only to be betrayed, and politically it is not to-day as distinctively a floating vote as the negro vote."—Economist, Evansville, Ind.

Grist for Capitalism's Mill

Not alone does the economic system which we permit to exist rob the home of its divinity, but practically raids the cradle for flesh and blood to feed the remorseless maw of the dragon of Profit. In 1890 there were, in round numbers, 5,000,000 children of school age prevented from attending school by the necessity for their labor as bread-winners or by poverty of parents unable to buy books or clothing for the little ones. Of the 14,371,893 reported as attending school many attended only part of the term and spent the rest of the year in toil. Mr. W. S. McClure has pointed out that in many sections, particularly the great manufacturing districts of the east, the school enrollment is not increasing in proportion to the population. New York state, for instance, with an increase of 18 per cent. in population, shows a gain of but 1.38 per cent. in school enrollment. In

Subscribe for the "Social Democratic Herald"

Social Democratic Herald

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board
JESSE COX, Chairman
SEYMOUR STEEDMAN, Secretary
EUGENE V. DEBS, VICTOR L. BERGER
FREDERIC HEATH

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, \$5.00. Six months, \$3.00. No papers sent to any one on credit. If, without having subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and no bill will follow. Foreign subscriptions \$1.00.

Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

A. S. EDWARDS, Editor
THEODORE DEBS, National Sec'y-Treas.
198 Washington St., Chicago.

98 is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 99 your subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, MAY 19, 1900.

FUSION CONTROVERSY AND THE HERALD

The Herald printed a total of 33 communications during the recent controversy precipitated by the failure of the S. L. P. delegates to make good their pledges when the conference committee met at New York. Of this total 14 were for union and 19 against.

The number of unpublished or "suppressed" communications received was 27; of these 16 were opposed and 11 favorable to union.

Of 25 communications favoring union, 14 were printed.

Of 35 communications opposing union, only 19 were printed.

The Herald printed more letters favoring union than it "suppressed"; it "suppressed" more letters opposed to union than it printed.

This statement is made because of the reckless perversion of facts over the signature of Morris Hillquit in the People of May 6, wherein he makes it appear that the Herald has "suppressed" all communications favorable to union with one exception. This is so manifestly unfair and reckless as a "summing up of the issues," which the communication purports to be, as to justify the strongest condemnation. However, let us have peace.

ONE "SPIRIT" MADE MANIFEST

Max Hayes, "proletarian" editor of the Cleveland Citizen, says in the last issue of that paper:

"The vote on amalgamation taken by the Social Democratic party is reported to have resulted in the defeat of unity by 1,213 to 939, and rumors not at all complimentary to the national officials are already beginning to fly about. We imagine that the degenerated scab-procuring boss, Dan DeLeon, dances with delight as he views the mess his imitators have made of it. It should be stated that the proletarian part of the S. D. P. is in no way responsible for this unfortunate outcome—at least not directly. The anti-unionists were marshaled by Berger, a school teacher and editor; Steedman, a lawyer; MacCartney, a preacher; Edwards, another editor; Cox, another lawyer; Miller, another editor; London, still another lawyer; Margaret Haile, a lachrymose woman, and one or two others—all so-called "academic Socialists," theorists who lack a proper understanding of the working class spirit, its historical significance or its mission. They controlled the machinery of the party and used their power as DeLeon did. Debs can leap into the breach and save union, and if he does not the proletarians of both parties will probably unite in a party of their own and leave the fake professors, contended school teachers and lawyers to themselves."

Comment is uncalled for, except that we might direct attention to the fact that Harriman is a lawyer and ex-preacher, Hillquit is a lawyer, Schlusser an editor, Feigenbaum an editor, Morgan a lawyer, Jonas an editor, Stone an editor, Sissman a lawyer, Benham an editor, Taft a lawyer, Lee an editor, and finally, not to continue such trivialities to too great a length, Max Hayes himself is an editor—and a good one.

Hoping the comrades will pardon the writer of this for being an editor, let us have peace.

EDITOR'S TIME SAVERS

M. J. H.—You can draw your own conclusions from the following facts, included in a dispatch sent out from Cleveland during the last week in March:

"The Jones men of this city have just taken action which fully concedes the claim made by the Union Reformers last fall, that the Jones movement was as much a political party as any other."

"They held a city convention and appointed a committee which nominated a municipal ticket, certified this ticket to the board of elections, and claimed a place on the official ballot on the basis of the law which gives that right to any political party which at the last preceding general election polled one per cent. of the total vote."

"This claim has been conceded by the board of elections; and so it is both claimed by the Jones men and admitted by the election authorities that the

Jones movement last fall was a political party, and that the only difference between it and any other new party was in the name, and in the fact that the platform was adopted by one man instead of several."

NOTES AND COMMENT

The "Fair," which claims to be Chicago's oldest department store, employs 3,000 people and 250 horses. The horses are fine looking animals, well taken care of and are a credit to the establishment. The other employees, not being owned in the same way, must shift for themselves, and most of them shift to the poorest parts of the city. Eighty-six wagons deliver 3,500,000 packages during 1899, or nearly 1,200 packages per employee, not counting the horses. Many more millions of packages were carried off by customers. This business, now incorporated with \$1,000,000 capital, was started 25 years ago with \$1,000 and has been built up by the citizens of Chicago. The manager would probably be a first-class director of the same store owned by the citizens of Chicago.

The state convention of the Social Democratic party held last Sunday was a harmonious gathering of Socialists interested in doing what is practical and best for the cause in this great state. The ticket nominated is worthy of the support of Socialists, but not one will be found on it to obstruct negotiations with the Socialist Labor party for a perfect co-operation in the political campaign with any personal claims. The resolution adopted by the convention is an expression of Illinois Social Democrats, intended by them to be carried out in a spirit of fairness, and we hope will be so regarded by the S. L. P. state committee. Let the campaign begin at once.

While in New York last week Comrade Debs was invited to meet informally with some of the members of the two parties and they informed him that they had decided upon calling a meeting of the members and the national candidates. Upon returning to Chicago Comrade Debs reported the matter to our Chicago and Milwaukee members and they agreed in the interest of the cause to attend said proposed meeting, asking only that the date be postponed a few days to allow sufficient time to enable them to arrange their affairs so as to make the trip.

Roosevelt will consent to run for vice-president provided McKinley will support him in 1904 for president. This is what the high-minded and strenuous patriot says to McKinley:

"If I consent to go on the ticket with you will you use your influence and get for me the influence of the Republican leaders to make me your successor?"

And this sort of thing is called government by the people!

The San Francisco Call says if it should prove true, as political experts estimate, that Debs receives a million votes for the presidency, "the Bryan vote will be about as small a force as ever made a movement in national politics, for if the cranks desert him his following will be weak indeed."

We have begun to initiate the Cubans into the glorious art of self-government, according to the ideas of "free" America, with a postoffice scandal and steal of half a million dollars! Great is self-government! Great is hypocrisy! Hurrah for McKinley and Hannaism!

Comrade Eugene Dietzgen comes to the support of the campaign fund with a draft for \$100, received this week from Germany, where our comrade is sojourning. Comrade Dietzgen will represent the S. D. P. at the international congress in September.

The Social Democratic party appeals to the humanity and sense of justice in the people. Its program is as broad as the need for social change is great and offers the logical and only solution of the problems of labor and society.

The type in a letter by Comrade Gordon on the unity matter made him say "Maily made the agreement" as to the name. The sentence should have read "argument" instead of "agreement."

Neeley, the Cuban postoffice defaulter, was appointed on the recommendation of Fairbanks. Fairbanks? Seems as if we had heard that name before.

Attention, Massachusetts

All persons who are in favor of calling a conference meeting of all Socialists in the state of Massachusetts, regardless of present party affiliations, are requested to at once communicate with M. Kaplan, 164 North street, Boston, Mass. The main object is to devise ways and means of uniting the Socialists (organized and unorganized) of this state.

The Union Label

on everything you buy is a guarantee that the producers thereof receive a fair rate of wages for its production

Insist on having the label

REPUDIATION OF THE REFERENDUM

The Russian peasants live together in a sort of village communities called "mirs," which have certain legislative and judicial powers. The Russians have a proverb, "The mir is the great man," meaning that the united wisdom of the community is above the wisdom of any individual, and that its voice must be obeyed.

This is the true Socialistic spirit, for the will of the majority is the only basis on which the co-operative commonwealth can rest. Let us imagine it once fairly established and in good running order. Nevertheless differences of opinion will continually arise, as they always must where men are associated together. There will be a variety of theories on the best manner of conducting the affairs of society and on a thousand economical questions of greater or lesser importance. Unless this variance of opinion is united with a deep respect for the opinion of the majority, the co-operative commonwealth will be in danger of dissolution at every step.

The Socialists of all countries have therefore acted wisely when they incorporated the referendum as one of the demands of their platforms, and in most cases adopted it in their own party government. It is only by years of such self-government that men are educated into that habit of willing acquiescence to the wishes of the many which is absolutely necessary to the establishment of the Socialist system.

To-day we have an opportunity to take one step forward in the acquirement of this habit. The majority of our party has decided by vote that union with the S. L. P. is not desirable at the present time on the terms proposed. Perhaps there are some places where such a union might have had a beneficial effect on the local movement. But our people in many towns have taken this question into consideration and it is decided that the interests of the party, taken as a whole throughout the country, would be hindered rather than helped by the proposed union. Clearly then it is the duty of single towns to forego their local interests and consider only the good of the party as a national movement—a movement which is designed to free the entire country and not any separate part of it.

There are wise and good men who have advocated union at this time; but is any one of us so overcharged with self esteem that he can imagine his own judgment to be superior to the united judgment of his party? Can any true Socialist acknowledge the legality of a referendum by voting upon it and afterwards repudiate it when it does not turn out to suit his own wishes? Can any Social Democrat claim that this is an honorable course? Surely not. Surely we do not need to go to the peasants of despotic Russia for lessons in Democracy.

For those who sincerely believe that the majority has erred by rejecting the proposed union, here is an excellent opportunity to set us all an example in self control. By their cheerful acquiescence in the will of the majority they will prove that they are not Individualists, but Socialists, and they will take our party a long step forward on the road that leads to the co-operative commonwealth.

E. H. T.

FREEDOM THROUGH SOCIALISM

(By Imogene C. Fales.)

The Socialist movement makes a new issue in the public arena and a new departure in the theory of government. It is an effort for the betterment of the people, the nation and the race. Its aim is the abolition of industrial slavery, to tear down the fabric of a soul destroying wage system and to erect in its place a social structure based upon co-operative effort and mutual helpfulness.

It is an organized effort to apply reason to social problems and to substitute for what is called the "Natural Law of Struggles" the higher law of love.

The movement has its birth in the necessities of the times; it is a determined expression of the people against the inhumanities and barbarities of civilization.

The time has come when the industrial system with its terrible inequalities that breed increasing crime in the midst of increasing intelligence must be changed and a new social system born out of a higher conception of life and expressing the higher qualities of humanity must take the place of the present order.

It needs no Paul Revere, with his midnight ride, to sweep the country and awake the sleeping people with the ringing cry that the enemy is upon us. We know it. We know that the insatiable greed for gold, the murderous strife of competition, has at last produced a social monster, a mechanism of destruction, called Monopoly.

We know that the deadly power that has stealthily worked since the Civil War to obtain control of judicial, federal and state legislation has at last openly massed its forces in one supreme effort for the absolute mastery of the republic.

The hour of conflict is upon us and we must struggle for our liberties if we wish to possess them.

Already the course of the nation is unmistakably towards imperialism.

The times in which we live are big with fate. Every one can see that we

have reached a social crisis; that we are on the eve of momentous changes—either for weal or woe; that there is a war of conflicting ideas and principles going on, a conflict between good and evil being waged. That the old condition of things is broken up never to return, and that out of this war of ideas there will develop one of two things—either a system of slavery, founded on the aristocracy of money, that will ring the death knell of civilization; or else the overthrow of monopoly and the system that breeds it and the elevation of the race onto a higher plane of being. We believe it to be the latter. Under the banner of Socialism the battle for freedom is to be fought.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

WHAT IS LABOR'S SHARE IN PRODUCTION

The question of "What is labor's share in production?" is one that is of greatest importance to the working class, the analysis of which will reveal the fact that the working class is forced into a recognition of that bare fact, that labor's share is becoming less and less each year.

A comparative study of the statistics of this country will show how great labor's share in the product has been and what it now is. Although the amount of wealth is constantly increasing, as will be seen from the following, taken from the statistics compiled by the government, it will also be seen how rapidly labor's share is decreasing:

In 1850 the wealth of the nation was \$8,000,000,000. The producers' share was 62½ per cent; non-producers' share 37½ per cent.

In 1860 the wealth increased to \$16,000,000,000. The producers' share fell to 43¾ per cent; non-producers' increased to 56¼ per cent.

In 1870 the wealth was \$30,000,000,000. Producers' share was 32-2-3 per cent; non-producers' share, 67-1-3 per cent.

In 1880 the wealth increased to \$48,000,000,000. The producers' share went down to 24 per cent, while the non-producers' share increased to 76 per cent.

In 1890 the wealth was further increased to \$61,000,000,000. The producers' share fell to 17 per cent; the non-producers' share increased to 83 per cent.

The greater the amount of wealth production increased, the greater was also the corresponding decrease of the producers' share in that wealth. In the early days of these statistics production was chiefly carried on by hand labor; the factories and mills that are now so numerous were then but few. With the rapid progress of the introduction of machinery and inventions in the productive industries the power of these increased two-fold, ten-fold, yes, twenty-fold, according to the state of perfection of the improved machine. With this increased productiveness came also the army of unemployed; at first but few in number, but constantly increasing as the machine became more perfected, until the army of the unemployed in the year of prosperity, 1890, when the latest census was taken, had reached far over the one million mark. In 1893, and up to 1897, the army of unemployed was estimated anywhere from three to four million.

With the gigantic strides which the concentration of capital is now making, one may ask himself, "What will be labor's share when the census of 1900 is taken?" At any rate, it can be asserted without fear of contradiction that labor's share will have still further decreased. The first question is pressing more and more to the front. The power of competition is dwindling fast away; now only remains a small fraction of the entire productive industries that are not trustified. In the carriage and wagon industry the trust has not yet come, although some attempts at it have been made. With the rapid introduction of the automobile, the trust will also make its appearance. While the trust and the trust papers are singing the joys of prosperity, the working class is feeling its condition more keenly than ever. Their share of all this is but a job at pauper wages. It is certain that the workers will come to understand their true position; at least, the organized workers now, to some extent, realize that the struggle on the economic field must be supplemented by political action. The strong hold of capitalism in the present time is its economic power; its weakest and continuing ever weaker, because of the development crushing out the small capitalist and forcing him into the ranks of the working class, is the ballot. Here they are outnumbered and here it is where the workers can gain easy victory, and here a victory gained will but add strength for the economic battle.

Effort in this direction, along clear-cut, uncompromising, class-conscious lines, will increase labor's share in the product. While it is true that in certain trades, even now, wages have been raised, yet when the increased productivity, through the more perfected machines and through the concentration of capital, is taken into consideration, it will be seen when the next balancing up takes place that labor's share, on the whole, has decreased.

Organization is essential; more so than ever. This fact can not be too strongly emphasized, but it also is a fact that every tactical point through which

it is possible to increase labor's share would and must be taken advantage of in the onward march for labor's emancipation.—Carriage Workers' Journal.

IDEALS AND THEIR ACCESSORIES

The recent article of Comrade Abbott's on "The Social Ideal" was not only most commendable, but his rhapsody on that masterpiece of William Morris, "News From Nowhere," is especially noteworthy. For those who have not read it, but have read Bellamy's "Equality," a few words of comparison may be welcome. Bellamy portrays the culmination of the machine era, the period when society is developed to the utmost in scientific civilization. It is essentially a prophecy, a prophetic picture as profound and masterly as any Isaiah ever conceived.

But Morris' book is not a picture, it is a glimpse of life: life such as we now know nothing about; life which now only the divinely-human can make us feel and see, as he lifts aside the veil of ignorance from our blunted sensibilities, and gives our ravished senses the thrill of real life.

In his presentation of the ideal the poet and artist breathes in every page the delineation of physical life is sensuously beautiful, and cannot fail to elicit a warm glow in the breast of any who approaches a normal condition.

Morris goes beyond Bellamy chronologically, and logically, because after the mechanical era culminates, a new epoch will be the inevitable outcome, and Morris denotes this "An epoch of rest." That is to say, before man's resources for saving labor are exhausted, a natural reaction will set in, and in fear of a work-famine, the people will revert to handicraft in the artistic adornment of pottery and similar things where the superior beauty achieved by the touch of man suggests the elimination of the machine. What an answer to those who carp on laziness under Socialism!

The one or two scientific laws of evolution Morris may ignore only seem as a speck in the crystal, and make his book all the more intensely human.

Recent observations move me to make a few remarks on the other part of my subject: the methods pursued to attain ideals.

The reformer is very much in evidence these days. Biologists are discussing with grave apprehension the question of race deterioration. Various causes are assigned, all of them only symptomatic, but the agitation has produced a legion of hobbyists. One hears much from the food reformer, the dress reformer, the temperance worker, and the social settlement faddist. The scientist teaches us that cereals, fruits and nuts, properly prepared; are the ideal food for human-kind, and, while the truth of this appeals to some of us, and while we can see much in our present methods of clothing and failing to exercise the body properly that are unscientific and harmful, is it not a mockery to harp on these themes when we consider that ten million of people in this fair land of ours never have enough of anything to eat and wear?

These would-be reformers mean well, but they are so imbued with the system of individual redemption and individualism in toto, that they fail to perceive that no good reform can be far-reaching and continuous in growth that will not appeal to the masses and is impossible for them to put in practice. For we are inexorably bound up with the evolution of the social organism, with its increasing tendency to interdependence.

The poet and scientist are indeed the great teachers of life and truth, and the Socialist is stimulated by his ideals to hasten the time when the voice of these teachers will be heard, and their teachings possible to apply, for he is the only one who can be confident he is on the right way to bring about such conditions.

As Thoreau says: "There are a thousand hacking at the branches of evil to one who is striking at the root." The rest of that quotation from "Walden" would be especially instructive to those who believe that the social evils can be cured by alms-giving.

It may be because the laboring man's whole life must be continuously in opposition to the very first law of nature (the conservation of energy) that he has no ideal above improving his lot a point or two by electing a Cleveland or a Bryan.

Why can we not see that it will be easier to change the whole system and maintain the full rights of man than to be able to secure and maintain the general betterment of those under the yoke in one essential point?

Alfred A. Butler.

Louisville, Ky.

Michigan Socialists

All Social Democrats and all unattached Socialists residing in Michigan are requested to write at once to Henry Ramsey, 84 Railroad street, Battle Creek, Mich., and thus aid in placing a Social Democratic state ticket in the field this fall.

To Tennessee Socialists: For the purpose of organizing branches and putting a ticket out this fall, the undersigned urges that you write to him at once. Also send him a list of all unattached Socialists. Wm. L. Hamilton, Organizer Branch No. 1, 323 Russell street, Nashville, Tenn.

NOTES FROM THE FIELD

F. M. McQuivey is state organizer for Utah.

Saginaw wants the Michigan state convention of the Social Democratic party.

Branch 7, Chicago, will give a musical and literary entertainment May 25, at Hygeia hall.

The Bohemian comrades of Chicago are making arrangements for their annual picnic, June 3.

Comrade G. C. Clemons has been nominated by Social Democrats for governor of Kansas.

An important meeting of Branch 18, Newburyport, Mass., will be held May 22, at which it is hoped there will be a full attendance.

All Social Democrats and unattached Socialists residing in Charlestown, Mass., are requested to communicate with Stephen O'Leary, 11 Harvard street, Charlestown, Mass.

Utah has completed a state organization of the Social Democratic party. In the Salt Lake district 668 votes were cast for the Social Democratic candidate for congress. Utah will cast a large vote in November for Debs.

Among the callers at headquarters last week was E. H. Thornberg, traveling correspondent of Swedish newspapers. Mr. Thornberg learned much while in Chicago of the Social Democratic movement, which will be reported to the people of Sweden.

The announcement made last week that Social Democrats had elected two members of the school board at Jacksonville, Ill., was incorrect. The mistake was due to conflicting reports received. None were elected, but the party candidates received a good vote.

Social Democrats of San Antonio, Texas, have nominated Comrade E. G. Clear for congress from the 12th District. The movement at San Antonio is very promising, new members being admitted and a growing interest shown in the work.

It will be remembered that the Indianapolis convention continued the executive board in office until a new board is chosen. Since then Comrade Jesse Cox retired, and at a meeting held Saturday, May 12, Comrade Corinne Brown was elected to fill the vacancy.

NEW BRANCHES

The new branches of the Social Democratic party organized since a week ago, are located at

Elma, Wash.
Blendsville, Mo.
Kansas City, (4th ward) Mo.
Kansas City, (9th ward) Mo.

MAY DAY CELEBRATION

The Bohemian branches of Chicago celebrated the first of May, the working men's holiday, at the Bohemian hall, May 1, and it was a grand success. The spacious and modern hall was filled on the floor and the galleries. Over 2,000 people were present, the fair sex being well represented. Comrade F. Svoboda delivered an address of welcome which, judged by the applause, was not without effect. The Bohemian Workingman's Singing Society delivered a specially composed song of the workingman, and after a storm of applause had to give another. Two young ladies rendered a duet on zithers which also had to be repeated after a storm of applause. Comrade Seymour Steedman delivered an eloquent speech on Labor Day and Socialism. Comrade Hlavacek, the editor of our Bohemian official paper, "Spravednost," with his usual talent delivered a fine address appropriate to the occasion. Between the speeches the Misses Mancel rendered a fine selection on the piano, four-handed, and Miss Marcel sang in Bohemian, accompanied by Prof. Hlavacek. She received well deserved applause which did not cease until she repeated. The Bohemian Musical Federation band played selected compositions from Bohemian masters and others that displayed a musical skill hard to be beaten, and the best of it is that it played gratuitously, which should be remembered by our comrades and should be taken in consideration when music is needed for any occasion. The admission was free and at 11 p. m. the chairman thanked all who contributed to the success of the celebration and with the sounds of the Marseillaise the meeting adjourned.

INDIANA STATE CONVENTION

In accordance with a resolution passed May 3 by the Indianapolis central committee of the Social Democratic party, you are hereby notified that there will be held a convention of the Social Democratic party of Indiana, for the purpose of nominating the following state officers, to be voted for on Tuesday, Nov. 6, 1900: Governor, lieutenant-governor, secretary of state, auditor of state, treasurer of state, attorney general, reporter of supreme court, state statistician, superintendent of public instruction, two judges of the supreme court, one from the First district and one from the Fourth district, also three presidential electors, and other officers.

This convention will meet in Reichwein's hall, southwest corner of N. Noble and E. Market streets, Indianapolis, Ind., on Wednesday, July 4, 1900, at 10 o'clock a. m. The representation of said convention will be by delegates chosen as follows:

First—Each branch shall be entitled to as many representatives as there are individual members in good standing; any representative, if selected, shall be entitled to one vote for each member whose name is signed to his credentials; and provided further, that no member shall sign his or her name to more than one credential.

Second—Branches not sending their own representatives may select those of other branches of this state to represent them; provided that in each case the representative shall hold the proper credential with the signature of members attached as herein provided.

Third—No member shall be qualified to serve as representative or entitled to representation who has not been a member of the party at least thirty days prior to the opening of the convention.

Fourth—All signatures of members attached to credentials, as herein provided, shall be certified to by the secretary of their respective branches.

C. A. THORNTON,
Chairman.
W. SPREEN,
Secretary.

WASHINGTON STATE ORGANIZED

The meeting held at Seattle, Wash., April 29, was called to order by John Cloak, of Whatcom, who stated the objects of the meeting. John Cloak was then elected chairman and J. D. Curtis secretary. It was moved and carried that the chair appoint a committee on credentials. The chair appointed A. G. Seibert, D. G. Wilson and E. E. Martin. A recess of 15 minutes was then taken. Upon reassembling the Committee on Credentials reported the following delegates present and duly accredited:

John Cloak, Fairhaven; C. E. Martens, Whatcom; G. D. Wilson, Fairhaven; Mrs. Belle Hatt, Geneva; Mrs. Elizabeth Thompson, Geneva; E. E. Martin, Olympia; Hermon Culver, Pt. Angeles; Wm. Hogan, Equality; A. G. Seibert, Seattle; Walter Griggs, Equality; E. Lux, Seattle; J. H. White, Equality.

Later the following delegates appeared: Geo. E. Boomer, Tacoma; H. H. House, Tacoma; and Hermon F. Titus, Seattle.

After the transaction of routine business nominations for state headquarters were made. An informal vote on the nominations resulted as follows: Seattle 7, Pt. Angeles 2, Lynden 1, Equality 3, and Whatcom 0. Moved and carried to make Seattle the unanimous choice.

Comrade Seibert then called attention to the question of union of S. D. P. and S. L. P. and urged that the meeting express an opinion on the subject. A resolution on unity which had been mislaid was then produced and read as follows:

Whereas, One of the fundamental principles of Socialism is that all true Socialists should unite in a common cause, and

Whereas, The comrades in Missouri, New York and Ohio and many other places have practically consummated the union of the S. D. P. and the S. L. P., endorsed by our national convention at Indianapolis.

Be it resolved, That we are heartily in favor of such union and we believe that the great majority of the rank and file of both parties are in accord with this view.

A lengthy discussion followed and a vote was taken, the result being a tie. The chairman who had not voted cast the deciding vote in favor of the resolution which was thus carried.

Moved and carried that the state executive board be elected. The following nominations were then made: Seibert, Morgan, Burgess, Boomer, Lake, Titus, Cloak, Hogan and Curtis.

Subsequently the state board has elected the following officers: A. G. Seibert, chairman and organizer for north half of state; 64 West Cedar street, Seattle, Wash.; Hermon Culver, vice chairman, Port Angeles, Wash.; H. F. Titus, treasurer, 208 Mutual Life building, Seattle, Wash.; Geo. E. Boomer, organizer for south half of state, Tacoma, Wash.

J. D. CURTIS, Sec.

The Pious and the Poor

Socialism is treading in the wake of the trusts. Politics, with the moral law squeezed out, is what the government is dealing in. The world owes every man a living—if he can get it. It depends largely on the man. If he is an ordinary voting mule he may find suicide easier than competition, and he will be much happier over there on the evergreen shore, unless he bumps up against a trust in harps and halos! But if he has financial sharpness, gushing Rockefeller-piety, and a callous heart, he can keep himself very much alive on this side, driving other men to suicide; and his picture will hang in the chapel of some great university inspiring the youthful students to emulate his shining example! It is the rich who make the poor poorer, and it is the poor who make the rich richer. The millions who have nothing make the money for the millionaire. The benevolent rich will

do anything for the working class, except to get off their backs. How can men think highly, nobly, clearly, when the chief object in life is to acquire the wealth which others have produced? While the Socialists are demanding public ownership, the millionaires have already put it in practice—they own the public! The men who have created the trusts are swiftly bringing in Socialism, for they are making conditions which will force the people into this new phase of life as the only escape from slavery to the restless financial banditti.—E. M. Wheelock, Austin, Texas.

THAT EXTRAORDINARY PROPOSITION

For once, on the horizon of the world has risen a hope; it is the emancipation of woman. Suddenly there has shot into the political pandemonium one loud and ringing cry; it is: "Irrespective of sex."

These words stand forth in the S. D. platform, like warriors armed to the teeth; they tear at customs, prejudices and privileges.

For once there is a party pure enough to propose, first and foremost, that no longer shall an embargo be placed upon the brain and heart of woman.

Such heresy at such a time, in the midst of such conditions as bewilder the bravest, appears like the finger-print of God. It is as much as to say, "Toiler, suffer, so long as ye give birth to dragons; agonize, so long as ye outrage souls; call for mercy, so long as ye mutilate the moral sense; go down in defeat and darkness, O man, until you recognize your running mate." But when this is done in the vocabulary of the conscience and the custom of the ballot and the law, then may you reasonably expect to rear aloft the sheltering structure of the Social Commonwealth, and to salute the future with a face radiant with the light of a redeemed humanity."

H. S. Geneva Lake.
Olympia, Wash.

THE REFERENDUM VOTE

No.	Yes	No	No.	Yes	No
1. Calif.	1	0	1. N. Dakota	6	0
2. " "	8	0	2. New H.	12	0
3. " "	12	0	3. " "	10	0
4. Colo.	10	1	4. " "	12	0
5. " "	4	4	5. " "	9	4
6. " "	13	4	6. " "	10	0
7. Conn.	9	1	7. " "	6	0
8. " "	4	6	8. " "	15	21
9. " "	17	4	9. " "	8	16
10. " "	21	4	10. " "	9	0
11. " "	8	4	11. " "	14	11
12. " "	17	4	12. " "	7	19
13. " "	14	5	13. " "	1	2
14. " "	10	8	14. " "	13	2
15. " "	5	6	15. " "	10	1
16. " "	12	10	16. " "	14	1
17. " "	9	6	17. " "	1	0
18. " "	9	15	18. " "	17	3
19. " "	17	19	19. " "	10	1
20. " "	13	20	20. " "	11	1
21. Indiana	15	2	21. " "	10	23
22. " "	8	2	22. " "	6	2
23. " "	5	1	23. " "	17	2
24. " "	8	2	24. " "	6	22
25. " "	4	13	25. " "	11	7
26. " "	2	10	26. " "	7	8
27. " "	2	8	27. " "	15	5
28. " "	7	4	28. " "	8	6
29. " "	33	8	29. " "	9	9
30. " "	1	8	30. " "	1	16
31. " "	5	9	31. " "	2	25
32. " "	8	10	32. " "	3	17
33. " "	4	11	33. " "	10	10
34. " "	11	8	34. " "	3	20
35. " "	14	5	35. " "	10	10
36. " "	2	59	36. " "	12	20
37. " "	15	1	37. " "	13	13
38. " "	7	1	38. " "	16	20
39. " "	8	41	39. " "	18	27
40. " "	174	2	40. " "	19	7
41. " "	49	1	41. " "	20	10
42. " "	2	9	42. " "	21	10
43. " "	12	3	43. " "	22	10
44. " "	7	7	44. " "	23	10
45. " "	33	8	45. " "	24	10
46. " "	1	8	46. " "	25	10
47. " "	5	9	47. " "	26	10
48. " "	8	10	48. " "	27	10
49. " "	4	11	49. " "	28	10
50. " "	25	12	50. " "	29	10
1. Maine	25	12	1. Miss.	3	10
1. Minn.	16	15	2. " "	12	6
1. Mar'land	10	17	3. " "	20	1
2. " "	11	18	4. " "	12	1
2. " "	10	19	5. " "	9	1
1. Montana	5	15	6. " "	5	5
1. Michigan	14	21	7. " "	12	10
15. Missouri	18	23	8. " "	10	10
17. " "	9	9	9. " "	11	8
18. " "	6	6	10. " "	4	35
3. Nebraska	8	0	11. " "	8	8
			12. " "	11	11
			13. " "	11	11
			14. " "	11	11
			15. " "	11	11
			16. " "	11	11
			17. " "	11	11
			18. " "	11	11
			19. " "	11	11
			20. " "	11	11
			21. " "	11	11
			22. " "	11	11
			23. " "	11	11
			24. " "	11	11
			25. " "	11	11
			26. " "	11	11
			27. " "	11	11
			28. " "	11	11
			29. " "	11	11
			30. " "	11	11
			31. " "	11	11
			32. " "	11	11
			33. " "	11	11
			34. " "	11	11
			35. " "	11	11
			36. " "	11	11
			37. " "	11	11
			38. " "	11	11
			39. " "	11	11
			40. " "	11	11
			41. " "	11	11
			42. " "	11	11
			43. " "	11	11
			44. " "	11	11
			45. " "	11	11
			46. " "	11	11
			47. " "	11	11
			48. " "	11	11
			49. " "	11	11
			50. " "	11	11
			51. " "	11	11
			52. " "	11	11
			53. " "	11	11
			54. " "	11	11
			55. " "	11	11
			56. " "	11	11
			57. " "	11	11
			58. " "	11	11
			59. " "	11	11
			60. " "	11	11
			61. " "	11	11
			62. " "	11	11
			63. " "	11	11
			64. " "	11	11
			65. " "	11	11
			66. " "	11	11
			67. " "	11	11
			68. " "	11	11
			69. " "	11	11
			70. " "	11	11
			71. " "	11	11
			72. " "	11	11
			73. " "	11	11
			74. " "	11	11
			75. " "	11	11
			76. " "	11	11
			77. " "	11	11
			78. " "	11	11
			79. " "	11	11
			80. " "	11	11
			81. " "	11	11
			82. " "	11	11
			83. " "	11	11
			84. " "	11	11
			85. " "	11	11
			86. " "	11	11
			87. " "	11	11
			88. " "	11	11
			89. " "	11	11
			90. " "	11	11
			91. " "	11	11
			92. " "	11	11
			93. " "	11	11
			94. " "	11	11
			95. " "	11	11
			96. " "	11	11
			97. " "	11	11
			98. " "	11	11
			99. " "	11	11
			100. " "	11	11

Branch No. 2, Utah, 30 votes against union, but by mistake directed letter to Comrade E. V. Debs, which was not opened until Comrade Debs' return to this city on last Saturday, too late to be included in above report.

The following Branches had not paid dues for current quarter:

No.	Yes	No	No.	Yes	No
1. Calif.	15	21	1. Missouri	3	10
6. Indiana	18	2	2. "	12	6
2. Mass.	23	3	3. "	20	1
5. "	24	11	4. "	12	1
15. "	16	2	5. "	9	1
16. "	15	3	6. "	5	5
29. "	3	13	7. "	12	10
31. "	14	4	8. "	10	10
32. "	25	2	9. Wash.	88	8
33. "	5	5	10. "	11	11
41. "	5	5	4. Utah		35
54. "	9	9			
3. Mar'land	11	17	Total	61	107

SOCIALISM AND PUBLIC HEALTH

(By Walter T. Roberts, M. D.)

The subject for discussion today appears at first sight to have little bearing upon economics. And yet, when we consider the number of hours of productive and distributive labor lost by reason of sickness, it becomes manifest that health is a very important factor in maximum wealth production. A healthy community will not only create more wealth in a given time, but the consumption of utilities will be greater, thus exerting a stimulative reaction upon the process of production.

The effects of widespread epidemics are familiar to all. Decrease in industrial activities, disturbance of commerce, and at times complete business stagnation have been felt by every civilized community in the world.

However, the fact that the good health of a people conduces to increased production concerns us but little, as under the present capitalist system we turn over all the products of our labor to the smooth and brainy exploiter and shout about unparalleled prosperity when he magnanimously returns enough of these products from quitting their earthly tenements in disgust at our monstrous stupidity.

As good health is rather to be chosen than great riches, the argument will deal with that arrangement of man's social relations which will effect the highest degree of bodily welfare and consequent longevity.

There are three determining factors to be considered in a study of this question of health—heredity, environment, and education—from a brief review of which we will be the better prepared to examine critically and intelligently the glaring faults of the profit system of industry in its relation to public health, and at the same time to grasp the possibilities of the future co-operative commonwealth, toward the establishment of which many progressive, thinking men are zealously striving.

That malformations and physical peculiarities are frequently hereditary; that weaknesses or tendencies toward certain diseases are transmitted from parent to offspring are facts too well known to require comment. Breeders of fine horses study the question of heredity closely, knowing that to produce a higher standard of excellence great care must be exercised in the selection and condition of sire and dam. And yet human life is so cheap, such a drug on the market, that, except as a scientific theory, little or no attention is paid to the breeding of a physical body designed to be the abode of an immortal soul. The construction of that marvelous instrument by means of which infinite mind manifests and creates noble works of art is left to chance so far as we are consciously concerned. Why is it that the breeding of horses claims so much more scientific care than that of human beings? The answer is, of course, because of the profit. Now, as profits from all industries grow by squeezing all the labor power out of the working class compatible with continued existence, what sort of children would naturally be born to these overburdened parents, and to the anxious unemployed, and to the criminal class, hopeless and criminal because of the overburdening of those of us necessary to capitalist production? Congenital cripples, degenerates, criminals and idiots, certainly in fearful abundance. But you will say, "Not only from the working class do these degenerates and criminals descend, but from the capitalist class as well." A philosopher has said, "When you fasten one end of a chain about the neck of a slave, be sure the other end will fasten itself around your own." Another greater philosopher has said, "As ye sow, so shall ye also reap."

The idleness, self-indulgence and sensuality of the capitalist class are also debilitating and destructive, and the offspring of these human parasites are subject to the same law of heredity. Again you may ask: "Have the producers of the world's wealth sown seed that they should reap so much sorrow and injustice?" It must be so. They are paying the penalty of ignorance and stubbornness; they have ears, but hear not; eyes, but see not. They have the power to set everything aright, but sell it for a pittance in factories for their undoing; give it away at the polls for their enslavement.

The Power of Environment

The late Henry Drummond, that indefatigable seeker after truth, says:

"Heredity and environment are the master forces of the organic world. They have made all of us what we are. These forces are ceaselessly playing upon all our lives, and he who truly understands these influences; he who has decided how much to allow each; he who can regulate new forces as they arise, or adjust them to the old, directing them as at one moment to operate, at another to counteract, and another, understands the rational of personal development. To seize continuously the opportunity of more and more perfect adjustment to better and higher conditions, to balance some inward evil with some purer influence acting from without, in a word, to make our environment at the same time it is making us—these are the secrets of a well ordered and successful life."

From these few sentences, glowing

with most wholesome truth, we are led to see the modifying influence of environment upon physical man. We learn that hereditary taints can be eliminated by purifying influences acting from without; in short, that the best results must follow the establishment of the most perfect environment.

Environment of the Masses

Every material and every immaterial thing in existence which affects mankind must be included in the term, environment; pure water and happiness both conduce to good health. Let us now examine some of the material surroundings of a large number of our people, the poor who are with us always, and whose ranks we not infrequently help to swell. We have all visited the loathsome tenement house, either in person or in imagination as we read the harrowing newspaper accounts of these New York and London dens, the infamous products of capitalist greed; monuments erected by disinherited humanity to commemorate in a fitting manner the exploits of our industrial chiefs! Men, women and children crowded into dirty, cheerless rooms, breathing and rebreathing the stifling, vitiated air, continuing a miserable existence under the most unhumanizing influences. Full of excusable hatred for so-called Christian society, they curse God and presently find—at least, let us hope—temporary relief in death. If there were no other proofs of the viciousness of the present arrangements of our social relations than the shameful horrors of the tenement house, that alone would stamp our system a wretched failure.

The Cause Must Be Cured

Is it possible to apply hygienic laws to the surroundings of these oppressed and demoralized people?

Your legislative bodies may enact all sorts of sanitary laws, but these disease-breeding tenements furnish ideal soil for the multiplication of deadly germs, and until you remove the conditions which permit, or rather produce, such places, your laws and their attempted execution are farcical.

Now look into some of the illy-ventilated, crowded factories where many of your commodities are produced and let us ask ourselves: "Why are these factories not arranged with a view of increasing the comfort and health of the operatives?" The answer is that factories are arranged with a view of increasing the profits of the men who own but do not operate the machinery, little or no attention being paid to the dull wage slave, especially when considerable expense is attached to sanitary improvements. That a few modern factories are well equipped with health-promoting conditions is true, but as the strength of a chain is determined by its weakest link, so our industrial system must be measured by its most imperfect features. When Edwin Markham visited the sweat shops in New York recently, his artistic soul was so horrified at the inhuman spectacle that he began a descriptive letter with the words, "I have been in hell!" I have sometimes wondered what forceful language he would have used to express his emotions had he been compelled to exercise his "inalienable right to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness" at one of the machines in such a corner of our industrial chaos.

The Fruits of Capitalism

The tenement house and the sweat shop represent the extreme points of degradation to which the capitalist scheme of exploitation and plunder has brought our homes and factories. Both are directly and indirectly productive of disease, but under the private ownership of mills, mines and machines, public control by legislative enactments of the sanitary or other conditions of these means of production amounts to practically nothing, at least in this country. Factory laws have shared the same fate with all other laws interfering with the profits of capitalists; all are gently but firmly consigned to "innocuous desuetude."

Socialism the Only Solution

Socialism offers the only rational solution to all the questions of public well-being. Just think of the brain power wasted in the past by our legal lights and college professors trying to explain to us that the brute features of the competitive system of industry are essential to progress! Is it not perfectly plain that if public health is to be preserved and man's material environment improved, perhaps perfected, public ownership and consequent control of all the mechanism of production and distribution of the necessities which conduce to health and happiness is absolutely imperative, so that not one individual in society can be shut out from an opportunity to enjoy all its blessings?

Arizona Socialists

in every community should correspond with M. J. Casper, Box 178, Globe, Tucson, Ariz. We have plans for keeping organizers in the field to organize branches in every town in Arizona before November; 500 Socialists pledging 25 cents per month each will do it. Don't miss it—write at once.

Have your card inserted in the BRANCH DIRECTORY, 25 Cents per Month. It will help you in the work in your locality.

AMERICAN ARISTOCRACY

Charles Trench.

It is a remarkable and well attested fact that a large majority of our working classes are laboring under the impression that we have no aristocracy. It also seems to be a general opinion among them that there are no privileged classes among us. I remember, while addressing a crowd on Boston Common last summer, that my allusion to American aristocracy was received with shouts of derision; but I observed that it was only the elderly portion of my audience who objected to this un-American expression. These men were not only well advanced in years, but were in a conspicuous state of poverty. On inquiry, I discovered that these ancient Republicans were, at one time, thriving storekeepers, and well-to-do artisans, and that trusts and machinery had caused their utter ruin.

When I inveighed against the infernal system which had reduced them to their deplorable condition they eyed me with the expression of men who thought me insane. Like the Chinese, they were proud of their country and its institutions. Any of my comments which might tend to lower Hannanism in the estimation of the public they felt as a personal outrage. Their devotion to party appeared to be a superstition as stupid and degrading as the ancient Egyptian worship of cats and crocodiles! It is surprising with what tenacious zeal men of all classes and creeds do cling to absurdities in which they have been educated. It often happens that those past the meridian of life can see nothing, learn nothing and believe nothing that is contrary to their preconceived notions. All new ideas, relating to social or economic science, are execrated as impious novelties.

There were, however, many young men in the crowd who listened with profound interest while I expounded the principles of Socialism. They understood at once the impudent fictions which had been palmed upon them in relation to the liberty and equality enjoyed by American citizens.

I venture to affirm, my good working friends, that you would not tolerate half the crushing burdens which are imposed upon you were this country governed by a monarchy instead of a sham republic. There is no fact more certain than that many of you are deceived into submission by empty names. Shrewd despots, in all ages, have been aware that mankind is mainly governed by names. They accordingly disguised their most tyrannical acts under high sounding phrases which appealed to the vanity of their intended victims.

In spite of assertions to the contrary there is probably no part of the civilized world where profitable humbug and patriotic buncombe is so successfully employed as in this country. I am no advocate of monarchy, nor do I wish to underrate the evils attending monarchical rule, but I can assure you that far more oppressive tyranny and degradation are possible under a capitalistic republic than under a European despotism.

In Europe, where royalty and aristocracy are recognized, persons belonging to ancient and wealthy families are endowed with considerable educational advantages. They are rich by inheritance, and value money as a means to ends, and not as an idol to be worshipped.

But in this country a most pernicious influence is exerted by an acknowledgment of the aristocracy of wealth. We must all be aware of the fabulous wealth gathered into the coffers of sharking gold barons, more or less unscrupulous, and ignorant. They cannot conceive of anything else so desirable and attractive as money. That ruining hundreds of families by a rascally financial scheme is wicked and disgraceful never enters their heads. This ought to excite no surprise. According to the moral code of our speculating aristocracy morality has no marked value; intellectual achievements pay no dividends, and honesty is an infirmity. Yet these are the men who own and control our whole system of government.

In view of these considerations, who can deny, with any show of reason, that we are ruled by the most powerful, arrogant and ignorant aristocracies in the world? To such a pitch have they brought their importance that they not only control the people, but to a great extent shape public opinion. When they enact tariff laws to fleece the masses they are considered by millions of misguided people as benefactors and promoters of commercial prosperity. When one or more of them grant a small part of their ill-gotten wealth to endow a public library or university they are always lauded as philanthropists.

My working friends, whoever looks must see that this terrible flood of iniquity and its resulting misery is gaining ground every day. What is the meaning of American aristocracy and its associate capitalism? I can tell you broadly it means unlimited power and opportunity for rogues to become enormously rich by wrecking honest men. It means gangs of knaves associated together for the purpose of public robbery. It further means millions of human beings living the life of slaves and dying the death of paupers.

But it is not too much to affirm that a remedy for this atrocious injustice is in your own hands. Though it has been

stated a thousand times, it cannot be repeated too often, that Socialism is the only door of hope which is open to the working classes. By voting for either of the two old parties you are only assisting the few to rule and plunder the many. You are only helping to render lives, that might be a blessing, a calamity and a curse. By the success of Bryanism you will have the same old gang at the same old game. But the triumph of the Social Democratic Party will make land, machinery and all monopolies common property; that is the only means of destroying the cancer-worm of capitalism which is eating the very heart out of the nation. Lay hold of the great truths of Socialism, and if the Almighty has endowed you with a gleam of understanding you will see that it is the only means of driving off the financial cormorants who are robbing labor of its gains.

Southern California, Attention

All Socialists in the seven southern counties of Southern California should now get to work and so far as possible form branches in every voting precinct. To further this end communicate at once with James T. VanRensselaer, 1618 Taborian street, Los Angeles, Cal.

THE PLATFORM

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness depend upon equal political and economic rights.

In our economic development an industrial revolution has taken place, the individual tool of former years having become the social tool of the present. The individual tool was owned by the worker who employed himself and was master of his product. The social tool, the machine, is owned by the capitalist and the worker is dependent upon him for employment. The capitalist thus becomes the master of the worker and is able to appropriate to himself a large share of the product of his labor.

Capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people; but the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system will necessitate the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare.

The present system of social production and private ownership is rapidly converting society into two antagonistic classes—i. e., the capitalist class and the propertyless class. The middle class, once the most powerful of this great nation, is disappearing in the mill of competition. The issue is now between the two classes first named. Our political liberty is now of little value to the masses unless used to acquire economic liberty.

Independent political action and the trade union movement are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its political, the other its economic wing, and both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system.

Therefore the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be:

First—The organization of the working class into a political party to conquer the public powers now controlled by capitalists.

Second—The abolition of wage-slavery by the establishment of a national system of co-operative industry, based upon the social or common ownership of the means of production and distribution, to be administered by society in the common interest of all its members, and the complete emancipation of the socially useful classes from the domination of capitalism.

The working class and all those in sympathy with their historic mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America.

The control of political power by the Social Democratic party will be tantamount to the abolition of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting the millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international Socialism, the brotherhood of man.

As steps in that direction, we make the following demands:

First—Revision of our federal constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to complete control of government by the people irrespective of sex.

Second—The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

Third—The public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones; all means of transportation, and communication; all water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

Fourth—The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal, and other mines, and all oil and gas wells.

Fifth—The reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

Sixth—The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

Seventh—Useful inventions to be free, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

Eighth—Labor legislation to be national, instead of local, and international when possible.

Ninth—National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.

Tenth—Equal civil and political rights, for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

Eleventh—The adoption of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

Twelfth—Abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

The Sixth Annual Issue of

The Labour Annual

is now ready, edited and published by Joseph Edwards, Wallasey, Cheshire, England

The "American Section" (edited by Leonard D. Abbott) contains the following: "A Year's Work as Socialist Mayor" by John C. Chase; "A Year as Socialist Legislator" by James F. Carey; "Socialism in America During 1899," etc. There are full lists of American reformers, organizations and books. In all, there are over 60 original articles and 48 portraits, including Carey, Gronlund, Harron, Mayor Jones and John Swin ton. Cloth 60 cts.; Paper 25 cts.

Send orders to LEONARD D. ABBOTT

336 W. 71st Street, New York

Pocket Library of Socialism

1. *Women and the Social Problem.* By May Wood Brown. Shows that the emancipation of women will only come with the emancipation of man through socialism.
2. *The Evolution of the Class Struggle.* By William H. Morris. A historical study showing how socialism is coming.
3. *Impudent Harriages.* By ROBERT BRATTON. A masterly answer to the argument that "poor dance" would help the laborer.
4. *Packington's.* By A. M. SIMONS. A study of the Union Stock Yards, Chicago; how nature and man are alike scientifically exploited.
5. *Realism in Literature and Art.* By CHARLES D. DAWSON. Shows how the workers of modern art and literature are helping on the new social order.
6. *Single Tax vs. Socialism.* By A. M. SIMONS. Shows the inadequacy of the Single Tax as a remedy for the evils pointed out by Henry George.
7. *Wage-Labor and Capital.* By HENRY MARK. The essence of the great philosopher's theory, in his own words.
8. *The Man Under the Machine.* By A. M. SIMONS. Tells how wage slavery began, what it is today and how the workers are going to free themselves. A condensed handbook of socialism.
9. *The Mission of the Working Class.* By RAY CHARLES H. YALL, author of "Modern Socialism," etc.
10. *Morals and Socialism.* By CHARLES H. KENN. Shows how popular ideas of morals are manipulated in the interest of the capitalist class.
11. *Socialist Songs.* Sixteen good ones, \$1.00 every one knows.
12. *After Capitalism What?* By REV. WILLIAM T. BROWN. A logical historical study showing that socialism must come as the result of forces now at work.
13. *A Political Quack Doctor.* By W. A. COCKE. A socialist view of the "Prohibition" movement.

Daintily printed, five cents each, post-paid. SPECIAL OFFER—For one dollar we will mail forty copies of the Pocket Library, all of one kind, as assorted as preferred.

SEND ORDERS TO

THEODORE DEBS

126 Washington St., CHICAGO

The Book You Need

PRINCIPLES OF

Scientific Socialism

By Rev. Charles H. Vall

Author "Modern Socialism" and "National Ownership of Railways."

CONTENTS:

- The Industrial Revolution. The Analysis of Value. The Origin of Surplus Value.
- The Advantages of Socialism: Production, Distribution, Elimination of Useless Vocations, Prevention of Waste, Elevation of Woman, Proper Care and Training of Children, Efficient Direction of Soldiers of the Modern Question, Abolition of Taxation, Simplification of Government, Benefits to Capitalists, Benefits to Laborers.
- The Evidence of the Moral Strength of Socialism: Its Spirit and Aim; Abolition of Business Dishonesty; Restriction of Divorce; Prevention of Prostitution; Elimination of Crime; Prevention of Intemperance, Insanity, etc.
- Slavery—Its Cause and Cure. Wage Slavery vs. Chattel Slavery. Rent and Interest. The Law of Wages. The Law of Progress. Industrial Depressions and Commercial Crises. The Problem of Labor-Saving Machinery.
- Popular Economic Errors: That Value is Determined by Capitalist Cost of Production; that the Interests of Laborers and Capitalists are identical; that Labor is Better Off Today Than Ever Before; that Cheap Prices are Beneficial to Labor; that Foreign Markets are Beneficial to Labor; that Luxury is Beneficial to Labor; that Land Nationalization Would Solve the Social Question; that Extravagance is the Cause of Economic Want; that Socialism Would Thwart Inventions and Improvements; that Socialism Would Destroy Individuality. Conclusion and Index.

12mo, 238 Pages; Paper, 35c; Cloth, \$1.00.

SEND ORDERS TO

THEODORE DEBS, 126 Washington St.

CHICAGO

Headquarters for Literature.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC.

1. Liberty Debt, 50c.
2. Morris England, Blatchford, 10c.
3. Municipal Socialism, Gordon, 50c.
4. Prison Labor, Debs, 50c.
5. Socialism and Democracy, Hyndman, 50c.
6. Gov't Ownership of Railways, Gordon, 50c.
7. Oration on Voltaire, Victor Hugo, 50c.
8. Evolution of Industry, Watkins, 50c.
9. Hard Times: Cause and Cure, Gordon, 50c.
10. Women: Past, Present and Future, Bebel, 50c.
11. The Red Light, Casson, 25c.
12. The Pullman Strike, Cardwaine, 25c.
13. Co-operative Commonweal, Gronlund, 50c.
14. The New Economy, Gronlund, \$1.25.
15. Progressive Examination of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, Hill, 50c.
16. Locomotive Running Repairs, Hitchcock, 50c.
17. Simple Lessons in Drawing for the Shop, Reynolds, 50c.
18. Air Brake Practice, Phelan, \$1.00.
19. Ready Reference, Alexander, \$1.50.
20. Locomotive Running and Management, Sinclair, \$2.00.
21. Compound Locomotives, Woods, \$2.00.
22. Twenty Years with the Indicator, Pray, \$2.00.
23. Hand-Book of the Locomotive, Roper, \$2.00.
24. New Catechism of the Locomotive, Fitch, \$2.00.

Note.—Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 in lots of 10 copies, 5 cents; in lots of 100 copies, \$1.50. No. 2 in lots of 10 copies, 50 cents; in lots of 100 copies, \$1.50. Send orders to

DEBS PUBLISHING CO.,

TERRE HAUTE, IND.

NATIONAL FUND

The following is a list of comrades who have agreed, in response to the appeal of the National Executive Board, to contribute monthly for one year to the national fund. Other names will be added as they are received.

- | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| CONNECTICUT | NEW YORK |
| Fineliver, N. H., Hartford | Fales, I. C., Boscawen |
| Abbott, B., Hartford | Abbott, L. D., New York |
| | Rutcher, Wm., Brooklyn |
| ILLINOIS | Thomas, E. H., New York |
| Stedman, S., Chicago | Kutcher, Wm., New York |
| James, C., Chicago | Hais, F. W., New York |
| P. C. L., Chicago | Loupoulay, Jas., New York |
| "A Friend", Chicago | Rankin, J., New York |
| Dr. J. H. Gross, Chicago | Wapell, Chas., New York |
| W. Brown, Chicago | Mark Hapshel, New York |
| James Wright, Chicago | Aaron N. Rodofsky, New York |
| INDIANA | Phillip Gruber, New York |
| E. V. Debs, Terre Haute | Santer, Wm., New York |
| MASSACHUSETTS | Meade, T. F., Brooklyn |
| Flanders, F. B., Haverhill | Pankopf, Carl, Jersey City |
| Cohen, A., Boston | Karl Lindner, Paterson |
| Parlor, L. W., Newbury | "Comrade", Newark |
| Monette, G. U., Brockton | |
| Bowworth, W. P., Brockton | OHIO |
| Tate, Peter, Everett | Rever, Jos., Cleveland |
| Hitchcock, D. G., Warren | Zorn, Julius, Cincinnati |
| Goldman, S., Haverhill | Brann, F., Cleveland |
| Hough, E. C., W. Newton | Altenberndt, C., Cleveland |
| Chase, J. C., Haverhill | PENNSYLVANIA |
| Brown, J. W., Templeton | Lewis, J. H., Pittsburgh |
| Grievance, C. B., Amesbury | F. W. Hirt, Erie |
| Allen, Helen, N. Lynn | |
| Keown, Dr. J. A., Lynn | TENNESSEE |
| Caray, Jas. F., Haverhill | Enloe, Dr. B. H., Nashville |
| | Hamilton, W. A., Nashville |
| | Mahoney, Wm., Nashville |
| | TEXAS |
| | Price, R. B., Houston |
| | MISSOURI |
| | Berger, V. L., Milwaukee |
| | Rooney, E. H., Milwaukee |
| | Ziegler, E., Milwaukee |
| | Dorrier, John, Milwaukee |
| | Reichman, G., Milwaukee |
| | Arnold, L., Milwaukee |
| | Meister, E., Milwaukee |
| | Neumann, C., Milwaukee |
| | Tride, E., Milwaukee |
| | Heath, F., Milwaukee |
| | Branch, C., Milwaukee |

The Union Label

on everything you buy is a guarantee that the producers thereof receive a fair rate of wages for its production. Insist on having the label

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

VOL. II. No. 49

CHICAGO, ILL., U. S. A., SATURDAY, MAY 26, 1900.

Whole No. 99.

BREAK IN THE RANKS OF THE MID-ROAD POPULISTS

The break has come; the evolution has been completed for a large number of middle-of-the-road populists during the past month, and the Social Democratic party is about to make a distinct and widely extended advance. This is noticeably true in Iowa, as the subjoined letters addressed to Mr. A. W. C. Weeks, chairman of the people's party state committee, will testify:

Populist Leader Quits

Lone Tree, Iowa, May 15, 1900.

A. W. C. Weeks, Chairman, etc., Winterset, Iowa:

Dear Sir—It has been a growing conviction with me for several years that the complete and final cure for the social and economic ills which today grievously afflict mankind can be brought about only by the reconstruction of society in harmony with the principles of modern Socialism. I am constrained to believe that reformers should work with a party whose aims are purely Socialistic, and whose principles permit of no compromise with capitalism, or fusion with capital serving parties, and should not scatter their votes through other and various organizations.

There is no middle ground on which to wage a conflict between the capitalism of the present day and its natural opponent, the co-operative commonwealth. Neither can there be harmony or compromise between these two forces.

"A step in the right direction" party will never secure anything further than that of obtaining public patronage for its politicians and of crushing the hopes of those of its supporters who sought for "half a loaf."

A party such as the people's, which is one-third capitalistic, two-thirds Socialistic, with capitalistic parties on one side and a Socialistic party on the other, has no ground on which to sow its seed. On the one hand the Bryan forces draw those who are easily attracted by "sounding brass" and the "tinkling cymbal"; while, on the other, the advanced thinkers easily see that in Socialism alone is found the means to overcome the inequalities of wealth distribution.

Under these conditions the people's party remains simply an exhibition of stubborn adherence to a name.

The democratic and republican parties are both undeniably capitalistic. They both defend individualism and uphold the competitive system. Socialism is the direct antipodes of each and of both. To a Socialist the conflict between these two parties is nothing more than a great national debate, the prize of which is public patronage.

Whatever good the people's party might have accomplished was rendered impossible when the knife of fusion was thrust into its vitals. The party is dead from this blow and without hope of resurrection under the same name and with the same ideals. The greenback party died from fusion wounds and brought in its stead the union labor party. Fusion again accomplished its deadly work and the people's party was born. Again was struck the deadly fusion blow and this time it is Socialism, which has risen in the place of the people's party. Each party has been a step to the final goal. All of the above parties have been more or less capitalistic, and notice that fusion has always been obtained on the capitalistic part of the platform, never on the Socialistic.

What we need now is a reform party which is Socialistic through and through, and in which there is not a vestige of capitalism. Such a party is the Social Democratic. We need a leader in whom the labor world has confidence. Such a leader is Eugene V. Debs, a man tried both by time and conditions. In view of all of the foregoing I cannot hesitate longer to enlist in the cause, and by this public announcement declare that such ability as I possess shall henceforth be devoted to the cause of Socialism.

Having declared my purpose in the above, it only remains to tender to you and to the populists of Iowa my resignation as, first, a member of the national people's party committee; second, a member of the state central committee; third, as secretary of the latter organization. Fraternally yours,

A. W. Ricker.

Joins Social Democratic Party

From Hon. Charles A. Lloyd, candidate for governor of Iowa on the people's party ticket, 1897 and 1899: To the Members of the People's Party of Iowa:

In announcing my purpose to support the principles and candidates of the Social Democratic party, I feel that it is a severance of party ties in name only, since the state platform on which you named me as your candidate for governor last fall was clearly

on the lines of the principles of the Social Democracy. I have never been a stickler for mere partisanship, as such, perceiving that it is today the bond of subjection to oppression that makes reform of such slow growth, for could we have eliminated the fetich of partyism from the minds of the American laborers and producers of wealth, we would have long ago reached the conscience and convinced the judgment of the millions of party-controlled wage slaves and toilers that today are voting power that makes private monopoly, militarism and wage slavery of such long life; and surely we who have ever urged the breaking of party ties whenever such a course would best conserve the principles we love, should never hesitate a moment when our judgment leads us to believe that more can be accomplished by a new alignment for the fundamental principles of justice and liberty than could be secured in the old organization, and this, my fellow populists, is my sole reason for giving my support to the new and young party, the Social Democracy. It has life, activity, growth. The people's party was killed by fusion and the heroic efforts of the few brave and undaunted men who have clung to and shared its trials since then have only been rewarded by a constantly diminishing vote. The principles of the Social Democracy are placed upon the bedrock of a truly productive industry, founded in the solidity of the co-operative commonwealth, whose fruits are Plenty and whose ways are Peace.

My brother reformers, for the trust you have repeatedly reposed in and the honors conferred upon me, during the many years we have worked together, I can only express my eternal gratitude and cannot believe that this action upon my part will sever a single friendly tie that has heretofore bound us together. Very respectfully,

Charles A. Lloyd.

Muscataine, Iowa, May 11, 1900.

Is Now a Social Democrat

Van Horne, Iowa, May 18, 1900.

To A. W. C. Weeks, Chairman, People's Party, State Committee, Winterset, Iowa—

Dear Sir: It becomes my duty to sever my connection with the people's party, and I hereby resign as a member of the state committee from the Fifth district. In leaving the people's party to join the Social Democracy I will briefly explain my reasons for said course.

In the first place, in leaving the people's party I am impelled by reasons that pertain to its management—rather mismanagement—in the past.

The people's party has shown itself incapable of self-management and become secondary and subservient to a party of incoherence, insincerity and sham reform. This is the testimony of the memorable campaign of 1896, whose story you know. Since that time the people's party, having once become inoculated with the fatal virus of fusion, has been as "a house divided against itself," and it was as clear to my mind then as it is today that in consequence it would fail.

Now, as for joining the Social Democracy. In doing this I need not and do not make a sacrifice of any principle which the people's party now holds or has held. As a matter of fact the intrinsic value, the real essence of the populist platforms from Omaha down has been the Socialism they contained. I am simply leaving a party that is partially Socialistic, and therefore inconsistent, for one that is consistent, that is wholly Socialistic.

While on the one extreme the republican party is essentially capitalistic, or anti-Socialistic, it is at least honest and consistent; and while the democratic party is partially Socialistic, the fusion populists more, and the middle-roads still more so, yet all these three are discordant, incongruous, inconsistent bodies, collectively as well as individually, and show no fixed or well-defined aim, except it be that they point to the other logical extreme—namely, Socialism. Therefore the Social Democratic program, being purely, completely Socialistic, is consistent and logical, and is the only antithesis, the only real opponent of republican or republico-democratic capitalism. The future of this country lies between republicanism, which is capitalism, on the one hand, and Socialism, its logical antagonist, on the other. There is no middle-road, no fusion fence to climb on; it is one thing or the other. And no other party or system can prevent the line of battle from crystallizing down to these two positions finally, one or the other of which we must finally support. "Choose ye whom ye will serve." I am henceforth going the whole hog. I am going with

thousands of others into a movement that knows not fusion (and its logical result, confusion); a movement that is international in extent, a party that is universal in its scope, that aims at the dethronement of capitalism as a system, in all lands, whether headed by an Emperor William in Germany, a Queen Victoria in England or a Republican McKinley in the United States. And this by the enthronement, the institution of a system of co-operative industry, as well as government, culminating in the highest mortal ideal, the brotherhood of the human race. In so leaving I bear no ill will toward the people's party or any other reform party. And bidding adieu, I have the firm hope that I will meet the majority of true reformers again on the Social Democratic platform, sooner or later, according to how quickly and thoroughly each grasps the situation. Yours fraternally,

Dr. C. Wirth.

YOUR VOTE AND YOUR SYMPATHY

By Harry F. Dyruff

"Trust no future, how'er pleasant,
Let the dead past bury its dead.
ACT—ACT in the living present.
Heart within and God o'erhead."
—Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.

I watched one day a cat playing with a mouse which it had caught; it would allow it a little freedom to spur it to renewed efforts for liberty, then would pounce upon it again, then release it, until it finally killed the little creature. This little incident brought to my mind the struggle between labor and capital in the United States. The mouse was oppressed by what was apparently the stronger, just as labor is oppressed by what apparently is the stronger. Yet in reality in which class lies the strength? All laborers individually are as the mouse, in the hands of the capitalists. Imagine a mouse realizing its power, calling together its fellow-mice, co-operating with them, and in one united co-operative onslaught overpowering the cat and ending its existence. So could the laborer crush and abrogate the capitalist were he to combine with his fellows and in one combined co-operative endeavor take to himself that which is rightfully his. Single-handed he is powerless; as a part of an organized body he is all powerful. The capitalist class now plays with labor as the cat with the mouse; it allows it a little freedom to spur it to renewed efforts, then crushes it again. If labor does not awaken to the needs of the situation and combination is not effected, it will be crushed when such combination will be too late to be effective. Many workmen look at the temporary relief sometimes given them by half-way reformers as a good thing for them—just as the mouse thinks temporary freedom is a good chance for him to escape, but its results are always reactionary. Shall we advocate, as the Bryan element does, the election of a man who would retard the perfection of industrial organization? Or shall we support the man who would seize for the common good these beautiful, co-operative, systematized industries after they have been perfected?

I say let us stop this silly play. Let us stop this compromising before our compromises have been accepted. Get down to good hard work and toil hard for the final ending. "Hitch your wagon to a star," and not to a flimsy balloon which may at any time burst and precipitate you to the ground. Aim high and don't forget to do more than talk, but act. Action speaks a thousand times louder than words. And don't be a hypocrite; don't preach Socialism and then go to the ballot box and act something else. Don't talk Socialism and then cast your vote for everything under the sun but Socialism! And don't croak. If there is anything that makes one feel disgusted it is to see a man going around saying, "Socialism is fine, excellent; I believe in it, but we cannot win." You cannot get results unless you work for them and work hard; you cannot get political reforms unless you vote for them—not only preach, but vote for them. If every Socialist would say, "Well, we can't elect our ticket this year, so what is the use of voting for it?" we would never get a step farther. By showing a large increase in your vote each year you would attract thousands who now say Socialism is impracticable and many others would open their eyes to our rapid growth and would say, "Well, there must be something practical in this or it wouldn't grow so fast." Therefore, don't forget that the only way to get Socialism is to vote for it, and not simply talk for it. Talk is cheap; it's action we want and need, and I hope you will be manly and true in November by voting the straight Socialist ticket, headed by those illustrious champions of labor and justice, Eugene V. Debs and Job Harriman.

Have your card inserted in the
BRANCH DIRECTORY, 25 Cents per
Month. It will help you in the work
in your locality.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY WHEN ORGANIZED AND WHY

The Social Democratic party was organized at Chicago, June 11, 1898. At that time and for many years previous there existed the Socialist Labor party, an organization controlled by a faction in New York and conducting its affairs generally throughout the country through a system of espionage and persecution of individuals, which was carried to the extreme of suspending or expelling members on causes of the most trivial character and for no cause at all, and always arrayed in hostility toward the regular trades unions and those connected with organized labor.

The Socialist movement in the United States never made any notable advance as a result of the propaganda of the Socialist Labor party. While its principles were, in the main, sound and revolutionary, its spirit and method were repulsive and directly subversive of the ends which, as a Socialist organization, it sought to attain. The vote cast for candidates of this party, confined chiefly to New York City, was trifling, whether in local, state or national elections. It could not have been otherwise, for the objectionable party tactics were supplemented by the narrow bigotry of a party organ, the People, a weekly paper of very limited circulation.

In spite of the methods of the Socialist Labor party, however, and with almost no help from those known to be identified with that organization, the propaganda for Socialism was true and constant and the cause itself won new advocates and adherents in all parts of the country. This was noticeably true in the years 1894-'96-'98, when the Socialist vote was 33,133, 36,564 and 91,953, respectively, the last item including the first vote of the Social Democratic party and representing the total vote cast for Socialism in 1898. In that year the Social Democratic party was organized, but in only three or four states and a few communities in these states was the new party well enough organized to do effective work. Previous to that, however, in January, 1897, Eugene V. Debs issued a card announcing his conversion and adherence to the principles of Socialism. This action on the part of one so well and favorably known to the country, coupled with the great upheaval following the Pullman strike, unquestionably had much to do with the marked increase of the Socialist vote from 36,564 in 1896 to 91,953 in 1898. Here was a jump of 55,389 votes in two years. In the two years previous, from '94 to '96, there was an increase of only 3,431.

Another factor to be reckoned with in this connection is this, that while, as already stated, the Socialist Labor party papers had very limited circulation, and in whole states and divisions of the country were entirely unknown, such publications as the Coming Nation (distinctively Socialistic after August, 1896) and the Appeal to Reason, with a combined circulation of 100,000 copies weekly, were disseminating Socialist principles where Socialist Labor party papers were never seen and going in far greater numbers than Socialist Labor party papers into sections of the country where the largest Socialist vote was cast.

The cause of Socialism was advancing, not because of the Socialist Labor party organization and its antagonism to trades unionism and a hypercritical attitude toward those who were coming to an acceptance of the root principle of Socialism, but without its help and in spite of a species of insanity that characterized its alleged propaganda.

The Coming Nation and Appeal to Reason have been a positive, vital force in whatever acquisition to the Socialist movement has been shown at the polls since 1896 and even before.

The Social Democratic party was organized, not for the purpose of multiplying parties avowing the same principles, but both as a natural consequence of a growing American sentiment favorable to Socialism and as a protest against a pernicious policy which, to the present time, is a hindrance to the growth of the movement.

How Organized

Five or more persons can organize a branch of the Social Democratic party. Any reputable person subscribing to the principles of the organization is eligible to membership.

Desiring to organize a branch, application should be made to the national secretary for copies of the constitution, which should be placed in the hands of the prospective members. In these will be found the declaration of principles, as also the laws of the organization.

Having secured the names of five or more Socialists, a meeting is called and the branch is instituted by electing a secretary, treasurer and organizer.

The names of these officers are forthwith transmitted by the secretary to the

national secretary, together with the names and postoffice addresses of all the members and the required fee as hereinafter specified, whereupon a charter is issued by the national secretary and the branch is duly organized and prepared for active operation.

The admission fee is 25 cents per member and quarterly dues 25 cents per quarter, payable in advance, on or before the 1st day of January, 1st day of April, 1st day of July and 1st day of October. If the branch is instituted on or before the middle of the quarter, dues for the full quarter must be paid; if the branch is instituted after the middle of the quarter, the members are exempt for said quarter.

The admission fee of 25 cents and quarterly dues of 25 cents for each member must accompany the secretary's report, else charter cannot be issued.

Fees and Dues—How Applied

The question is sometimes asked, "What use is made of the funds paid in by members?" Information on this point is sought for by those who have not been accustomed to paying dues in political organizations. It is well known that the large amounts of money required for campaign purposes by the old parties are obtained from corporations and financial concerns, and that the rank and file of the voters are seldom if ever called upon to contribute. The Socialist movement necessarily depends for its financial support upon those who accept the principles of Socialism. The propaganda is maintained only at great personal sacrifice on the part of those who can ill afford to make it. But little could be accomplished, however, without organization, and since no organization committed to the revolutionary principles of Socialism can hope for financial support from the class which the adoption of these principles will dispossess of the means of exploiting the working class, no other alternative remains but to provide ways and means to apportion the expense burden among the members. The method of doing this in the Social Democratic party has been explained. The expense is \$1 per year for each member. In consideration of the payment of this amount a member receives every week a copy of the Social Democratic Herald, the regular subscription price of which is Fifty Cents. It is a feature of the policy of the party, justified by results in the past, that every member of the organization is helped and the interests of the party promoted by giving him a paper containing news and information of the movement and the organization. A publishing business and an organization require the services of a national secretary and editor and these persons have to be paid. Then there are such items as office rent, stationery, and so forth, that cannot be avoided because inseparable from the work to be done.

It will thus be seen that there is urgent need for every dollar paid into the organization and that the expenditure of all money is in the interest and for the extension of the principles upon which the organization is based.

Results Justify Party's Existence

Since the party was organized a most enthusiastic and resolute spirit has characterized the work of the comrades in the political arena, and in different sections of the country not less than thirty members of the party have been elected to public positions. It also has the support of many newspapers throughout the country, including the Appeal to Reason, with its circulation of over 100,000 weekly.

Object of the Party

The object of the Social Democratic party, stated in the platform, which will be found on the fourth page of this paper, is:

"First—The organization of the working class into a political party to conquer the public powers now controlled by capitalists.

"Second—The abolition of wage-slavery by the establishment of a national system of co-operative industry, based upon the social or common ownership of the means of production and distribution; to be administered by society in the common interest of all its members, and the complete emancipation of the socially useful classes from the domination of capitalism."

At the national convention of the Social Democratic party, held at Indianapolis, March 6 to 9, 1900, a revised constitution was adopted. This constitution is submitted to the members for a referendum vote and appears in another place in this paper.

Any additional information will be promptly furnished on application to Theodore Debs, national secretary, 126 Washington street, Chicago.

Subscribe for "The Herald"

Social Democratic Herald

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board
JESSE COX, Chairman
SEYMOUR STEDMAN, Secretary
EUGENE V. DEBS, Vice President
FREDERICK HEATH

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, \$5.00. Six months, \$3.00. No papers sent to any one on credit. If, without having subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and no bill will follow. Foreign subscriptions \$10.00.

Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

A. S. EDWARDS, Editor
THEODORE DEBS, National Sec'y-Treas.
186 Washington St., Chicago.

99 is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 100 your subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, MAY 26, 1900.

REPUBLICAN LOOTERS IN CUBA

After the blowing up of the Maine in the harbor of Havana the United States government, in the name of God and good government, started in to confer upon the Cuban people, who had been plundered for centuries by the mercenary Spaniards, the blessings of civilization according to American ideals. Scarcely had this work begun when the whole civilized world was shocked by the discovery of systematic frauds carried on by favorites of the republican administration, and the latter today stands disgraced and all its hypocritical professions unmasked before the world. Strenuous efforts are being made to suppress the facts, but enough is known to convict the administration and those of its place-holders who have jimmied the Cuban safe, to make a return to power impossible with the aid of ballots cast by decent people. A large number of "true and tried" republican office-holders are involved in the schemes of robbery organized by the "civilizers." Their lootings have not been confined to the postoffice, as is shown by a report that a spur of railroad outside of the city of Havana has cost the Cubans \$1,400,000, notwithstanding that it could have been built at a maximum cost of \$125,000. Thus the art of good government and the blessings of civilization which a policy of imperialism seeks to foist upon a people no better off by being freed from Spanish robbers, are made paltry and contemptible.

Neely, the loyal republican who held the office of treasurer of the postoffice department of Cuba, once made himself conspicuous at Muncie, Ind., by trying to break up one of Eugene Debs' meetings. This is the fellow who has been guilty of frauds the extent of which has not yet been ascertained.

Rathbone, one of Marcus Hanna's right-hand men, accused of bribing a member of the Ohio legislature in behalf of McKinley's chief adviser, has been relieved from duty for being caught in the act of trying to graft republican methods on the good government of Cuba.

Of such is the kingdom of the Hanna-McKinley republican combine!

A prominent resident of Washington says of this outrage: "We entered Cuba with promises to the world that we would administer the affairs of that island with integrity and in a spirit of fair play. The result is too shocking to contemplate without anger. The unfortunate part of the matter is that we have yet to hear of the most outrageous betrayals of public and personal faith. I am informed by reliable persons that the conditions in Cuba are simply shocking. The government of that island has been little short of an organized loot."

FRENCH VIEW OF BELLAMY

Our scientific comrades of France are reported in the following dispatch from Paris to have just discovered in Bellamy's "Looking Backward" the "best instrument of Socialistic propaganda extant." This news is pleasing to some of us who organized Nationalist clubs back in 1889, but will throw some people into a conniption fit:

"Paris, May 12.—The Federation of Socialists has just discovered Edward Bellamy's "Looking Backward." Leaders here are wildly enthusiastic and call the book the best instrument of Socialistic propaganda extant. They are having a French translation made. A cheap edition will be printed and distributed free by the million. Jean Jaures, the Socialist leader, said:

"The American masterpiece was quite unknown to us till now. We expect the book will do wonders toward dissipating hostile ignorance against our ideas. We shall erect a statue to Bellamy in Paris within six months. He has contributed more than twenty Deweys together to the glory of the American nation."

The Western Socialist News is the name of a new monthly that comes to the support of the Social Democratic party. It is edited by G. C. Clemens, and this fact in itself will be a guaranty of mighty interesting issues in the future. The subscription is 50 cents a year; office, Topeka, Kan.

NOTES AND COMMENT

It is pleasant to know and be able to record the fact that, notwithstanding the Herald for many weeks was made the vehicle for all the communications for and against union it could carry, there has been a steady addition of new branches and a breaking of ground for the Social Democratic party in new territory. Since the Indianapolis convention seventy-six new branches have sprung into life to work for the cause of human freedom. In this total the southern states are represented with eight branches, the east with thirteen and the west with fifty-five. The organization now has a grand total of 300 branches, the result of less than two years' work, and the prospect for great increase and wide extension of the party's influence has never been as bright as now. No such organization of Socialists has heretofore existed in the United States. Let us push forward to greater achievement.

When all the votes cast by members in good standing or otherwise on the proposition submitted by the executive board are counted, the result is a total of 2,702, a larger referendum vote than was ever cast by any Socialist party in this country. The vote was divided as follows: Against union, 1,453; for, 1,249. It determines the issue and settles the question. The Social Democratic party will now proceed with its proper work of organization. If others want political co-operation in the coming campaign, that can be arranged. If not, the S. D. P. will arrange its own campaign and attend to its own affairs.

We publish this week some very interesting news and letters from Iowa, where the beginnings of a great movement favorable to the Social Democratic party are discernible. The correspondence is indicative of a state of affairs existing wherever honest men have tired of fusion and come to see in Socialism the logical ground and program for the future. Comrade Ricker has been chosen state organizer for the S. D. P. in Iowa. We cordially welcome him and his co-workers to the International Socialist movement.

Reports that letters have been received from members who voted against union regretting their action, are unqualifiedly false. Such reports emanate from those who had union consummated by 95 per cent of the members long before the vote was taken. The trouble with some people is that they are too cock-sure that they are right and all others wrong.

While the looting of Cuba under an American administration is progressing, the patriots of the corporations at home are raiding the public treasury with all sorts of jobs, the latest being an attempt to appropriate \$725,000 to a private company for a pneumatic-tube service worth only \$225,000. How the capitalist class does love the country!

The republican party is to be put in the attitude of leading the fight against its most trusty supporters—the trusts. The republican leaders will appeal to the people to save them from the power, of which they are a part, which has controlled all republican legislation for thirty years.

Reports that the general government will take a hand in the strike and protect non-union men on the Chicago federal building are doubtless without foundation. The administration will do nothing until after election, when the votes are counted.

The American Ice company of New York city has raised the price of ice from 30 cents a hundred pounds last year to 60 cents this season. This is done because the people are so prosperous and the company does not wish to pose as a philanthropic institution.

Gen. Wood says the Cuban mail service should not be blamed for the faults of a handful of rascals. Very true; and nobody is blaming Cuba. The blame is on the administration which is responsible for the rascals, and it can't be shaken off.

Porto Ricans are now enjoying the blessed privilege of being independent under the stars and stripes, with employment at road building for 39 cents a day.

It has been found that one Boer is equal to four Britishers, but when the fifth red jacket is added the Boer farmer finds the odds too great and retreat is necessary.

The hard-working laborer receiving \$1.50 a day would have to work 150 years to earn an amount equal to Rockefeller's income for a single day.

To catch "suckers" some of the big corporations and trusts will put a 10 per cent raise-in-wages bait on the republican hook.

If the McKinley administration wins on its record, the prospects of the country for honesty and self-respect will be in a bad way.

Comrades E. V. Debs, Berger and Stedman left Chicago last Friday to attend a meeting at New York. In next week's Herald the outcome of this meeting will be reported.

Wyoming is going to be heard from. T. C. Tidball, formerly national committeeman of the people's party, has resigned and is in the field organizing the S. D. P.

A prominent supporter of Bryan in 1896, W. J. Walker, says the state of Washington will show 15,000 votes for the Socialist ticket.

INDIVIDUALISM RIPE FOR CHANGE

Amid all the turmoil of the political world, the careful student of economics can see that there is but one problem worthy of public attention. History takes cognizance of several thousand years in the life of the human race, during which time we have lived under a system of individualism. This system has reached its highest attainment. It has fulfilled its mission in that it has preserved the strongest, in that it has developed the survival of the fittest. Under its workings the best in material civilization has been attained. Its motto has been "Every one for himself, everything for itself, that the strongest and best may survive." We do not contend that this system has not been the best for the world until the present time, and we do not pretend to say that a continuation of this system would not in the ages to come, as in the ages past, tend to develop the race along material lines. We think we can clearly see that under its operations the strong Anglo-Saxon race would become the conquerors of the world, and that in a material sense progress would be unchecked. * * * * *

However, a system to be accepted for all time must be judged by the sum total of its effects. When we judge the individualistic system in this way, we can see untold misery and suffering for a large part of the human race. The first great instinct of man is to live, the second is to live happily. Individualism knows no humanity. Its vital principle is selfishness. It gets all it can and keeps it for its own pleasure. It carries its selfishness beyond the grave, giving to its posterity all it has created, with the injunction attached that the next in line of succession add as much thereto as possible. In order that individualism injure no one, it needs for its operation limitless space. So long as it does not take all, no misery results, but when it reaches the limits of a given space, then the master and slave are created. * *

* * * We live in a world confined to so many square miles. These square miles are confined to so many acres and acres to rods and rods to feet. In other words we have a fixed and inextensible space for our abode. With the people who are to live and draw their sustenance from this space, there is no such limit. The multiplication of the species is the unwritten law of nature. Now, let us state the problem more clearly for our consideration. First, a limited space from which to draw our sustenance; second, a population constantly and inevitably expanding; third, an individualistic system which gives to individuals a fixed and permanent control of a given space and the resources thereof; fourth, the inevitable accretion on the part of the naturally strong and the loss of all holding on the part of the weak; fifth, the "few" children born with the legal right to the control of all the resources of the earth and the "many" of posterity, with no privilege to the use of the earth excepting as they may pay tribute to the few; sixth, millionaires and tramps, landlords and tenants, masters and slaves, control of the earth, the liberty, the person and the destiny of the many by the few. Let us admit that individualism will build great navies, construct guns of enormous size, and projectiles of great destructive power; that it will produce magnificent architecture; that it will develop man's material genius by the strife engendered by individual rivalry and the desire on the part of each man to surpass his neighbor, but also let us admit that it will inevitably destroy democracy and equality, and that it will absorb into the hands of the few all the natural resources of the earth; that it is the destroyer of happiness, of honor, of virtue, of all the finer sensibilities of the race, and that it is the promoter of crime, beggary, vice and all the warlike and barbaric instincts of man. * * * * *

The question for solution now is, "Which is to be more considered, property rights and the perpetuation of the same, or human life and the happiness of the race?" If we are to promote the latter, we must change our system. We must take away from the few the right to own and bequeath the earth and the fullness thereof, and place all the resources of the land at the disposal of the race to be used only for sustaining of life. The state, the body of people collectively, must become the protector and sustainer of every human life. We must substitute for individualism the system of co-operation. These two systems are wholly at variance with each other. They cannot be compromised in any way. The one champions the right of the individual to take all that strength and cunning will give, and to use that for his own selfish desires, while the

other champions the right of every man to the free use of that which will sustain life and promote happiness. Individualism is brutal. It is barbaric. It is cannibalistic and belongs with the dark ages from which man has emerged. It has served its purpose and if longer continued will involve the world in misery and pain too great for expression. The co-operative system is human, Christian, brotherly. It conceives all mankind as having a common interest in life. It defends the weak, champions the oppressed, promotes all that is good and beautiful in human character. It will give happiness and contentment to all the people. Vice, crime and all the relics of barbarism will disappear under its mellowing influence. Shall we be barbarians or humanitarians? Is the question we must solve and solve soon. The capitalistic parties stand for individualism and barbarism. The Socialists are for co-operation and humanity.

Lone Tree, Iowa.

A. W. Ricker.

A NEW POLITICAL CODE

Pitch party to the devil, boys—let's take a pull together,
And see what progress we can make when working for ourselves;
Too long we've followed demagogues, as sheep do the bell-wether,
And when they got in office they laid us on the shelves.
Select the men for candidates who stood the brunt of battle
Before stern railway managers, who sought to take their lives,
The men who fought for justice where fierce war of words did rattle,
Though oft it meant starvation for their little ones and wives.

Pitch party to the devil, boys—choose men who never faltered
When hunger and the blacklist awaited their defeat;
Who never sold their manhood or their code of justice altered,
If the battle went against them and compelled them to retreat.
Republicans and democrats, and populists and others,
Always used us and denied us every right for which we fought;
So, hereafter, choose our candidates from amongst our faithful brothers,
Those who faced the foe to aid us—they're the men who can't be bought.
—Shandy Maguire, in Locomotive Firemen's Magazine.

FROM A DEAD NUMBER

Editor Social Democratic Herald—My Dear Comrade: I am so well pleased with the vote on the fusion of the two Socialist parties, that I must send in congratulations. To my mind a union, at this time, and in such an unsatisfactory way, was an absolute impossibility. I am glad the name—Socialist Democratic party—came out whole. The name is a winner. It is sufficiently American to suit every American. It covers the whole reform question. To change the name would be taking a step backward. Our enemies would rejoice over such a step. Every true reformer and Socialist will come over to it in time. A ship that is sailing on as grandly as Social Democracy will never go begging for passengers or crew.

For reasons once stated in the Herald, I have been a dead number in the reform world, but I never once forgot to be a Socialist. No honest man ever renounced Socialism after being truly converted to the cause. Socialism is politics and religion amalgamated into one gospel. To work for the good of man is far more tangible than to work for the glory of God. To love the creature is the highest respect man can render to the Creator. Nothing on earth higher than man; nothing anywhere higher than his Creator. Food and shelter for the creature is veneration for the Creator; justice for man is the highest tribute we can offer to the author of human existence; and Socialism includes all.

If human life is not sacred, if human justice is not sacred, if an opportunity for all to earn a livelihood is not sacred, then nothing is sacred, and the whole universe is a miserable farce—a nightmare of hunger and want—a dream among moldy graves—a skeleton in rags—a mockery—a gall-covered curse.

Labor can win a victory this year without electing a single candidate. Every vote is a victory—pile them up. The old party sharks are already a-tremble. The creators of wealth should be the creators of law. They should be the supreme judges, they should be the government, they should own the world.

But how can we arouse enthusiasm in monopoly cursed Pennsylvania? These poor slaves are still owned by the bosses, and the bosses are owned, body and soul, by the corporations. They will not read, they will not think, they will not act like free men. We have not a single paper to teach them the truth. We need newspapers that publish all the news, the same as the plute papers, and teach Socialism in small doses. A thoroughly Socialist paper scares them. Their mental stomach is weak, their brains are dulled with superstition and prejudice; moral cowardice is in the very air, conscience lies sleeping, liberty is dead.

I fear it would be a waste of powder to hunt for such timid game. Perhaps it is best to talk to people who will listen, who will read and who will think. Our people only drift with the tide, and we must wait here until the flood

reaches our shore. We have no organizations, no leaders, no workers, no one to rouse the sleeping wage slaves for the battle this year.

Let us work this year in localities where the cause is beginning to flourish, where the fire of truth is already lighted, where the hope of freedom is already a part of human life, where men are ready and willing to take hold, where the shackles are already broken, where the hearts beat strong, where the warm blood courses through responsive veins, and where laboring men realize that they are the only source of wealth.

Jersey Shore, Pa. Jacob Huff.

SOCIALISM THE SUPREME FORCE

By George Dales

Socialism is the ripe fruit of pure democracy, made imperative and inevitable by the conditions arising out of the socialization of industry and intercourse, and is the only condition possible finally to a free, enlightened and moral people. Philosophically, it is based upon the highest conception of justice, and recognizes for the first time in history in connection with human polity the mutuality of all true human interests, and that equality which nature so indelibly and persistently stamps upon mankind.

Historically, Socialism is phenomenal and unique; as a world movement it has no parallel; born of social necessity, it comes in its due time and order, and, where the social seed field is especially favorable, it wins its way with the most imperfect and sometimes unconscious propaganda. Ignoring all fortuitous distinctions, appealing to the truly human in man, it sweeps into its ever-swelling ranks the earnest, the thoughtful and best of every race.

Intellectually, it is, to the honest and unprejudiced, irresistible, satisfying alike the proof-demanding, systematic thinker as readily as the common-sense trusting mass of humanity. Rather than utopian, it is the widest possible application of common-sense to human relationships in the place of inherited prejudice and privilege with their countless train of barbarities.

Socialism has many teachers, but no prophets, and is not taught by authority, ever keeping the "open door" to the expanding mind and soul, and multiplies cause with its own mysterious rapidity because nothing short of it fully satisfies man's natural impulse toward perfection. Its root principle has been the inspiration of the noblest in all times, and all that is sweet and strong and true in philosophy, art, religion and literature is making for Socialism as truly as the gigantic economic forces of today. While the material and economic side is properly advanced first, being the basis and governing all other conditions, Socialism carries more in its lap than bread. Fraternity, a true social communion, now impossible, it is the mighty touch of nature making the whole world kin—it is the great heart-beat of humanity.

A REMARKABLE EDITORIAL

A correspondent recently wrote the New York Evening Journal asking what were the four greatest movements in the world today. The paper replied in a long editorial, headed "Earth's Four Great Movements, and a Fifth That Makes the Four Seem Petty." The four movements it specified were: 1. The struggle of Russia to get world territory. 2. The counter movement of England to absorb the world. 3. The German army, forming a formidable obstacle to Russian invasion of western Europe. 4. The Roman church. After explaining these the editorial goes on to say:

"These four movements in their effect on the fourteen hundred millions of human insects who inhabit this earth seem to us most important."

"More important than any of them, more important than all of them combined, perhaps, is the present movement toward industrial combination, generally spoken of as the formation of trusts."

"This extraordinary step in human social evolution must bring these results:

"Abolition of competition, which political economy has hitherto held permanently essential to human progress. Abolition of the individual, of individual prowess, as a factor in further human progress. (?)

"Compulsory control of government—that is to say, by all the people—of all industries."

"INAUGURATION OF NATIONAL AND ULTIMATELY INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM. That is to say, of a system of society in which all the affairs of men will be managed by the social organism for the benefit of the social organism; and no longer by individuals for individuals, as our affairs are managed now."

"Study this great movement of industrial organization. It is the most important on our earth now."

Michigan Socialists

All Social Democrats and all unattached Socialists residing in Michigan are requested to write at once to Henry Ramsey, 84 Railroad street, Battle Creek, Mich., and thus aid in placing a Social Democratic state ticket in the field this fall.

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN FUND

Previously reported.....\$247.65
Branch No. 5.....Marion, Ind.....9.50
\$257.15

NOTICE TO SECRETARIES

The attention of Branch Secretaries is called to the revised constitution in this week's paper. It is submitted for a referendum vote. Secretaries will please bring it to the notice of their Branches without delay.

NOTES FROM THE FIELD

Don't forget the entertainment and dance under Branch No. 7, Chicago, auspices, Friday evening, at Hygeia hall.

Branches Nos. 4 and 6 of Rockville, Conn., will have an outing at Niederwerfer's grove, May 27, to which all comrades and their friends are invited.

Mrs. Corinne Brown addressed a meeting at 65 North Clark street on the question, "What Position Shall Women Take in the Political World?" There was a good attendance and an interesting discussion followed the address.

Branches Nos. 4 and 7, Chicago, will make arrangements for a lawn party and a merry time at 1541 Central boulevard in the near future, when Social Democrats and their friends will be expected to turn out to the last man.

Friday evening, May 25, an entertainment and dance will be given at Hygeia hall, under the auspices of branch 7 of the S. D. P. It is hoped that there will be a large turn out of Socialists and their friends on this occasion.

The following state committee has been elected in New Hampshire: Chairman, Charles H. Mellen, Somersworth; vice-chairman, S. F. Clafin, Manchester; secretary, George Howe, Manchester; treasurer, C. G. Levan, Manchester; organizer, J. H. Bartlett, Bedford.

Beginning next Sunday afternoon a series of meetings will be held at Arena hall, 594 East Sixty-third street, to which the public is cordially invited. The hour set for these meetings is 3 o'clock. The addresses will be given by Social Democrats, to be followed by discussion.

An error occurred in the report of the Illinois state convention last week. The committee elected to represent the party in negotiations for political co-operation with the S. L. P. was not correctly given. Those chosen to serve on the committee were F. G. Strickland, R. H. Johnson, H. H. Fraeich, Seymour Steadman, W. C. Horgan, Ellen Edwards and Mrs. Corinne Brown.

A large number of Social Democrats enjoyed an unusually pleasant evening on Wednesday, May 16, at the home of Comrade W. C. Horgan, Fulton street. The occasion was the marriage of Comrade Michael Holsinger and Miss Maud Horgan. About 130 invited guests were present, and the merry-making time had long been remembered. Mr. and Mrs. Holsinger have the best wishes of a host of friends.

The Herald learns with great pleasure of the continued advocacy of the principles of Social Democracy by the Rev. Father Grady, at Covington, Ky., and vicinity. On Tuesday, May 15, he delivered an eloquent and inspiring lecture to an enthusiastic audience of about 500 at Odd Fellows' Hall, Covington. This is his fourth lecture within three months. The branch at Covington is flourishing.

New Hampshire Ticket

The following ticket has been nominated in New Hampshire:

For Governor—Sumner F. Clafin, Manchester.

For Congressman, First District—Benjamin T. Whitehouse, Dover.

For Congressman, Second District—Edward E. Southwick, Merrimack.

For Presidential Electors—James F. Bean, Origin A. Downing, John H. Bartlett and Louis Arnstein.

Iowa Socialists

All reformers living in Iowa who are interested in the Social Democracy are requested to communicate with the undersigned. By unanimous vote of the S. D. P. branches of the state I have been made the party organizer for the state. I desire the name of every Socialist in Iowa.

A. W. Ricker.

Lone Tree, Iowa.

To Our Connecticut Readers

All unattached Socialists in the state of Connecticut are requested to write Louis Schlaf, 26 Spring street, Rockville, for information concerning the organization of branches.

To Tennessee Socialists: For the

purpose of organizing branches and putting a ticket out this fall, the undersigned urges that you write to him at once. Also send him a list of all unattached Socialists. Wm. L. Hamilton, Organizer Branch No. 1, 323 Russell street, Nashville, Tenn.

NEW BRANCHES

The new branches of the Social Democratic party organized since a year ago, are located at

Wash.

Falls, Mont.

VOTE ON THE CONSTITUTION

The following constitution is submitted to the membership for a referendum vote. It was adopted at the Indianapolis convention to be referred to the members for approval or rejection. Branches are requested to take it up at once and report action through their local secretaries to the national secretary, 126 Washington street, Chicago, not later than June 23. The question is on the adoption or rejection of the constitution as it stands, and the vote must be Yes or No.

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION.

Section 1. This organization shall be known as the Social Democratic Party of America, and its headquarters shall be located at such place as the national conventions of the party may appoint, or as may be fixed by the National Executive Board subject to a referendum vote.

Sec. 2. The Social Democratic Party of America shall be organized as follows:

First—Local branches limited to five hundred members each.

Second—A National Executive Board of nine members, five of whom shall be chosen from territory convenient to the national headquarters, and shall be called "resident members," and the remaining four shall be chosen, so far as possible, from other parts of the country. All members of the Executive Board shall have equal rights and powers; but the resident members shall have power to act and a majority of said resident members shall constitute a quorum. The non-resident members shall not be required to be present at all meetings of the board, but shall be kept advised of all proceedings of the board. The Executive Board shall be elected by the national convention.

Third—The form of state organizations shall be left to the branches in the respective states.

EXECUTIVE BOARD.

Sec. 3. The Executive Board shall have supervision of the party organization, and shall have power to provide such rules, issue such orders and adopt such measures as may be required to carry out the object of the organization; provided, that no action shall be taken which will conflict with the constitution and declaration of principles.

Sec. 4. The National Secretary, Treasurer and editor of the national organ, and such other officers as may be required, shall be elected, and their salaries fixed by the Executive Board, to be approved by the direct vote of the party members through the referendum; and they and each of them may be removed by the Executive Board, subject to such referendum.

Sec. 5. The office of National Secretary and Treasurer may be held by the same person. Such Secretary and Treasurer shall make a report of the financial standing of the party semi-annually, to be given to the branches, and shall make a report to the Executive Board whenever required by it.

Sec. 6. Members of the Executive Board shall receive no compensation for their services. They shall hold annual and stated meetings at times to be fixed by the Board, and such special meetings as may be required; reasonable notice shall be given to each of the members of the Executive Board of all meetings.

Sec. 7. Any member of the National Executive Board may be removed, and his successor elected by a referendum vote, as hereinafter provided. All vacancies in the Executive Board, however occurring, shall be filled by the remaining members of the board, subject to a referendum vote.

Sec. 8. At each annual meeting of the board the officers of the board shall render complete reports of the transactions of their several offices, and transmit a copy thereof to each local branch.

REVENUES AND FUNDS.

Sec. 9. The revenue of the organization shall be derived from an admission fee of twenty-five cents for each member, and quarterly dues of twenty-five cents for each member, payable in advance on the first days of January, April, July and October.

Sec. 10. The funds of the organization shall be deposited in such bank or banks as the board may direct; and the National Secretary and Treasurer shall be required to execute a bond for the faithful performance of his duties in such an amount as the board may require.

OFFICIAL PAPER.

Sec. 11. This organization shall continue the publication of the official paper, called the Social Democratic Herald, under the supervision of the Executive Board. Each member of the organization shall be entitled to a copy of the official paper in consideration of the payment of quarterly dues.

Sec. 12. The columns of the national organ shall be open at all times to reasonable criticism and discussion of party matters by members of the party.

NATIONAL CONVENTIONS.

Sec. 13. The national conventions of the organization shall be held quadrennially at some date prior to the first of June, and at such place as shall be decided upon by the National Executive Board, subject to referendum vote.

REFERENDUM.

Sec. 14. The National Executive Board may submit any question to a referendum vote of all the members of the party in good standing. The referendum vote may also be had upon the petition of ten local branches addressed to the National Executive Board, requesting such board to submit any proposition therein specified to such referendum vote; and upon the receipt of such petition said board shall forthwith so submit such proposition.

Upon the submission of any proposition to a referendum vote not less than three weeks shall be allowed for amendments to such proposition; and not less than six weeks, after the expiration of said three weeks, shall be allowed for the transmission of the votes to the Executive Board; provided, that if the votes transmitted by all the branches in good standing shall have been received by the board before the expiration of such time, the board shall announce the result of such vote forthwith.

LOCAL BRANCHES.

Sec. 15. Any respectable person who subscribes to the principles of the Social Democratic Party and severs all connection, and renounces allegiance to all other political parties, shall be eligible to membership.

Sec. 16. A local branch shall consist of not less than five, and not more than five hundred members. Branches shall fix their own quorum.

Sec. 17. Any person desiring membership shall make application to the local branch, upon being recommended by a member of said branch. And if accepted by a majority vote, shall be enrolled as a member. Upon objection to his admission being made, the matter shall be referred by the branch to the Central Committee of the locality, which shall have power to act in the matter. In case the decision of the local committee shall be

against the applicant, upon appeal by the said person, or by the branch to which he has applied, the National Executive Board shall have power of final action in the matter.

Sec. 18. Any member of good standing in one branch may, upon the request, be transferred to another branch; and the Secretary of the branch in which he holds his membership shall, for that purpose, furnish him with a transfer card.

Sec. 19. A member in good standing may terminate his or her membership by obtaining from the Secretary of such branch the card of withdrawal.

Sec. 20. Each member shall be entitled to a card of membership, to be furnished by the National Executive Board, and issued to the members by the Secretary of the local branch.

DUES AND FEES.

Sec. 21. The admission fee which shall accompany each application for membership shall be twenty-five cents, which shall be forwarded to the National Executive Board.

Sec. 22. The dues of the members shall be fixed by the branch; but such dues shall be sufficient to include twenty-five cents per quarter, to be paid on the first day of January, April, July and October in each year to the National Executive Board.

Sec. 23. At the close of each meeting of a local branch the Treasurer thereof shall transmit to the National Secretary the names of all members admitted at said meeting, their postoffice addresses, and a remittance by postal money order of their admission fee.

Sec. 24. A member admitted on or before the middle of a quarter shall pay dues for the full quarter. A member admitted after the middle of a quarter shall be exempt for that quarter.

Sec. 25. On or before the fifth day of each quarter the Treasurer of each local branch shall remit by postal money order the quarterly dues for the current quarter to the National Executive Board, and each local branch shall be responsible for and remit the full amount due for the entire membership of the branch.

Sec. 26. The officers of the branch shall consist of a Secretary, Treasurer and Organizer, and such other officers as may be determined by the branch; said officers shall be elected at each annual meeting and serve until their successors are qualified. They shall perform such duties as appertain to their several offices, and as the local branch may direct. Any officer of the branch may be removed by a majority vote of the members of the branch.

Sec. 27. Each local branch shall hold at least one business meeting a month, and such other meetings as they may see fit.

Sec. 28. At the annual meeting the officers shall submit complete reports of the transactions of their several offices for the preceding year.

Sec. 29. Branches shall be numbered with reference to states, the numbers to be assigned by the National Executive Board.

Sec. 30. The National Executive Board shall issue a charter to each branch, which charter may be suspended or revoked by the National Executive Board in case of violation of the laws, principles or regulations of the organization, subject to referendum vote.

Sec. 31. Persons intending to organize a new local branch shall apply to the then existing city or state committee of the locality where said branch is to be located, for its endorsement; and upon receiving such endorsement shall forward to the National Executive Board their application, together with the names and addresses of the proposed members, and their admission fees and dues. The National Executive Board shall thereupon, if they find the application in regular form, issue a charter to such person.

In case there shall be no such Central Committee the application shall be made direct to the National Executive Board.

Sec. 32. The local branch may adopt such by-laws as the majority of its members may determine, provided they do not conflict with this constitution or the platform and declaration of principles of the party.

Sec. 33. Any member violating the laws or principles of the organization may be suspended or expelled by a two-thirds vote of the members in good standing of the local branch of which he is a member; provided, that any charges against such member shall be preferred in writing, and the accused shall be entitled to a fair trial. The person so accused, if dissatisfied with the decision of the local branch, may appeal to the National Executive Board, and the person or persons preferring such charges shall have a like appeal to the National Executive Board. The action of the Executive Board on such case shall be final.

Sec. 34. This constitution shall be in force and effective from and after its endorsement by a majority in a referendum vote of the membership of the party in good standing.

Sec. 35. This constitution may be amended by a referendum vote as hereinabove provided.

Sec. 36. Under no circumstances shall the Social Democratic Party fuse with or act with any other political party, either in national or local elections, unless such party shall have substantially the same platform and principles as the Social Democratic Party.

Second Annual Picnic

The comrades of Chicago will hold the Second Annual Picnic of the Social Democratic party of Cook county on the Fourth of July, at Bergmann's grove, Desplaines avenue and Twenty-sixth street. The place will be reached by the Metropolitan Elevated and Suburban Electric. Full particulars will be announced later of all arrangements to make a grand success of the occasion.

Arizona Socialists

In every community should correspond with M. J. Casper, Box 178, Globe, Tucson, Ariz. We have plans for keeping organizers in the field to organize branches in every town in Arizona before November; 500 Socialists pledging 25 cents per month each will do it. Don't miss it—write at once.

Southern California, Attention

All Socialists in the seven southern counties of Southern California should now get to work and so far as possible form branches in every voting precinct. To further this end communicate at once with James T. VanRensselaer, 1618 Towner street, Los Angeles, Cal.

The Union Label

on everything you buy is a guarantee that the producers thereof receive a fair rate of wages for its production

Insist on having the label

LOCAL BRANCHES

Notices of Branch Meetings Inserted for 25 Cents per Month

CALIFORNIA

Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evenings, commencing at 8. Admission free. Educational meetings (for members) every Tuesday evening. Sociology, Economics, Public Speaking, etc. Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening. Membership, with advantage of Educational Course and Social Democratic Herald free to each member, 25 cents per month. Apply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk street.

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock at Woodmen's Hall, 1254 Spring St. J. France, 700 Dayton Ave., Secretary.

Branch No. 3, Alameda, California, holds free public meetings every 2d and 4th Sunday, 8 p. m. at Foresters' Hall, cor. Park St. and Santa Clara Ave. Business and Educational meetings (for members) 1st and 3rd Mondays, 8 p. m., at 2448 Central Hall. Allan A. Crockett, Secretary, 1610 Walnut St.

COLORADO

Branch No. 1, Denver, meets every Sunday at 3:00 p. m. at 1715 California Ave., Chas. M. Davis, Secretary, 1629 17th Street.

Branch No. 2, Goldfield, meets every Sunday at 7:30 p. m., at City Hall, Chas. La Camp, Secretary.

CONNECTICUT

The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at Turn Hall, Rockville, L. Schiefel, Secretary.

Branch No. 3, New Haven, meets every Tuesday evening, at 198 State St., at 8 p. m. Cornelius Mahoney, Secretary, 165 Frank St.

Branch No. 4, Rockville, Conn., meets first and third Thursdays at Turn Hall meeting room, Village street, Secretary, Richard Niederwieser, Box 780.

ILLINOIS

Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 53 Dearborn St.

Branch No. 1, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening, Thomas Kilwin, Secretary, 2504 Westworth Ave.

Branch No. 2 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays at 3 p. m. at Nagl's Hall, 88 Blue Island Ave., Václav Jelinek, Secretary, 606 Blue Island Ave.

Branch No. 3 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Mondays at 8 p. m. in Dander's place, 1080 W. 18th place, Joseph Dander, Secretary.

Branch No. 3, Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays of each month at Andr. Munk's, 40 String St. Paul Chlapacka, Secretary, 354 Noble St.

Branch No. 4, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening first Saturday each month at 8 o'clock at Nagl's Hall, 536 Blue Island Ave., near 18th St. Albin Geisler, Secretary, 726 W. 20th St.

Branch No. 5 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets second and fourth Sunday, at 9 a. m. at 602 Leno Street, J. A. Ambros, Secretary, 6940 Wood Street.

Branch No. 6, Chicago, meets at 1148 W. 63rd st., first and third Sundays at 8 p. m. Roswell H. Johnson, Secretary, 632 E. 57th St.

INDIANA

Branch No. 6, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichwein's Hall, corner Market and Noble Sts.

IOWA

Branch No. 2, Hiteam, meets every fourth Friday in the month at opera house, S. B. Jamieson, chairman, James Fisher, organizer; Joseph Schollacott, secretary.

KENTUCKY

Branch No. 2, Covington, meets first and third Wednesday evenings and second and fourth Sunday afternoons of each month. All agitation meetings except third meeting in month. Good speakers. Secretary, F. C. Stumpf, 201 8th street.

MARYLAND

Branch No. 1, Baltimore, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m. at Carpenter's Hall, 560 E. Baltimore St. Public invited.

Branch No. 2, Baltimore, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at Wenzel's Hotel, 228 W. Camden St. Good speakers. Public invited. Levin T. Jones, Secretary, 202 W. Barre st.

MASSACHUSETTS

The Massachusetts State Committee meets the first Saturday of each month at 724 Washington St., Boston. All dues and moneys intended for the State Committee should be sent to the financial secretary, A. McDonald, 104 W. Springfield St., Boston. All other correspondence should be addressed to the Corresponding Secretary, Margaret Hall, 5 Glenwood St., Roxbury.

Branch No. 2, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Mondays of each month at Springfield Hotel, H. Scouting, Organizer, 357, Sumner St. Branch No. 3, Lynn, permanent headquarters, 71 Monroe St. Business meeting every Monday night at 7:30. Open house. Public invited. Harry Göttinger, Sec., 42 Essex St.

Branch No. 4, Brooklyn, meets Friday nights at 8 p. m. for business at Socialist Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Center Sts. Every comrade is expected to attend one meeting a month. Mrs. Annie Bosworth, Secretary, 41 Prospect.

Branch No. 15, East Boston, meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at Chelsea St. Miss Jenny Segal, Secretary, 39 Chelsea St.

Branch No. 16, Newburyport, meets the second Monday of each month, at Lester's Hall, 37 Pleasant St. T. H. Chinnell, Secretary, 16 Collins St. A. L. Binley, 288 Merrimac St.

To Our Washington Readers

Comrade D. Burgess of New Whatcom, Wash., has been selected as organizer for the state and is prepared to assist the Socialists of Washington in organizing branches of the S. D. P. Correspondence addressed to him will receive prompt attention.

North Dakota Socialists

Socialists residing in North Dakota and desiring to organize for effective propaganda work in that state are requested to correspond with Math. Eidsness, Towner, N. D.

California Socialists

Socialists resident in California and not members of the Social Democratic party are requested to communicate with John Carter, 929 Twenty-second street, San Francisco.

Attention, Nebraska

Persons living in Nebraska and accepting the principles of Socialism are requested to communicate with T. A. Edwards, 3220 California street, Omaha, with a view to the organization of branches of the Social Democratic party.

To Texas Socialists

For purpose of State organization, the Bonham Social Democratic Branch requests that every Socialist in Texas who reads this notice, will please send name and address to the undersigned. Please attend to this at once. W. E. Farmer, Bonham, Texas.

All Socialist papers please publish.

Oregon Socialists, Attention

You are requested to communicate with J. D. Stevens, Box 204, Portland, organizer for the S. D. P., with a view to instituting branches of the party in your community. The future belongs to Socialism. Lend a hand and get your state thoroughly organized.

Branch No. 21, Chelsea, permanent headquarters, Room 2, Postoffice Building. Open every evening. Business meetings every Thursday at 8 p. m. Public invited.

MICHIGAN

Branch No. 1, Battle Creek, Mich., meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of each month, at 3 p. m. at 10 W. Main Street, in the International Congress Hall. All are cordially invited. L. C. Rogers, Secretary.

MINNESOTA

Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Gesswein, on Main St. A. Kingsbury, Secretary.

MISSOURI

St. Louis headquarters, Room 7, 22 N. Fourth St. Address all communications to E. Val Putnam, Secretary. For information concerning ward branches, inquire at the above address.

Branch No. 7, Kansas City, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1800 Union Ave. G. J. Storz, Secretary, 1230 W. 9th St.

MONTANA

Branch No. 2 meets first and third Sundays of each month at G. W. Wood's home, Miss. Mont.

NEW JERSEY

Branch No. 1, Secretary, Michael W. Schor, 87 Livingston St.

Branch No. 5, Camden, N. J., meets every 2d Sunday of the month. For particulars address Paul Eberding, 1226 Kensington Avenue, Camden, N. J.

Branch No. 3 (German) Newark, meets every third Saturday, at International Hall, 7 Bedford St. Hans Hartwig, Secretary, 7 Bedford St.

Branch No. 6 (German), Paterson, N. J., meets first and third Mondays at 8 p. m. at Helvetia Hall, 64-56 Van Houten St. Karl Linder, Secretary, 245 Edmund St.

NEW YORK

The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York and vicinity meets first and third Tuesdays of every month in Willis's Hall, 55 E. 4th St. Elizabeth H. Thomas, Secretary.

East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every first and third Thursday at 8 p. m. at 113 Clinton St. A. Guyer, Secretary, 113 Suffolk St.

Branch No. 3, 34th Assembly District, meets second and fourth Wednesdays of the month at 1099 Second Ave., at "Central." Henry Lang, Secretary, 324 E. 80th St.

Branch No. 4, West Side Branch, New York, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of every month at headquarters, 189 W. 99th St. Elizabeth H. Thomas, Secretary.

Branch No. 5, Brooklyn, New York, meets every Saturday at 8 p. m. at 55 Moore St. Visitors welcome. Comrades desiring to organize should communicate with Secretary Sol. P. Rosen, 190 Hoosier St.

Branch No. 10, New York, meets every Friday, at 8 p. m., 309 E. Broadway. Lectures and discussions. Public invited.

Branch No. 12, Brooklyn, headquarters, 251 Rutledge St. Meets every third Thursday at 8:15 sharp. All persons interested are invited to attend these meetings and co-operate in organizing local branches in every district in the city.

Wm. Butcher, Secretary, 251 Rutledge St.

Branch No. 20, regular meetings are held first and third Friday of the month, at Webster Hall, 140th St. and 4th Ave., Borough of the Bronx, E. Springer, Secretary, 317 E. 140th St. All persons interested in Socialism and the S. D. P. are invited to attend.

OHIO

Branch No. 2, Cleveland, meets in Ohlsen's Hall, 65 York St., second and fourth Sundays at 8 p. m. Lectures, discussions, business meetings first and third Fridays at 8 p. m.

Branch No. 3, Cleveland, meets first and third Sundays in each month at 8 p. m. in Ohlsen's Hall, 65 York St. Lectures and discussions.

Branch No. 4, Cincinnati, meets every 2d and 4th Friday evening, in Hall 21, Central Trades Council Block. Everyone interested in Socialism invited. J. C. Schawe, Chairman, W. Harringer, Secretary, P. O. Box 22.

Branch

"We firmly believe that all questions that affect the whole people, not only of today, but of the future as well, should be referred to the people for a referendum vote, for we maintain that it is a power too great to rest in the hands of a few men. Believing this, we also believe we were right in asking our representative to use his influence and vote to refer to the people, for while on all questions there will be a larger or smaller majority, still the fact remains that all have an equal opportunity to express their desire. It is right and just government; it is equality; it is the position we take, and insist

The French elections for the municipal councils—in France every parish or commune has a local council—will take place next month. The general committee of the Socialist party has issued an appeal to the electors pointing out that it is highly important that great efforts should be made to win as many seats as possible, because the work done by these councils is very important.

There is also an intermediary doctrine which 'deserves special mention because it is so generally followed. Morality, according to this theory, is the product of the egoism of the human species, or, as others express it, the product of our altruistic instincts. These are at bottom egoistic instincts, but they find their satisfaction, nevertheless, in the performance of just and benevolent acts. Thus, according to some writers, moral acts either result from the mere pleasure afforded by doing good, or emanate from that feeling of pity which vibrates in the hearts of most men, and urges

Send orders to **LEONARD D. ABBOTT**

lost on having the job

Insist on having the lab

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

VOL. II. No. 50

CHICAGO, ILL., U. S. A., SATURDAY, JUNE 2, 1900.

Whole No. 100.

POPULAR EDUCATION AS INFLUENCED BY CAPITALISM

The celebrated German leader of the Social-Democratic party, Comrade Bebel, said once: "In the last instance the solution of all social problems depends on popular education." Indeed the most powerful tool and weapon of the human kind is the intellect. Education is the process of perfecting this tool and weapon. As any other tool or weapon—the intellect may be used for the good and advantage of society or misused for the purpose of furthering of wrongfully understood individual or class interests to the detriment of society. Education, or rather instruction, does not necessarily improve morals, does not insure against selfishness and other vices of individual hypertrophy. And a highly educated rogue is of course a thousand times more dangerous to society than a stupid ignoramus. There is therefore always an abundance of social abuses in a country where education is monopolized by a few, while the nation at large is buried in dense ignorance. And the stronger numerically the class of the educated in comparison with the "great unwashed" mass of the population, the greater and deeper the social abuses are likely to be. That ratio between the educated and ignorant of any epoch or country may justly be considered as an indicator of the extent and degree of social abuses. It is so easy for the intellectually superior to exploit the ignorant and the temptation is so powerful that only exceptionally high-minded and generous individuals will abstain from doing it or go to the extent of helping the weak in his uneven struggle.

For the thoughtful student and observer of national life, it is not the education of individuals and classes, but the instruction of the masses, that has the highest value. Develop the intellect of the "great unwashed" if you want to eliminate or at least lessen the possibility of its being exploited by the crafty and unscrupulous few, forming the so-called "higher class." It is a notorious fact that the ruling individuals (kings, czars, popes) and classes (aristocracy, clergy and plutocracy) were and are openly or at heart, opposed to the mental elevation of the masses exploited by them. Parasites thrive best in darkness.

It is obviously of the highest importance to ascertain the degree of mental instruction actually enjoyed by the people at large by the so-called "lower classes." Unfortunately the statistical data on this subject is very incomplete, as far as the United States is concerned. And yet attempts have been made to generalize these statistical data—among others by my friend, the sociologist, Daniel Folkmar. Here are some of them relating to Chicago and Milwaukee:

- Of all the children that enter the public schools of the two named cities
1. About one-third go no further than the first grade.
 2. About one-half go no further than the second grade.
 3. About two-thirds go no further than the third grade.
 4. About three-fourths go no further than the fourth grade.
 5. About nine-tenths go half way only through the twelve grades.
 6. About ninety-seven in every hundred drop out before reaching the high school.
 7. Only three in every thousand finish the entire course, or more exactly the following per cents drop out at each grade:

Grade 1, 32 per cent; 2, 51; 3, 66; 4, 78; 5, 86; 6, 92; 7, 95; 8, 97; 9, 98.6; 10, 99.3; 11, 99.7.

Another line of argument leads to the conclusion that the schooling of the average pupil does not embrace more than three grades. If these numbers are not appalling I do not know what is! The self-complacent average American citizen is justly proud of the public school system, but he little knows to what extent the people are able to take advantage of it. But maybe Chicago and Milwaukee form an exception as to the duration of school attendance? Ex-State Superintendent C. L. T. Smart of Ohio states that only about 3 per cent of the pupils enrolled in the public schools ever enter, and from them less than 1 per cent graduate; 50 per cent of the youth enrolled in the public schools of the state do not attend school more than four years; 75 per cent stop attending school before entering the eighth year or grade, and 97 per cent do not attend beyond the eighth year. Dr. Wm. T. Harris, United States Commissioner of Education, says in his report of the committee of fifteen: "The average number of pupils of the St. Louis schools in the lowest three years of the course was about 72 per cent of the number enrolled. Nearly three-

fourths of all the pupils of the public schools are in the studies of the first three years or in primary studies. Six-sevenths of the population of the United States on arriving at the proper age for the secondary education never receive it. Thirty out of thirty-one fail to receive higher education upon arriving at the proper age. Obviously the data of Milwaukee and Chicago are typical for the United States in general. The question now arises—what is the main cause of this remarkably short duration of school attendance? Mr. C. L. T. Smart says: "A majority of the patrons of the public schools cannot do without the labor of their children and therefore cannot give them time to attend school longer." Prof. D. Folkmar states: "I answer without hesitation that the chief factors are economic conditions. Too many either cannot support their children as they desire, or cannot spare them through a longer period of schooling."

The Moloch of Capitalism wants to perpetuate itself by the shameful system of child labor and keeping the industrial proletariat in ignorance. The free public school proves to be a snare and delusion for the proletarian. And the remedies? Many advocate compulsory education laws. But is not then the state obliged to take care of the children during their schooling; feed, dress and lodge them if their parents are unable to do it? Is not the state in duty bound to make the free public school system "really free and public?" But that would be Socialism pure and simple. And what would the capitalist Mrs. Grundy say to it? Isadore Ladoff.

LEGISLATION AS IT IS

By Charles Trench

It is the fashion of back newspapers and spread-eagle orators to pronounce the system of government in this country so absolutely perfect that there is little if any room for improvement. Vernal politicians allow no opportunity to pass without dilating, volubly, upon the excellence of "our glorious institutions," and the boundless prosperity with which we are favored by our tariff laws and industrial policy.

Many are, unfortunately, duped and humbugged by this profitable buncombe, and are unaware that it emanates, chiefly, from lying parasites who are bribed with the gold which capitalists grind out of the toil of white slaves in mill, mine and field.

It is fortunate, however, for the cause of labor that the majority of the working classes are becoming alive to the falseness and venality of profligate politicians, and take their statements and patriotic effusions for what they are worth. There are, in fact, few men of average information and intelligence who do not regard American legislation with the profoundest contempt. What with money kings and legislative hirelings on one side, and wholesale bribery and speculation on the other, the very name of American government has become a byword of contempt and derision over the civilized world.

One of the unwritten mottos of our political morals seems to say, in the plainest language, "Successful wrong is right, and the devil take the hindmost." I hazard nothing in affirming that we are under the heel of one of the vilest and most arrogant oligarchies that ever robbed the poor. It needs no particular exercise of the perceptive faculties to see that millionaires, deficient in the very elements of morality, are increasing with portentous rapidity, and that their enormous wealth is obtained by squeezing the small man. Our lawmakers are their obsequious lackeys, ever ready to enrich the few by impoverishing the many. Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands have also got into the clutches of official miscreants who show the unfortunate natives the meaning of American government. The embezzlement of millions of dollars in the Postoffice Department, and the forging of bogus stamps are among the rascalities which the Cubans are experiencing under McKinley imperialism. "We are so careful of criminals," (of this type) says the New York Herald, "that we actually breed them, encourage them, and assure them of immunity."

To further illustrate my meaning. A well-known capitalist was solicited to contribute to a campaign fund, he was assured that a liberal contribution would secure a friendly majority.

"Possibly it might," replied the millionaire, "but according to my judgment it would be cheaper to wait till after the election and then buy the legislature ready made."

This, my working friends, is precisely the form of government that is mercilessly plundering and degrading the

masses of our people. "It damns the common herd," says the New York Herald, "and stands godfather to trusts and monopolies."

In view of these considerations, surely it is the very madness of folly to believe that the present reign of hell and anarchy can be put an end to by legislation which is completely under the control of those who profit and thrive under it.

The leaders of the Bryan Democracy promise the people that in the event of their party being installed in office the whole power of government will be directed against trusts and imperialism. But, with facts against them, with monopoly against them, and a hostile supreme court against them, what success can they achieve? Such a proposition carries absurdity upon its very face. No event can be more destitute of probability.

Moreover, trusts are the product of civilization and development; to attempt to abolish them is to attempt to turn back the tide of progress. When the people seize the trusts, and work them for the benefit of all, then they, like machinery, will prove a blessing instead of a blighting curse to humanity. Weapons which may be safely trusted in the hands of the public become fatal implements of mischief when wielded by individuals.

With undeniable facts staring us in the face, is it not high time for us to grip the truth, and quit vamping about legislation as a remedy against monopoly and trusts? Indeed, I do not hesitate to predict that if we tarry till we obtain justice from either of the old parties we shall all die of old age, or want, with nothing to show for our forbearance but the usual array of big promises and beggarly performances.

AMONG THE TOILERS

The trust idea, according to foreign papers, continues to spread in England and Germany.

The woman's international label union is reported to be gaining great headway in the middle west.

The eight-hour law of Kansas is being fought by the capitalists. It is now before the Supreme court.

Twenty thousand potters have been locked out in England. They had the audacity to demand a 10 per cent advance.

The official statement of the Utah mine disaster shows that 199 miners were killed and 7 injured. They leave 105 widows and 270 orphaned children.

The executive board of district No. 11 of the United Mine-Workers of America, after a two days' session at Terre Haute, settled the mining scale division question. A delegation of machine miners from throughout the state presented their cases.

The printers of Augusta, Ga., have had an injunction hurled at them by the court for boycotting a daily paper, and a damage suit has also been filed.

By a vote of 310 to 190 the New York unions voted against the proposition of the National Union of United Brewery Workmen to establish an out-of-work benefit fund.

Charles Dold, president of the Piano Workers' union at Chicago, has been acquitted on the charge of conspiracy for which he was tried at the instance of the Dent Piano company.

The strike of the carpenters' union in Utica has been settled. The compromise accepted calls for a working day of eight hours, with a scale of wages of 28½ and 28¼ cents an hour.

John W. Hays, for many years secretary-treasurer of the Knights of Labor, has been suspended by the general executive board, and the courts appealed to to restrain him from drawing the society's funds pending an investigation.

In New Jersey union men work 53 hours a week for \$2, and the non-union men 66 hours for \$1.19. The figures are averages. Union men are idle but 58 days in the year and the non-union men 61.1.

The convention of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, which was held in Indianapolis last week, debarred representatives of Pittsburgh papers, which are boycotted, from attending their sessions, and imposed a fine of \$5 upon any delegate found in conversation with them.

The Socialists have gained two seats in the local assembly for the canton of St. Gall, and six other candidates are standing for the second ballot.

Belgian Elections

All Belgium was absorbed in the elections that took place last Sunday. The Socialists made gains in their representation in the chamber of deputies. In Brussels enormous crowds thronged the boulevards until 10 o'clock at night to learn that the Socialists were in the lead in the city with a vote of over 37,000, the largest vote cast by any party.

TREND OF THE TIMES AND THE REGULARITY OF CRISES

Mr. James Cotter Morison in his "Service of Man," written some years ago, predicted that, at the then rate of decline, a point would before long be reached when the employer would get little or no return for his capital invested and when the workman would be able to get no adequate wage for the labor he gives. Said he:

"Competition is now everywhere of the keenest, and cheapness of production the primary object. The result is a race in which no competitor can absolutely win, but one in which all must in process of time, become exhausted. For there is no fixed goal to be reached; the goal flies before the runners, and the first in the race cannot avoid ultimate collapse. In each country manufacturers compete among themselves, while they compete also with their foreign rivals. Constantly improved machinery enables a larger output at less cost to be thrown upon the market, with the obvious effect, now distressing everybody, of a well-nigh universal glut, and a growing cheapness never before witnessed. In the meantime, profits on capital and wages of labor are tending to the vanishing point; and the only question is, how long it will be before that point is reached. . . . Any industry may be killed, as it were by enchantment, by the discovery of new means of cheaper production. The instability of industries is frightful. The commercial atmosphere is more uncertain and capricious than the physical atmosphere, though that is generally taken as a symbol of uncertainty. . . . If it be asked what inference I draw from such facts, the answer is that it is a melancholy one. I believe we are approaching to a great catastrophe in our industrial system, which will be a calamity without precedent since the black death of the fourteenth century."

In referring to the same thing another writer has remarked that while in former periods society was tormented with such plagues, caused, as we now know, by ignorance and consequent violations of the laws of health, our era has been cursed with financial crisis, occurring far more frequently, than plagues, and causing with each occurrence as much, if not more, misery. These seasons of business depression bring ruin to capitalists and distress to laborers, and are inherent in the capitalist system. During a crisis the smaller capitalists are swallowed up as if by a veritable maelstrom, itself the direct result of private enterprise and unrestricted competition. The mischief wrought during one of these periods, both to capital and labor, and through them to all the interests of society, is appalling.

"When mills shut down and warehouses filled with goods are locked up; when mines are idle, ships laid up, money stowed away in bank vaults, trades paralyzed and multitudes of workmen forced into idleness, to starve in the midst of plenty, or to recruit the ranks of vice and crime, it becomes a matter of the deepest concern, not only to political economy, but to the state and society generally."

For above two hundred years these crises have occurred with mysterious regularity once in about every ten years throughout the civilized world.

"The first three years generally exhibit depression, then you have three years of healthy trade, and then come, say, two years of excited trade. Your ninth year is a bubble and your tenth year is its explosion and collapse."

Rodbertus, an eminent and conservative German economist, maintained that these crises result from the fact that the laborer's share of all goods produced continually decreases. When first enunciated, his theory created a profound impression, and as time goes on the truth of his proposition becomes more and more evident. It is thus illustrated:

"Suppose all goods produced annually amount to a thousand units; the units may be anything—a horse or a house. These thousand units must be divided among four parties—landlords, capitalists, laborers and the state. Landlords take 300; capitalists, 300; laborers, 300, and the state, 100; total, 1,000. Now, if production increases there is no crisis so long as these proportions are maintained; laborers have means to purchase what is produced for them. But the moment products increase these proportions are not maintained; laborers' proportionate share diminishes; capitalists find their share increasing. It is not needed for consumption, and so new factories are built and more goods produced for workmen who cannot buy them; goods are heaped up. Then comes a crash. During the season of depression society

supports the poor, capitalists become relatively reduced, and surplus goods are consumed, and things get so far righted that business starts up again, but always in such a way as to handicap the laborers, for so many are seeking work that the employers can dictate wages."

Thus the International Working People's Association declares that:

"The increase of products, accompanied by simultaneous decrease of the average incomes of the working mass of the people leads to so-called business and commercial crises, when the misery of the wage-workers is forced to the extreme."

We have here the result of the practical workings of the profit system. I have never seen this more concisely depicted than in that powerful chapter devoted by Edward Bellamy in his "Equality" to "The Parable of the Water Tank." There will be found the story of a certain very dry land, the people whereof were in sore need of water.

"Certain men, more crafty and diligent than the rest, managed to gather stores of water where others could find none, and these men were called capitalists. They would not give the people water except they became their servants, working for them on these terms: 'For every bucket that ye bring to us, that we may pour into the tank, which is the Market, behold! we will give you a penny; but for every bucket that we shall draw forth to give unto you that ye may drink of it, ye and your wives and children, ye shall give us two pennies, and the difference shall be our profit, seeing that if it were not for this profit we would not do this thing for you, but ye should all perish.' The result was that after a while, the tank overflowed, seeing that for every bucket the people poured in they received only so much as would buy again half a bucket. Receiving no more the pennies of the capitalists, they could buy no more water; this made 'dull times,' and finally a 'crisis.' The capitalists called in the soothsayers, and some called it 'overproduction' and some called it 'glut,' and some said it was by reason of spots on the sun, and yet others said it was because of 'lack of confidence.' The capitalists then sent them to the people, and to them the soothsayers expounded the mystery of overproduction, and how it was that they must needs perish of thirst because there was overmuch water, and how there could not be enough because there was too much. The people reviled them and asked: 'Will ye mock us? Doth plenty breed famine? Doth nothing come out of much?'"

Thus to quote the Rev. F. M. Sprague:

"Men go hungry when granaries and warehouses are bursting with provisions; they are ill-clad and naked in the presence of stores and factories piled to the roof with clothing; they are cold when God has laid at their feet mines and mountains of fuel. Robbed of their rightful inheritance, stripped and left half dead, they are passed by alike by the priest and Levite, who it is not unlikely are on their way to preach or lecture on 'How to Reach the Masses.'"

By reviewing our economic history for the past 40 years in relation to financial crises, we may perhaps find what justification, if any, Mr. Morison has for his unhappy prediction. In the United States since 1860 we have had closely following periods marked by the most prodigious increase in wealth-producing power the world has yet seen, a crisis or financial depression, not once in every ten years, but on an average of once in every six years. They have been as follows: 1861, 1866, 1869, 1873-77, 1884-86, 1890, 1893-97.

Thus the competitive system has been leading the American people on to disaster, not by a straight road, but by a wave-like path of comparative prosperity alternating with steadily increasing adversity. Jas. T. Van Rensselaer.

McKinley is responsible for the Cuban scandals. He it was who inaugurated the conditions for looters like Neeley by taking down the civil-service bars and opening the way for spoils-men.

Imperialism taking root in a republic is an evidence of political and commercial rotteness. It covers up schemes designed against the liberties of the people, and the capitalist favors it.

Make a note of it that the trusts will put up the campaign funds for the McKinleyites, notwithstanding the republican anti-trust resolutions to be adopted at Philadelphia.

Social Democratic Herald

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board
JESSE COX, Chairman
SEYMOUR STEDMAN, Secretary
EUGENE V. DEBS, VICTOR L. BERGER
FREDERIC HEATH

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, 50 cents. Six months, 25 cents. No papers sent to any one on credit. If, without having subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and no bill will follow. Foreign subscriptions \$1.00.

Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

A. S. EDWARDS, Editor
THEODORE DEBS, National Sec'y-Treas.
126 Washington St., Chicago.

100 is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 101 your subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, JUNE 2, 1900.

THEY NEVER WANTED UNION

A careful review of all the incidents, writings, personal abuse and special pleading, from the hour when Harriman and Hilquit pledged themselves at Indianapolis that the name Social Democratic would be "the only one submitted to the conference of eighteen," down to the present time, when the fusionists propose to disregard a majority vote and repudiate the results of a referendum in a party with which the fusionists of the S. L. P. brand have no connection, will satisfy any honest man that these mouthers in the "sacred cause of fusion" never at any time really wanted union of the Socialist forces. The only time at which a genuine sentiment for union permeated a considerable body of Socialists was when the Indianapolis convention adjourned. Then there was a strong conviction, almost unanimously entertained, that the real Socialist working class movement had begun. The Herald proclaimed it, believed it, and rejoiced in it. Every Social Democrat who attended the convention and is not now deceiving himself or trying to discredit others, knows this to be true. Every honest man indorses the action of the executive board, taken when the revelation came from New York that those who had been the most hysterical shouters for union had by their actions made an honorable and real union impossible. But let that pass. The members of the Social Democratic party have by an emphatic majority declared against fusion—against being destroyed.

The Socialists of the United States, now rapidly affiliating with the Social Democratic party, more than eighty branches having been organized during the controversy are informed that the anti-deleon but thoroughly de-leonized faction of the Socialist Labor party has rejected an offer from Social Democrats for political co-operation in the approaching campaign. This offer they regarded as an "insult," and with true espeepee scorn refused to effect an arrangement in the political field whereby the cause of Socialism would be most effectively promoted.

The mask is off. The fusionists stand bared of all hypocrisy. It was not union they wanted, but the annihilation of the Social Democratic party organized in 1898. Their supreme and feverish desire was to capture our organization, extinguish many of those who had contributed to its remarkable growth and successes, and put back the Socialist movement into a "little box" somewhere down on the Atlantic coast.

A part of their inglorious undertaking was to "throw down Debs." In this Social Democrats will see to it that they fail as ignominiously as they have in their miserable attempt to wreck or capture a Socialist organization they did not control. When it was proposed in the New York meeting, a report of which written by Comrade Haile appears in this paper, that "now is our chance to down Debs, once for all," there was revealed in the flash of a moment an intention long held by these fusion hypocrites. This was proposed in a burst of passion; in that moment the S. L. P. delegates stood convicted of double dealing and all their lusty professions appeared in true colors and for what they were, worth-nothing.

Comrades of the Social Democratic party, the conspiracy will fail, and upon you, in the interest of the Socialist cause, devolves the pressing duty of making the failure emphatic and conclusive. A few in your own party have connived and co-operated with the S. L. P. to destroy your organization. This has been done under the guise of union. Its purpose was to bring your organization under the domination of the New York disorganizers. Stout hearts and ready hands are now required. Let every man stand firmly in his place. Those who have been misled and deceived will soon have their eyes opened to the situation. Our duty is to organize, to stand for the party, to be loyal to our organization. Do this and all will be well.

The mask is off. "Stand pat."

Mulhall, the well-known English authority, says that the energy or working power of the United States in 1895 was one hundred and twenty-eight thousand millions of foot tons per day. Carroll D. Wright has said that two hours and fifteen minutes' daily work by each able-bodied man, with free access to all the modern facilities of production, if systematically applied, would produce all the food, clothing and shelter that all the people of the United States need. Other authorities agree substantially with them. Yet we have a nation of eighty millions of people concerned chiefly with making ends meet, and a class controlling social wealth and living in such luxury as the world had never known until the capitalist system of production contrived the device of appropriating the surplus value of labor and using it as working capital.

Of course, you won't forget that Neely, who was chief financial agent of the Cuban postoffice department, and Rathbone, who was director-general of the Cuban posts, and E. P. Thompson, who was postmaster at Havana, are republicans who have been caught. You should remember, too, that Augustus Van Wyck, who has stock to the value of \$400,000 in the American Ice company, and John F. Carroll, who has \$500,000 worth of the same stock, and Mayor Van Wyck himself, who has 4,000 shares in the same ice trust, are all democrats. "You pays your money and takes your choice!"

The average workman now produces values covering his own cost of subsistence in from one to four hours' work out of a working day of ten hours. The balance of time—from six to nine hours daily—belongs to the capitalist employer. The latter does not object to a shortening of the working time necessary to produce what the worker must have to live on; but he does object to a reduction of the working time which belongs to him.

While the great strike, with all its suffering, is on in Chicago, the theater managers agree that the season just closing has been the best for them during a decade or more—perhaps never surpassed in the history of Chicago theaters. All the large playhouses averaged about \$10,000 per week during the entire forty weeks of the season, and in a few cases nearly double that amount for special attractions. Strikes don't seem to hit all people alike.

We have the pleasure of announcing a contribution to the campaign fund of the Social Democratic party of \$500 from Prof. George D. Herron and friends. This proof of Herron's sympathy with us in our work was sent from Palestine to Comrade Seymour Stedman. It is a most generous contribution and an earnest of future work for the party and the movement when he returns home in September.

What a purchased scribbler like John J. Ingalls may have to say about Socialism is of no consequence and can never disturb the equanimity of the convinced Socialist. It is, however, curious to notice to what deep damnation he subjects the system he attempts to defend when he says that "ninety-seven out of every one hundred Americans die penniless."

Last Sunday 10,000 Socialists gathered at Pere la Chaise cemetery, Paris, and hung wreaths upon the wall to commemorate the indiscriminate shooting of men, women and children at that place twenty-nine years ago. Group after group approached the wall, deposited the offering of flowers, shouted a revolutionary cry and departed.

Capital—a social product—is unpaid labor held by private individuals. It is used, not to promote industrial efficiency and social well-being, but as a means of appropriating more unpaid labor and thus acquiring more capital. Capital privately owned inevitably reduces the masses who produce it to dependence on the classes who possess it.

No thinking man can believe that progress and civilization have reached a limit in the present system. Social Democrats believe in a great political, economic and ethical change, brought about by industrial evolution. The change will bring larger individual liberty fitted to the conditions it must inaugurate.

The aim and purpose of Socialism is to give the producing class control over its own labor and its own product. To such a proposition, to its ultimate realization, there can be no effective opposition. It will become a social necessity. Its inherent justice is a guaranty of its realization.

After wire-pulling for ten days, like any other ordinary politicians, the delegates to the Methodist conference managed to elect two bishops who were "called of God" to that holy office.

Who said something about Cuban bandits?

THE FUSIONISTS REJECT POLITICAL CO-OPERATION

On Sunday morning, May 20, there were gathered at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East Fourth street, New York, seven members of the S. L. P.—Comrades Hilquit, Harriman, Stone, White, Sieverman, Fenner and Hayes, Benham and Barnes being absent—and eight of the former S. D. P. committee on union—Comrades Berger, Stedman, Hoehn, Carey, Chase, Butscher, Lonergan and Haile, Heath being absent. Eugene V. Debs was also present by request.

The meeting was called to order by Chase of Haverhill, who was thereupon nominated for chairman. At this point, and before the nomination was put, Stedman rose and said: "Before we proceed to organize this meeting, I want it clearly understood in what capacity we are here. I maintain that the vote of the S. D. P. determined the question of organic union and discharged the committee. I shall not act in this conference as a member of a present existing committee, but merely as an individual. It may be an informal conference; but that is as far as I am willing to go. I will not consent to act as a member of a committee which has been discharged by the majority of our party."

As the S. D. P. members were not all agreed upon this point, Stedman called for a caucus so that our members might decide among themselves what stand to take. Carey moved in opposition "that the committee on union of the S. D. P. meet here and now, and have their caucus in presence of the S. L. P. and the audience." In reply to a question from Stedman, "Will you meet a committee of the S. D. P.?" Carey replied "No." Lonergan alone consented. His motion, carried by 4 to 3. Stedman then called for a conference of the S. D. P. members who held that the committee on union no longer existed, and Berger, Stedman and Haile, together with Eugene V. Debs, adjourned to a committee room to confer, not as a committee on union, but as individuals. In about three minutes the other five—viz., Butscher, Carey, Chase, Hoehn and Lonergan—came into the room and announced their intention of taking part in our informal conference. The whole forenoon was spent in discussion as to whether we were a legal committee, whether political co-operation with the S. L. P. should be attempted, or whether organic union was still possible. Carey, Chase, Butscher and Hoehn held that the committee was still in existence in spite of the vote of the party, and could go ahead and consummate organic union, and were absolutely opposed to political union. Berger, Stedman and Haile maintained that the majority vote of the party had disposed of the question of organic union and discharged the committee, but that the two organizations might work along peaceably upon parallel lines, each in its own field, and unite upon a common ticket and co-operate in political campaigns.

Comrade Debs took the floor and said he would in unequivocal terms state his position. He had taken his stand against organic union of the two parties and he was more than ever convinced that his position and that of the executive board was right and would be completely vindicated in the course of events. "To be successful," said Debs, "union must be a mutual affair, entered into freely by both parties. Our party has by an emphatic majority decided that it wants no organic union at this time, and were the vote taken again that majority would be so overwhelming as to silence all controversy upon that point. It has been freely charged that the manifesto of the executive board is responsible for all the trouble; that but for this united party would have been assured. This is wholly untrue. The real mischief was done and our comrades were up in arms before the manifesto was even thought of. Following the actions and conclusions of the conference a condition of affairs developed spontaneously which made union an impossibility. I, with others, recognize this absolute fact. I took up my stand against union under such conditions, not because I was, or am, opposed to union, but because I was, and am, opposed to the wrecking of our party. I assume full responsibility for my action, and I have no apology to make for it. Let it be distinctly understood that I know my comrades are not responsible for the conditions which made union impossible. These had their origin long ago and the controlling purpose was to capture and secure control of our organization. Had this plan succeeded, our party would have been destroyed and the united party built upon its ruins would have been farther from a UNITED party than ever before.

"Enforced union under such conditions would prove abortive. There is no shadow of doubt about it. The party has expressed itself after hearing all the testimony, and it cannot be denied that the other side had a full hearing, for our branches were fairly deluged with their papers, circulars and letters.

"While denying that organic union is possible at this time, I am in favor of political co-operation. If it is claimed that this is not possible, then it must be conceded that organic union is out of the question, for certainly if we are unable to co-operate we are not ready to

unite. For the moment some of our members, in their eagerness to see a united party, have been misled and deceived; but their sober second thought will soon bring them into line with the Social Democratic party, which will, in good time, give the country a truly united Socialist party."

After some further discussion, Butscher, notwithstanding the fact that the five had come of their own free will into the informal conference of individual members called by Stedman, attempted to commit the others to a recognition of the existence of the committee, by moving "that this committee on union, elected by the Indianapolis convention, do now adjourn to meet with the committee of the S. L. P. at 2 p. m., and proceed with negotiations for union." Chase, who was chairman, assisted him by hurriedly putting the motion: "It is moved—that we do—now—adjourn. All those in favor," but was stopped and requested to put the motion as made. He took the written motion from Butscher, and read: "It is moved that we adjourn and meet the S. L. P. committee," but was again stopped and requested to read it correctly, which he finally did. Berger, Stedman and Haile asserted that they had no right to put or entertain such a motion, they having come into our informal conference upon our terms; and, moreover, the party membership, a higher power than the convention, had discharged the committee which the convention elected. The five, however, voted together and carried the motion, and declared the meeting adjourned.

At 2:30 the above-mentioned five, who have taken the decision as to union out of the hands of the party, met with the committee of the S. L. P. in "joint committee." A few minutes later, Berger, Stedman, Debs and Haile entered the room. Stedman got the floor and said: "I perceive that this committee has met and organized. I wish to say that some of us, including Comrades Berger, Haile and myself, have come to the conclusion that the referendum vote of the S. D. P. has discharged this committee; that we have no power whatsoever to act on a continuation of any conference proceeding. We are, however, willing as individuals to do anything that may seem reasonable and proper to bring about political co-operation. This position on our part is not taken by virtue of the belief that we are still members of a previous committee, as that committee is out of existence, and we have no right to act upon it. I would then like to ask those of you who are present and who are members of this former committee, whether or not you desire that we should take part in carrying on any negotiations looking toward an understanding for a political co-operation, any plan formulated to be submitted to referendum?"

Carey moved that "only those take part in this meeting who recognize this as a legal meeting of the committee on union of the S. D. P."

Hilquit said (and this is a good answer to Debs' question, "How does it happen that the S. L. P. is in such a perfect frenzy about union at this particular time?"): "Our friends, who will probably not unite with us politically, will withdraw now. They will continue claiming that the S. D. P. has rejected union. A great many members of the S. D. P. will respectfully differ with them. The S. D. P. will differ with them. * * * It matters not whether 500 members, more or less, remain in the S. D. P.; the united party—the party consisting of the S. L. P. and the better part of the S. D. P.—will have the prestige. * * * If you think that this course of the N. E. B., with even their claimed majority of 200, with their entire methods or tactics as developed lately, with their brilliant arguments against unity—if you think that they have acquired much credit in the eyes of the working men of this country, you are greatly mistaken. They have not added to their credit in any way. On the contrary, OUR PARTY HAS."

Both he and Harriman positively rejected the proposition for political co-operation.

Sieverman offered an amendment to Carey's motion, "that this committee declares itself to be the legal committee on unity, and that it invites and urges all those who have been elected by their respective constituencies to act in this capacity to stay here with us until union is perfected," and in support of his amendment said: "Let us adopt this motion (the amendment) and in that way most effectually clip the wings of little pettifogging quibblers and get rid of them, and the sooner we get rid of them the better. There is no doubt that they will still have a party. There is no doubt that they will still have a number of adherents. There is no doubt that they will still be able to rouse enthusiasm when they mention a name, and when they mention a jail, but we will have the class-conscious Socialists of the country."

Carey accepted Sieverman's amendment, and it was put and carried.

Stedman, Berger, Debs and Haile then withdrew to consult, and speedily came to the conclusion that as they had declared themselves a legal committee and absolutely rejected our proposition of political co-operation, there was nothing left for us to do but to go home,

which we did, after Stedman had announced this decision to the "joint committee."

What took place in the "joint committee," we have from the report of a dozen eye-witnesses and from the official count in the German Volkzeitung, an official organ of the anti-DeLeonites in New York.

On the opening of the conference, at 2:30, and before Berger, Stedman, Debs and Haile arrived, Carey made a speech, which closed with the words: "The time has now arrived to form a new Socialist party." After the withdrawal of Berger, Stedman, Debs and Haile, Hilquit moved that the conference declare itself as a conference of a new party, viz., of the Socialist party.

Carey, Chase and Hoehn urged that the name remain S. D. P. All of them conceded that the name was no good, but it should be retained as a matter of policy; otherwise they would lose Massachusetts. Carey stated, however, that after election he would not object to a change of name. At last Harriman moved that the united party shall be known in law and in history as the Social Democratic party. This was carried, and the provisional N. E. C. was empowered to authorize a change of the name in any state where the state organization might find it necessary or desirable.

This self-constituted committee of fusionists also decided to call upon the members of both parties to vote upon the report already submitted by the conference committee which met March 26, with "some amendments."

The question of a presidential candidate for the new party then came up, and Debs was proposed. Stone of New York said, "NO; now is our chance to down Debs, once for all." The audience hissed; and Hilquit raised a point of order that according to the constitution of the S. L. P. none but members of "the party" can be candidates. As they were in the process of organizing a party, and as no constitution had as yet been adopted, the excuse was somewhat thin; but it carried, and Chase, in the chair, declared the point well taken. The situation was a delicate one, and the meeting tactfully adjourned.

MARGARET HAILE.

Fail to See the Point

Dear Editor: A few weeks ago we received a circular from five comrades containing something about an "undemocratic" executive committee.

We failed to see the point. Now we read that these same five, "the highest constituted authority," have gone ahead with "union" after the majority had voted "no."

Perhaps the trouble is that our dictionary is a little off; otherwise this seems queer democracy.

Again, a question that is puzzling us is: What kind of a union is that which means disunion? Is there any sense in splitting one's own party and then proclaiming union? But they cannot kill nor greatly hinder the Social Democratic party. Many of us now will simply work harder.

W. E. DIXON.

Mendon, Mass.

Stand by the Party

At a regular meeting of Branch No. 15, S. D. P., of Brooklyn, N. Y., the following resolution was adopted: "Whereas, The decision of our party proved against unity with the S. L. P.; it is

"Resolved, By our branch, notwithstanding our wish for unity, to abide by the decision of our party and work for its candidates."

L. SHAPIRO, Secretary.

NEW BRANCHES

Des Moines, Iowa.
Coshocton, Ohio.
Marcelena, Texas.
Puyallup, Wash.

The Dead-Level Idea

Occasionally some one expresses the fear that if Socialism triumphs it will curb men's ambition too much and reduce everybody to a dead level. Some of these same good people teach us that in the world to come, if we are good, we shall all wear a crown and shall be equal in glory. Now, if that is so, why not equal up a little here in the ante-room? But these critics are in error as to what Socialists want. Their desire is to establish the doctrine of "equal opportunities for all, special privileges to none." They are not for leveling down, but for leveling up. As things are now, a few grab the lands, get possession of the great labor-saving machinery and secure the enactment of class laws which enable them to monopolize the great necessities of the country. They amass vast wealth, extort from the people, reduce working men to starvation wages and ride rough-shod over their fellow men. The present system is a leveling-down system for the masses. What Socialists want is to have the public own and control the great utilities of a public nature and operate them in the interest of all the people, and level them up to a higher plane. If this curbs the rapacity of a few greedy fellows, then let them be curbed on the principle of doing the most good to the greatest number.

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN FUND

Prof. Geo. D. Heron and friends, \$500.00
 Coming Nation, Duke, Ga., 14.00
 Collected by W. Blenko, Kokomo, 4.50
 G. Markstall, Sec. Omaha, Neb., .50
 Julius Bitterlich, St. Louis, Mo., 1.00
 Previously reported 257.15

\$777.15

NOTICE TO SECRETARIES

The attention of Branch Secretaries is called to the revised constitution in this week's paper. It is submitted for a referendum vote. Secretaries will please bring it to the notice of their Branches without delay.

CORRECTION

On account of a clerical error, the vote of Branch 10 of Washington, was included in the list of unpaid branches. This was not correct, as the branch had paid dues and the thirteen votes cast should be included among good standing branches.

NOTES FROM THE FIELD

Coudersport (Pa.) comrades send word that they are in the fight to stay. Comrade A. S. Edwards addressed a meeting at Evanston, Ill., and started a new branch.

Comrade E. V. Debs spoke to an immense audience last Sunday at Rock Island and Davenport.

Branches 2 and 23 of Milwaukee have arranged for a basket picnic June 10, at Ohs grove, south of Washington bridge.

Comrade Joseph Williams, secretary of Branch 10, New York, reports that little mischief has been done by the Volkszeitung people.

A "Young America Social Democratic club" will be organized at Milwaukee June 5 at Hanke's Hall, corner of Ninth and Harmon streets.

The issue of the Herald last week was 13,000. It received a push from a few sane men whose number, let us hope for the good of the Socialist cause, will increase.

Comrade Ricker has organized a branch in Iowa consisting wholly of farmers. When that man has been over the field there will be some interesting news from Iowa.

Social Democrats are reminded that the Bohemian comrades of Chicago will picnic next Sunday. Tickets can be procured at the office of Spravednost, 700-704 Loomis street.

Comrade Elroy S. Thompson, a member of Branch 9, Brockton, Mass., and a newspaper reporter, has been confirmed by the city council as sewage commissioner for Brockton.

Comrade Charles Wistrand, 6146 Aberdeen street, Chicago, desires to employ a nurse girl about fourteen or sixteen years old. He offers a good home to a girl belonging to a Socialist family. Can attend school.

The event to be remembered for the near future by Socialists is the second annual picnic of the Social Democratic party, at Bergmann's Grove, July 4th. Make no other engagements for that day and help sell the tickets to insure its success.

The Sunday afternoon meetings at Arena Hall, 594 E. Sixty-third street, began last Sunday, but owing to a heavy rain storm the attendance was small. Brief remarks were made by Comrades Winnen and Edwards. The speaker next Sunday will be Comrade Roderus.

About one hundred and fifty persons, chiefly Social Democrats, gathered together last Friday evening at Hygeia Hall, Chicago, under S. D. P. and Social Federation auspices, and passed a thoroughly enjoyable time. There was an entertainment and a dance, with a forty minute speech on Socialism by Seymour Stedman, which was well received. Recitations were given by Miss Chase and Prof. Haskins, a song by A. S. Edwards, a talk on pure food by Miss Kate Will, and a violin solo by Ray G. Edwards.

NEW YORK SOLID

A meeting of the C. C. C. took place last Tuesday, May 23, with James Allman in the chair. Delegate from branch 10 reported that an attempt was being made to organize the 6th and 10th assembly districts and a committee was appointed to assist in the work of organizing said districts also the 16th. Comrade Hays reported that Branch No. 20 had in defiance of the referendum vote united with one of the S. L. P.'s. A committee consisting of Comrades Williams and Allman was appointed to call upon Branch No. 20 and expostulate with them about their precipitate action.

L. D. Abbot and G. Finger, the former secretary and the latter treasurer of the C. C. C., not having attended to their duties for the last four sessions were declared unseated and their places filled by other comrades.

It was moved and seconded that a special joint meeting of all the comrades of the S. D. P. in New York city be held next Monday at 414 Grand street in order to consider ways and means for entering the coming campaign and also to so arrange our or-

ganization and forces in order that they may not be inconvenienced by recent attempts of an alleged socialist party to "unite" with us.

Motion was carried unanimously. The following resolution was carried by acclamation:

"Whereas a referendum vote of the members of the S. D. P. has declared against unity with another party and, 'Whereas, the undesirability of any continuous unity of action with the particular party which seeks our alliance was demonstrated by the occurrences which took place Sunday, May 20, in this city; therefore be it

"Resolved, That we, the delegates to the city central committee of New York city, indorse the action taken by Comrades Haile, Berger, Stedman and Debs and pledge ourselves to support the policy of maintaining our separate autonomy as a distinct party and refusing all alliances with other parties at the present time."

JAMES ALLMAN, Chairman.
 JOSEPH WILLIAM, Secretary.

Later

Branch No. 20 has returned to its allegiance and renounced all connection with all other political parties or "fractions" of parties and will be heart and soul with the genuine S. D. P. All communications should be sent to Mr. J. Hay, No. 702 East 132d street, New York city.

JAMES ALLMAN.

THE PRESENT SITUATION

The Social Democratic party of America was organized at Chicago, June 11, 1898. Thirty-seven delegates, representing fourteen different states, took part in its organization. Chicago was chosen as national headquarters. A national executive board was elected, which has since served continuously, no convention having been held in 1899. This party still lives and thrives amazingly. It still has its original name, its national headquarters, its national organ, its national officers and some 5,500 members.

And yet, most strange to relate, in New York city, on Sunday last, May 20, there was organized the Social Democratic party of America! At least, a new party was launched, which decided to call itself by that name—a party whose headquarters will be at Springfield, and whose membership will be made up of the anti-DeLeon faction of the S. L. P. and as many Social Democrats as can by hook or by crook be prevailed upon to leave the S. D. P. and join them.

By whom was this new party organized? Five Social Democrats and eight S. L. P. men. Who were the five Social Democrats and what right had they to take part in the organization of a new party? I will tell you.

The national convention of the S. D. P. held at Indianapolis, March 7, 1900, elected a committee on union, to confer with a similar committee from the S. L. P., giving them certain definite instructions as to their duties, in order that they might safeguard the interests of the S. D. P. as one of the parties in negotiation, and preserve for the general Socialist movement all that was best in the S. D. P. in case a union was accomplished. The committee not only disregarded these instructions, but the majority of them proceeded to give up, without a struggle, everything of value that belonged distinctively to the S. D. P.—viz., its national headquarters, official organ, national executive, constitution and general plan of organization, and even placed its name at the mercy of an unknown quantity—the membership of the S. L. P. All this, too, after the other party to the negotiations had demonstrated that THEY DID NOT INTEND TO KEEP FAITH WITH US.

The committee having thus signally failed in its duty, and disobeyed the instructions of the convention which created it, the national executive board of the S. D. P. laid the whole matter before the membership at large for action. The membership took the matter in its own hands, and DECIDED BY A CONCLUSIVE MAJORITY THAT IT DID NOT WANT UNION AT ALL AT THE PRESENT TIME, thereby putting an end to the negotiations and discharging the committee.

Smarting under this rebuke, but still determined to carry their point, five members of this committee combine with the S. L. P. committee and organize a new party, to which they presume to attach the honored name, Social Democratic.

The S. L. P. committee probably represents the whole of their organization, or faction; but the five members of the S. D. P. ex-committee, who acted in conjunction with them, cannot, even upon the most liberal interpretation, claim to represent more than the one-sixth of our party who voted in favor of union, and these 939 will hesitate long before defying the will of the majority, and still longer before leaving the S. D. P. and allying themselves with the counterfeit which has just been put in circulation. Even the few who may in the future follow them and justify their course had not in any official way whatever authorized them to represent them. The five

acted entirely upon their own responsibility, and are trusting to their skill in manipulating to swing the organization with them.

Comrades, an appeal to your loyalty would be superfluous. Social Democrats can be relied upon to do their duty, live up to their principles, and yield their allegiance in the right place, when they understand the situation.

MARGARET HAILE.

Boston.

FARMER FOR VICE-PRESIDENT

A union meeting of Branches Nos. 1, 12 and 4, of New Jersey, was held to discuss the results of the meeting of the committees on unity last Sunday in New York. After full and detailed reports had been received from members who had been present at the conference, and the report freely debated on, it was resolved that the regular work of the campaign be prosecuted vigorously. Members of a state committee were chosen to consist of two from each branch. A short speech by the chairman, giving an idea of the work needing attention, and the necessity for funds, brought forth offers of volunteer service and a fund of \$30 was raised in cash and nearly \$25 more in pledges.

The state committee convened at once and laid out the work for the coming week. G. H. Stroboll was elected state chairman, E. C. Wind, state secretary, and Quincy K. Ramow, treasurer. It was decided to make the most earnest efforts to bring in line the other state branches, to establish new ones and to push the work of organization everywhere it is possible to find any opening.

When the ticket is perfected by the nomination of a vice-president, the petitions will be circulated, and there is no doubt of success in placing our candidates on the legal ballot. It is the unanimous wish of the three Newark branches that Comrade Farmer of Texas will be the one selected as candidate for vice-president. They favor the nomination of Comrade T. N. Jones for governor. All New Jersey comrades are requested to make application for the nomination blanks, so as to get petitions from all parts of the state.

Every county should be in line and see to it that the congressional nominations are made and supported by the petitions. Apply for all information to the state chairman, G. H. Stroboll, 44 Hill street, Newark, N. J.

ILLINOIS STATE TICKET

Owing to considerations of a personal character, which were deemed sufficient to justify the state committee in their action, Comrade James Beattie's declination of the party's nomination for governor has been accepted, and Comrade Perry of Spring Valley was chosen unanimously to fill the vacancy. Comrade Beattie met a majority of the committee last week and stated his reasons for withdrawing, at the same time declaring his willingness to stand if, after hearing him, the comrades decided that the interests of the party demanded it. The committee, however, though reluctant to make any change, agreed that Comrade Beattie should not be called upon to make the personal sacrifice necessary to an acceptance of the nomination.

Comrade Perry is a practical miner, a clear and logical speaker, and a good representative of the intelligent, wide-awake working class of the state of Illinois.

Iowa Socialists

All reformers living in Iowa who are interested in the Social Democracy are requested to communicate with the undersigned. By unanimous vote of the S. D. P. branches of the state I have been made the party organizer for the state. I desire the name of every Socialist in Iowa.

A. W. Ricker.

Lone Tree, Iowa.

Second Annual Picnic

The comrades of Chicago will hold the Second Annual Picnic of the Social Democratic party of Cook county on the Fourth of July, at Bergmann's grove, Desplaines avenue and Twenty-sixth street. The place will be reached by the Metropolitan Elevated and Suburban Electric. Full particulars will be announced later of all arrangements to make a grand success of the occasion.

Arizona Socialists

In every community should correspond with M. J. Casper, Box 178, Globe, Tucson, Ariz. We have plans for keeping organizers in the field to organize branches in every town in Arizona before November; 500 Socialists pledging 25 cents per month each will do it. Don't miss it—write at once.

Southern California, Attention

All Socialists in the seven southern counties of Southern California should now get to work and so far as possible form branches in every voting precinct. To further this end communicate at once with James T. VanRensselaer, 1618 Tabor street, Los Angeles, Cal.

Subscribe for "The Herald"

LOCAL BRANCHES

Notices of Branch Meetings Inserted for 25 Cents per Month

CALIFORNIA

Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evenings, commencing at 8. Admission free. Educational meetings (for members) every Tuesday evening. Sociology, Economics, Public Speaking, etc.
 Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening.
 Membership, with advantage of Educational Course and Social Democratic Herald free to each member, 25 cents per month.
 Apply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk street.

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2 o'clock at Woodmen's Hall, 1234 Spring St. J. Franco, 700 Dayton Ave., Secretary.
 Branch No. 5, Alameda, California, holds free public meetings every 2d and 4th Sunday, 8 p. m. at Foresters' Hall, cor. Park St. and Santa Clara Ave. Business and Educational meetings (for members) 1st and 3rd Mondays, 8 p. m. at 2445 Euclid Ave. Allan A. Crockett, Secretary, 1610 Walnut St.

ILLINOIS

Branch No. 1, Denver, meets every Sunday at 8:00 p. m. at 1115 California Ave., Chas. M. Davis, Secretary, 1629 11th Street.

Branch No. 2, Goldfield, meets every Sunday at 7:30 p. m. at City Hall, Chas. La Camp, Secretary.

CONNECTICUT

The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at Turn Hall, Rockville, L. Schaefer, Secretary.

Branch No. 3, New Haven, meets every Tuesday evening, at 196 State St., 8 p. m. Cornelius Mahoney, Secretary, 165 Frank St.

Branch No. 4, Rockville, Conn., meets first and third Thursdays at Turn Hall meeting room, Village street. Secretary, Richard Niederwieser, Box 700.

INDIANA

Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 53 Dearborn St.

Branch No. 1, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening, Thomas Kilwin, Secretary, 204 Westworth Ave.

Branch No. 2 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays at 8 p. m. at Nagi's Hall, 535 Blue Island Ave. Václav Jelinek, Secretary, 606 Blue Island Ave.

Branch No. 3 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Mondays at 8 p. m. in Dunder's place, 1080 W. 18th place, Joseph, Secretary.

Branch No. 5, Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays of each month at Andr. Muzik's, 40 String St. Paul Chlapacka, Secretary, 354 Hable St.

Branch No. 6, Chicago, meets every first Saturday each month at 8 o'clock at Nagi's Hall, 535 Blue Island Ave., near 18th St. Albin Geisler, Secretary, 726 W. 30th St.

Branch No. 8 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays at 8 p. m. at 3402 Line Street. J. A. Ambros, Secretary, 440 Wood Street.

Branch No. 9, Chicago, meets at 1145 W. 63rd st., first and third Sundays at 3 p. m. Roswell H. Johnson, Secretary, 634 E. 51th St.

INDIANA

Branch No. 6, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month at Schewe's Hall, corner Market and Noble Sts.

IOWA

Branch No. 2, Hiteam, meets every fourth Friday in the month at opera house, S. B. Jamieson, chairman. James Fisher, organizer; Joseph Schollaut, secretary.

KENTUCKY

Branch No. 2, Covington, meets first and third Wednesday evenings and second and fourth Sunday afternoons of each month. All agitator meetings except third meeting in month. Good speakers. Secretary, F. C. Stumpf, 201 8th street.

MARYLAND

Branch No. 1, Baltimore, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m. at Carpenter's Hall, 600 E. Baltimore St. Public invited.

Branch No. 2, Baltimore, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at Wenzel's Hotel, 22 W. Camden at Good speakers. Public invited. Levin T. Jones, Secretary, 202 W. Harre st.

MASSACHUSETTS

The Massachusetts State Committee meets the first Saturday of each month at 724 Washington St., Boston. All dues and monies intended for the State Committee should be sent to the financial secretary, A. McDonald, 104 W. Springfield St., Boston. All other correspondence should be addressed to the Corresponding Secretary, Margaret Haile, 5 Glenwood St., Roxbury.

Branch No. 2, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Mondays of each month at Springfield Turner Hall, H. Schmitz, Organizer, 57, Sumner St.

Branch No. 5, Lynn, permanent headquarters, 71 Monroe St. Business meeting every Monday night at 7:30. Open house. Public invited. Harry Gottmer, Sec. 42 Essex St.

Branch No. 9, Brockton, meets Friday nights at 8 p. m. for business at Socialist Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Center Sts. Every committee is expected to send one meeting a month. Mrs. Annie Bosworth, Secretary, 81 Prospect st.

Branch No. 15, East Boston, meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 59 Chelsea St. Miss Jenny Scott, Secretary, 59 Chelsea St.

Branch No. 18, Newburyport, meets the second Monday of each month, at Lester's Hall, 27 Pleasant St. T. H. Chisnell, Secretary, 16 Collins St. A. L. Binley, 238 Merrimac St.

To Our Washington Readers

Comrade D. Burgess of New Whatcom, Wash., has been selected as organizer for the state and is prepared to assist the Socialists of Washington in organizing branches of the S. D. P. Correspondence addressed to him will receive prompt attention.

North Dakota Socialists

Socialists residing in North Dakota and desiring to organize for effective propaganda work in that state are requested to correspond with Math. Eidsness, Towner, N. D.

California Socialists

Socialists resident in California and not members of the Social Democratic party are requested to communicate with John Carter, 929 Twenty-second street, San Francisco.

Attention, Nebraska

Persons living in Nebraska and accepting the principles of Socialism are requested to communicate with T. A. Edwards, 3220 California street, Omaha, with a view to the organization of branches of the Social Democratic party.

To Texas Socialists

For purpose of State organization, the Bonham Social Democratic Branch requests that every Socialist in Texas who reads this notice, will please send name and address to the undersigned. Please attend to this at once. W. E. Farmer, Bonham, Texas.

All Socialist papers please publish.

Oregon Socialists, Attention

You are requested to communicate with J. D. Stevens, Box 204, Portland, organizer for the S. D. P., with a view to instituting branches of the party in your community. The future belongs to Socialism. Lend a hand and get your state thoroughly organized.

Branch No. 21, Chelsea, permanent headquarters, Room 2, Postoffice Building. Open every evening. Business meetings every Thursday at 8 p. m. Public invited.

MICHIGAN

Branch No. 1, Battle Creek, Mich., meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of each month, at 8 p. m. at 10 W. Main Street, in the eighth Avenue National Co-operative Hall. All are cordially invited. L. C. Rogers, Secretary.

MINNESOTA

Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Gosswein, on Main St. A. Kingsbury, Secretary.

MISSOURI

St. Louis headquarters, Room 7, 23 N. Fourth St. Address all communications to E. Val Putnam, Secretary. For information concerning ward branches, inquire at the above address.

Branch No. 7, Kansas City, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1200 Union Ave. G. J. Storz, Secretary, 1200 W. 9th St.

MONTANA

Branch No. 3 meets first and third Sundays of each month at G. W. Wood's home, Chico, Mont.

NEW JERSEY

Branch No. 1, Secretary, Michael W. Schor, 67 Livingston st.

Branch No. 5, Camden, N. J., meets every 2d Sunday of the month. For particulars address Paul Elberding, 1205 Ninth's Avenue, Camden, N. J.

Branch No. 3 (German) Newark, meets every third Saturday, at International Hall, 7 Bedford St. Hans Hartwig, Secretary, 7 Bedford St.

Branch No. 8 (German), Paterson, N. J., meets 2nd and third Mondays at 8 p. m. at Helvetia Hall, 54-56 Van Buren St. Karl Lindner, Secretary, 246 Edmond St.

NEW YORK

The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York and vicinity meets first and third Tuesdays of every month in Williams' Hall, 88 E. 4th St. Elizabeth H. Thomas, Secretary.

East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every first and third Thursday at 113 Clinton St. A. Guyer, Secretary, 128 Suffolk St.

Branch No. 3, 34th Assembly District, meets second and fourth Wednesdays of the month at 1069 Second Ave., at the "Central." Henry Lang, Secretary, 34 E. 9th St.

Branch No. 4, West Side Branch, New York, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of every month at headquarters, 128 W. 90th St. Elizabeth H. Thomas, Secretary.

Branch No. 5, Brooklyn, New York, meets every Saturday at 8 p. m. at 56 Moore St. Visitors welcome. Comrades desiring to organize should communicate with Secretary, Sol. Freeman, 190 Boerum St.

Branch No. 10, New York, meets every Friday, at 8 p. m., 209 E. Broadway. Lectures and discussions. Public invited.

Branch No. 12, Brooklyn, headquarters, 31 Rutledge St. Meets every third Thursday at 8:15 sharp. All persons interested are invited to attend these meetings and co-operate in organizing local branches in every district in the city.

Branch No. 20, regular meetings are held first and third Friday of the month at Webster Hall, 140th st. and Third Ave., Borough of the Bronx, E. Spranger, Secretary, 317 E. 189th St. All persons interested in Socialism and the S. D. P. are invited to attend.

OHIO

Branch No. 2, Cleveland, meets in Ohlsen's Hall, 6 York St., second and fourth Sundays at 8 p. m. Lectures, discussions, business meetings first and third Fridays at 8 p. m.

Branch No. 3, Cleveland, meets first and third Sundays in each month at 8 p. m. in Ohlsen's Hall, 6 York St. Lectures and discussions.

Branch No. 4, Cincinnati, meets every 2d and 4th Friday evening, in Hall 27, Central Trades Council Block. Everyone interested in Socialism invited. J. Schwa, Chairman, W. Barringer, Secretary, P. O. Box 24.

Branch No. 8, Cincinnati, meets every second and fourth Saturday in Workingmen's Hall, 1215 Walnut St. F. Hamel, Secretary, 184 Prints St.

Branch No. 11, Germantown, Columbus, Ed Greiner, Secretary, 805 Mohawk St.

PENNSYLVANIA

Branch No. 2, Erie, meets every Sunday, 3 p. m., at E. of L. Hall, 716 State St. Chairman, Joseph Stain, Secretary, J. E. Perry, 119 Sansassass St.

Branch No. 4, Pittsburg, meets every Thursday evening at 7:30 p. m. at Funk Hall, 8, 34th and Josephine Sts. W. Bohn, President, 344 Addison St. J. H. Lewis, Secretary, 238 Jane St.

Branch No. 5 (Jewish), Philadelphia, meets every Friday at 8:30. Third St. at 7:30. Discussion from 8 to 9. I. Gerson, Secretary.

WASHINGTON

Branch No. 5, Tacoma, Meets every Monday evening at 8 p. m., 413 11th Street.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee Central Committee, S. D. P., meets first Monday of the month at Brewen's Restaurant, southeast corner Fourth and Chestnut sts.

Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets at Kailer's Hall, Four Street, between Third and Prairie, every second and fourth Thursday evening.

Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Friday in Gestke's Hall, corner Green Bay and Commercial Aves.

Branch No. 3, Sheboygan, meets every fourth Thursday of the month at Gustav Burgard's Hall on Pennsylvania Ave. R. Schoen, Secretary, Treasurer, 8, 13th St.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday each month at Miller's Hall, corner 23d and Brown Sts. George Moserchall, Secretary, 231 25th St.

Branch No. 8, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at R. Sigel's Hall, southeast corner Orchard St. and 9th Ave. O. Wild, Secretary.

Branch No. 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of each month at Kraus' Hall, 21 and Center St. at 8 p. m. Secretary, Rudolph Loeschman, 1128 23rd St.

Branch No. 23, Milwaukee, meets second and fourth Wednesday of each month, at 524 Clark street. Henry Harbicht, Sec. 1074 7th Street.

Branch No. 25, Milwaukee, meets second and fourth Wednesday of each month, at 524 Clark street. Henry Harbicht, Sec. 1074 7th Street.

Branch No. 25, Milwaukee, meets second and fourth Wednesday of each month, at 524 Clark street. Henry Harbicht, Sec. 1074 7th Street.

Branch No. 25, Milwaukee, meets second and fourth Wednesday of each month, at 524 Clark street. Henry Harbicht, Sec. 1074 7th Street.

Branch No. 25, Milwaukee, meets second and fourth Wednesday of each month, at 524 Clark street. Henry Harbicht, Sec. 1074 7th Street.

FUSIONISTS DEFEY THE WILL OF THE MAJORITY

When Comrade Stedman proposed political co-operation at New York, Harriman asked this question: "What assurance can you give us that in this proposition you represent your party?" Stedman replied: "None whatever, except as individuals"—he intending, as did Comrades Haile, Berger and Debs, that the proposition should be submitted to the membership. What did Harriman do then? He entered into a bargain with Carey, Chase, Butcher and Hoehn, with the S. L. P. members of his committee, to organize a new party forthwith and to appropriate or steal the name, Social Democratic. Stedman's authority to speak for his party was called in question, but Mr. Job Harriman, does not hesitate, in the face of the expressed will of a majority of the Social Democratic party, to promote a scheme to steal our name. Social Democrats, now is the time to stand pat!

What was fusion proposed for? To make the strongest possible showing in the political field for Socialism? Not at all. When the opportunity for political co-operation was offered the fusionists, they rejected it with scorn. The plain, cold fact is that fusion was proposed for the sole purpose of capturing or destroying a successful organization. They never wanted union; they were out to head off the growth of Socialism manifested in a harmonious and successful organization not controlled by a New York clique.

It would have been a good thing for the Social Democratic party if the comrades who voted for fusion could have been present at the New York meeting. Many of them were honest, but misguided in their support of a scheme concocted long before the Indianapolis convention. Time will reveal the truth of this and all honest comrades who wanted union, but have not realized that they were being forced into it, will correct their mistakes and retrace their steps.

Ignore the New York report; reject any further overtures for fusion; attend to the business of the Social Democratic party and prepare for the campaign. To branches recently organized: Do not vote on any proposition that comes to you from New York. Now is the time to be loyal to Socialism by upholding the organization of which we are members.

Having failed in their scheme to destroy or deliver the Social Democratic party, the fusionists now dare to defy the will of the majority, repudiate the referendum and attempt the organization of a new party under the same name as that borne for two years by the party they attempted to rape. Social Democrats, stand pat and resent this outrage!

Comrade Stroboll, upon whose report of the New York meeting the action in this paper was based, was present at New York. New Jersey, as will be seen from the report, nominates Comrade Farmer of Texas for vice-president. Let the members be heard from everywhere.

They were not ready for political co-operation with Debs as a candidate, but wanted organic union. What for? If they are not ready to co-operate in the political field, what sort of unity would prevail if the fusion scheme had carried? On with the legitimate work of the Social Democratic party!

What most surprises the editor of The Herald in all this past rumpus is his own extreme moderation and that of his comrades who have had the audacity to stand by the work they have done against the sinister schemes of a few destructionists under the guise of unity.

If anybody has anything unusually false, mean and contemptible to say of Social Democrats opposed to the fusion deal, who have labored for the party since its organization, they can get it published in the Workers' Gall or the Volkszeitung People. No charge for this notice.

The Herald is published in the interest of the Social Democratic party. It is open to all friends of the party and the Socialist movement and closed to all others. Organize branches and push the subscriptions.

Immediately following the last meeting at New York, the comrades there held a meeting with Debs, Haile, Berger, McCartney and Stedman present, and, amid great enthusiasm, started a fund for campaign purposes with contributions amounting to \$127.

The decision of a majority of the members voting on the question of fusion is final and conclusive. It stands as the expression of the will of the party.

No other vote will be taken on the question. The matter is settled. Are you loyal?

Over eighty new branches of the party organized since the convention testify to the esteem and confidence in which it is held by sensible people everywhere. That is more organizing than the fusionists have done in twenty months.

In the East some members of the S. L. P. joined branches of our party since the Indianapolis convention and before any vote was taken for the sole purpose of influencing the same. This is in complete accord with S. L. P. tactics.

Social Democrats know where to turn for reliable men. There is a boom started for Comrade Farmer for vice-presidential candidate of the Social Democratic party. He has been named by New Jersey and Texas.

The New York counterfeit of the Social Democratic party is founded upon defiance of the will of the majority of the Social Democratic party of America. Look out for counterfeits and repudiate tricksters.

The fusionists in both parties have not been following a policy, but working a game, and the game began months before the Indianapolis convention.

The comrades at Saginaw, Mich., write that "since the Social Democratic party will go it alone, we are ready to do our part."

Eugene V. Debs is the candidate of the Social Democratic party for president.

After all, a one-man party, if such were possible, is better than a party of traders.

DEFEAT THE ATTEMPT

To the members of the Social Democratic party in Massachusetts, greeting:

At a regular meeting of Branch No. 29, of Massachusetts, held May 25, 1900, the following resolutions were adopted:

"Whereas, A vote by referendum is the highest authority by which any question can be decided in the Social Democratic party; and

"Whereas, Any attempt to overthrow such a vote is absolutely contrary to the spirit of Socialism, and a violation of the principles of democracy, and dishonorable from a moral point of view; and

"Whereas, During the recent controversy in regard to union with the S. L. P. faction and the vote upon it, our national executive board has conducted itself with perfect fairness and justice to all members, no matter what their views may be; therefore be it

"Resolved, That we affirm our entire confidence in the national executive board and our firm and unalterable resolution to abide by the decision of the referendum in refusing all union with the S. L. P. faction at the present time and under the proposed conditions; and we also condemn the action of those comrades who have repudiated the decision of the referendum by participating in the unity committee meeting in New York on May 20 and in taking part in the formation of a new party.

"We call upon you, comrades, as true Social Democrats, to join with us in this stand and rally to the support of our party. The present is a critical time in its history. Now is the time that its loyal and faithful members must stand firm to preserve it from the attacks of its enemies without and within. The party which has made such rapid progress during its brief career is the movement which is destined to free the wage slaves of America, and it would be a crime to allow it to be torn into pieces by faction and treachery. Let us solemnly promise to one another that this shall not be, and that we shall not permit it to perish from the face of the earth."

Signed in behalf of Branch No. 29, of Massachusetts. W. M. BIGGS, Secretary.

Michigan Socialists

All Social Democrats and all unattached Socialists residing in Michigan are requested to write at once to Henry Ramsey, 84 Railroad street, Battle Creek, Mich., and thus aid in placing a Social Democratic state ticket in the field this fall.

The Union Label

on everything you buy is a guarantee that the producers thereof receive a fair rate of wages for its production

Insist on having the label

Labor vs. Capital
Labor cannot compete with capital in the legislature.

Nearly every member of the legislature is an agent of capitalism, elected by votes of labor.

Capital marches through the front door of the legislature, while labor can't rap at the back door.

This is because labor doesn't know itself.

Capital has its lobbyists, agents, engineers and "Black Horse Cavalry" to watch the legislature. Labor hasn't.

Within sight of the legislature, capital keeps what it calls the "stuff." Labor has none to spare.

Capital brings "pressure" to bear upon members whom it suspects. There would be fun if labor tried "pressure."—Newcastle (Pa.) Tribune.

In New York state 910 persons were killed and nearly 40,000 crippled in shops, factories and industrial pursuits in the year 1899. In the war with Spain 280 Americans were killed and 1,557 wounded. Based on the figures the total of killed and injured annually in the industrial pursuits of the United States would be nearly 20,000 killed and 900,000 injured.

The local authorities of Hamburg have forbidden a meeting there because the speeches were to be made in Polish. But there is no law saying that German is the only language to be used at meetings.

VOTE ON THE CONSTITUTION

The following constitution is submitted to the membership for a referendum vote. It was adopted at the Indianapolis convention to be referred to the members for approval or rejection. Branches are requested to take it up at once and report action through their local secretaries to the national secretary, 126 Washington street, Chicago, not later than June 23. The question is on the adoption or rejection of the constitution as it stands, and the vote must be Yes or No.

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION.

Section 1. This organization shall be known as the Social Democratic Party of America, and its headquarters shall be located at such place as the national conventions of the party may appoint, or as may be fixed by the National Executive Board subject to a referendum vote.

Section 2. The Social Democratic Party of America shall be organized as follows: First—Local branches limited to five hundred members each.

Second—A National Executive Board of nine members, five of whom shall be chosen from territory convenient to the national headquarters, and shall be called "resident members," and the remaining four shall be chosen, so far as possible, from other parts of the country. All members of the Executive Board shall have equal rights and powers; but the resident members shall have power to act and a majority of said resident members shall constitute a quorum. The non-resident members shall not be required to be present at all meetings of the board, but shall be kept advised of all proceedings of the board. The Executive Board shall be elected by the national convention.

Third—The form of state organizations shall be left to the branches in the respective states.

EXECUTIVE BOARD.

Section 3. The Executive Board shall have supervision of the party organization, and shall have power to provide such rules, issue such orders and adopt such measures as may be required to carry out the object of the organization; provided, that no action shall be taken which will conflict with the constitution and declaration of principles.

Section 4. The National Secretary, Treasurer and editor of the national organ, and such other officers as may be required, shall be elected, and their salaries fixed by the Executive Board, to be approved by the direct vote of the party members through the referendum; and they and each of them may be removed by the Executive Board, subject to such referendum.

Section 5. The office of National Secretary and Treasurer may be held by the same person. Such Secretary and Treasurer shall make a report of the financial standing of the party semi-annually, to be given to the branches, and shall make a report to the Executive Board whenever required by it.

Section 6. Members of the Executive Board shall receive no compensation for their services. They shall hold annual and stated meetings at times to be fixed by the Board, and such special meetings as may be required; reasonable notice shall be given to each of the members of the Executive Board of all meetings.

Section 7. Any member of the National Executive Board may be removed, and his successor elected by a referendum vote, as hereinafter provided. All vacancies in the Executive Board, however occurring, shall be filled by the remaining members of the board, subject to a referendum vote.

Section 8. At each annual meeting of the board the officers of the board shall render complete reports of the transactions of their several offices, and transmit a copy thereof to each local branch.

REVENUES AND FUNDS.

Section 9. The revenue of the organization shall be derived from an admission fee of twenty-five cents for each member, and quarterly dues of twenty-five cents for each member, payable in advance on the first days of January, April, July and October.

Section 10. The funds of the organization shall be deposited in such bank or banks as the board may direct; and the National Secretary and Treasurer shall be required to execute a bond for the faithful performance of his duties in such an amount as the board may require.

OFFICIAL PAPER.

Section 11. This organization shall continue the publication of the official paper, called the Social Democratic Herald, under the supervision of the Executive Board. Each member of the organization shall be entitled to a copy of the official paper in consideration of the payment of quarterly dues.

Section 12. The columns of the national organ shall be open at all times to reasonable criticism and discussion of party matters by members of the party.

NATIONAL CONVENTIONS.

Section 13. The national conventions of the organization shall be held quadrennially at

some date prior to the first of June, and at such place as shall be decided upon by the National Executive Board, subject to referendum vote.

REFERENDUM.

Section 14. The National Executive Board may submit any question to a referendum vote of all the members of the party in good standing. The referendum vote may also be had upon the petition of ten local branches addressed to the National Executive Board, requesting such board to submit any proposition therein specified to such referendum vote; and upon the receipt of such petition said board shall forthwith so submit such proposition.

Upon the submission of any proposition to a referendum vote not less than three weeks shall be allowed for amendments to such proposition; and not less than six weeks, after the expiration of said three weeks, shall be allowed for the transmission of the votes to the Executive Board; provided, that if the votes transmitted by all the branches in good standing shall have been received by the board before the expiration of such time, the board shall announce the result of such vote forthwith.

LOCAL BRANCHES.

Section 15.—Any respectable person who subscribes to the principles of the Social Democratic Party and severs all connection, and renounces allegiance to all other political parties, shall be eligible to membership.

Section 16. A local branch shall consist of not less than five, and not more than five hundred members. Branches shall fix their own quorum.

Section 17. Any person desiring membership shall make application to the local branch, upon being recommended by a member of said branch. And if accepted by a majority vote, shall be enrolled as a member. Upon objection to his admission being made, the matter shall be referred by the branch to the Central Committee of the locality, which shall have power to act in the matter. In case the decision of the local committee shall be against the applicant, upon appeal by the said person, or by the branch to which he has applied, the National Executive Board shall have power of final action in the matter.

Section 18. Any member of good standing in one branch may, upon the request, be transferred to another branch; and the Secretary of the branch in which he holds his membership shall, for that purpose, furnish him with a transfer card.

Section 19. A member in good standing may terminate his or her membership by obtaining from the Secretary of such branch the card of withdrawal.

Section 20. Each member shall be entitled to a card of membership, to be furnished by the National Executive Board, and issued to the members by the Secretary of the local branch.

DUES AND FEES.

Section 21. The admission fee which shall accompany each application for membership shall be twenty-five cents, which shall be forwarded to the National Executive Board.

Section 22. The dues of the members shall be fixed by the branch; but such dues shall be sufficient to include twenty-five cents per quarter, to be paid on the first day of January, April, July and October in each year to the National Executive Board.

Section 23. At the close of each meeting of a local branch the Treasurer thereof shall transmit to the National Secretary the names of all members admitted at said meeting, their postoffice addresses, and a remittance by postal money order of their admission fee.

Section 24. A member admitted on or before the middle of a quarter shall pay dues for the full quarter. A member admitted after the middle of a quarter shall be exempt for that quarter.

Section 25. On or before the fifth day of each quarter the Treasurer of each local branch shall remit by postal money order the quarterly dues for the current quarter to the National Executive Board, and each local branch shall be responsible for and remit the full amount due for the entire membership of the branch.

Section 26. The officers of the branch shall consist of a Secretary, Treasurer and Organizer, and such other officers as may be determined by the branch; said officers shall be elected at each annual meeting and serve until their successors are qualified. They shall perform such duties as appertain to their several offices, and as the local branch may direct. Any officer of the branch may be removed by a majority vote of the members of the branch.

Section 27. Each local branch shall hold at least one business meeting a month, and such other meetings as they may see fit.

Section 28. At the annual meeting the officers shall submit complete reports of the transactions of their several offices for the preceding year.

Section 29. Branches shall be numbered with reference to states, the numbers to be assigned by the National Executive Board.

Section 30. The National Executive Board shall issue a charter to each branch, which charter may be suspended or revoked by the National Executive Board in case of violation of the laws, principles or regulations of the organization, subject to referendum vote.

Section 31. Persons intending to organize a new local branch shall apply to the then existing city or state committee of the locality where said branch is to be located, for its endorsement; and upon receiving such endorsement shall forward to the National Executive Board their application, together with the names and addresses of the proposed members, and their admission fees and dues. The National Executive Board shall thereupon, if they find the application in regular form, issue a charter to such person.

In case their shall be no such Central Committee the application shall be made direct to the National Executive Board.

Section 32. The local branch may adopt such by-laws as the majority of its members may determine, provided they do not conflict with this constitution or the platform and declaration of principles of the party.

Section 33. Any member violating the laws or principles of the organization may be suspended or expelled by a two-thirds vote of the members in good standing of the local branch of which he is a member; provided, that any charges against such member shall be preferred in writing, and the accused shall be entitled to a fair trial. The person so accused, if dissatisfied with the decision of the local branch, may appeal to the National Executive Board, and the person or persons preferring such charges shall have a like appeal to the National Executive Board. The action of the Executive Board on such case shall be final.

Section 34. This constitution shall be in force and effective from and after its endorsement by a majority in a referendum vote of the membership of the party in good standing.

Section 35. This constitution may be amended by a referendum vote as hereinabove provided.

Section 36. Under no circumstances shall the Social Democratic Party fuse with or act with any other political party, either in national or local elections, unless such party shall have substantially the same platform and principles as the Social Democratic Party.

SOCIALIST
4TH OF JULY OUTING
Second Annual Picnic
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY
Of Chicago
JULY FOURTH, 1900
At Bergmann's Grove
On Desplaines River

Watch The Herald for full particulars. A large attendance of Social Democrats with their families and friends is expected.

Make no other engagement for the Fourth. Help the sale of Tickets, 10 cents each.

Pocket Library of Socialism

1. **Woman and the Social Problem.** By May Wood SIMONS. Shows that the emancipation of woman will only come with the emancipation of man through socialism.
2. **The Evolution of the Class Struggle.** By WILLIAM H. NOVIS. A historical study showing how socialism is coming.
3. **Insurgent Harlequins.** By ROBERT BLATERN. A masterly answer to the argument that "prudence" would help the laborer.
4. **Packaging Towns.** By A. M. SIMONS. A study of the Union Stock Yards, Chicago; how nature and man are alike scientifically exploited.
5. **Realism in Literature and Art.** By CLARENCE DAWSON. Shows how the workers of modern art and literature are helping on the new social order.
6. **Single Tax vs. Socialism.** By A. M. SIMONS. Shows the inadequacy of the Single Tax as a remedy for the evils pointed out by Henry George.
7. **Wage-Labor and Capital.** By EARL MARK. The essence of the great philosopher's theory, in his own words.
8. **The Man Under the Machine.** By A. M. SIMONS. Tells how wage slavery began, what it is today and how the workers are going to free themselves. A condensed handbook of socialism.
9. **The Mission of the Working Class.** By RY. CHARLES H. VAIL, author of "Modern Socialism."
10. **Morals and Socialism.** By CHARLES H. KERN. Shows how popular ideas of morals are manipulated in the interest of the capitalist class.
11. **Socialist Songs.** Sixteen good ones, at times every one knows.
12. **After Capitalism What?** By REV. WILLIAM T. BROWER. A logical historical study showing that socialism must come as the result of forces now at work.
13. **A Political Quack Doctor.** By W. A. CORRY. A socialist view of the "Prohibition" movement.

SEND ORDERS TO
THEODORE DEBS
126 Washington St., CHICAGO

PRINCIPLES OF Scientific Socialism

By Rev. Charles H. Vail
Author "Modern Socialism" and "National Ownership of Railways."

CONTENTS:
The Industrial Revolution. The Analysis of Value. The Origin of Surplus Value.
The Advantages of Socialism: Production, Distribution, Elimination of Unpleasant Conditions, Prevention of Waste, Elevation of Woman, Proper Care and Training of Children, Efficient Directors, Solution of the Monetary Question, Abolition of Taxation, Simplification of Government, Benefits to Capitalists, Benefits to Laborers.
The Evidence of the Moral Strength of Socialism: Its Spirit and Aim; Abolition of Business Dishonesty; Restriction of Divorce; Prevention of Prostitution; Elimination of Crime; Prevention of Intemperance, Insanity, etc.
Poverty—its Cause and Cure. Wage Slavery vs. Chattel Slavery. Rent and Interest. The Law of the Law of Progress. Industrial Depression and Commercial Crises. The Problem of Labor-Saving Machinery.
Popular Economic Errors: That Value is Determined by Capitalist Cost of Production; that the Interests of Laborers and Capitalists are identical; that Labor is Better Off To-day Than Ever Before; that Cheap Prices are Beneficial to Labor; that Foreign Markets are Beneficial to Labor; that Luxury is Beneficial to Labor; that Land Nationalization Would Solve the Social Question; that Extravagance is the Chief Cause of Economic Want; that Socialism Would Thwart Inventions and Improvements; that Socialism Would Destroy Individuality. Conclusion and Index.
16mo, 320 Pages; Paper, 50c; Cloth, \$1.00.

SEND ORDERS TO
THEODORE DEBS, 126 Washington St., CHICAGO

NATIONAL FUND

The following is a list of comrades who have agreed, in response to the appeal of the National Executive Board, to contribute monthly for one year to the national fund. Other names will be added as they are received.

CONNECTICUT	NEW YORK
Finnel, N.H., Hartford	Fales, I.C., Rochester
Holman, B., Hartford	Abbott, L.D., New York
ILLINOIS	Butcher, W., Brooklyn
Stedman, S., Chicago	Thomas, E.H., New York
James Cox, Chicago	Kahn, Arthur, New York
P.F. Ayer, Chicago	Blair, F.W., Cleveland
Chicago, Chicago	Longfellow, Jas., New York
Dr. J.H. Gross, Chicago	Pankas, J., New York
Mrs. C. Brown, Chicago	Weyell, Chas., New York
"Friend", Chicago	Mark Raphael, New York
Allen, H., Chicago	Aaron N. Sodoft, New York
INDIANA	Philip Graber, New York
E.V. Debs, Terre Haute	Sanger, Wm., New York
MASSACHUSETTS	Meade, T.F., New York
Flanders, P.B., Haverhill	NEW JERSEY
Cohen, A., Boston	Frankopf, Carl, Jersey City
Parker, Levi, W. Newton	Karl Lindner, Newark
Monette, G.U., Brockton	"Comrade", Newark
Soworth, W.F., Brockton	OHIO
Tate, Peter, Everett	Beckvar, Joe, Cleveland
Hitchcock, D.G., Warren	Zorn, Julius, Cincinnati
Goldman, B., Haverhill	Brown, H., Cincinnati
Allen, H., W. Newton	Altenbernd, C., Cleveland
Chase, Jno. C., Haverhill	PENNSYLVANIA
Brown, J.W., Templeton	Lewis, J.H., Pittsburgh
Griener, C.S., Amesbury	F.W. Hirt, Pittsburgh
Allen, H., W. Newton	LOUISIANA
Keown, Dr. J.A., Lynn	MAINE
Caray, Jas. F., Haverhill	MASSACHUSETTS
MICHIGAN	Flanders, P.B., Haverhill
Kaliber, S., Grand Rapids	MINNESOTA
MINNESOTA	Goswein, F., Red Lake Falls
Goswein, F., Red Lake Falls	MISSOURI
FINCHER, Wm., St. Louis	Fincher, Wm., St. Louis
Fincher, Henry, St. Louis	Ruebeck, Wm., St. Louis
Ruebeck, Wm., St. Louis	MARYLAND
Jacobson, E., Baltimore	NEW HAMPSHIRE
Gordon, F.G., Manchester	NEW YORK
Boris, Geo., Manchester	Malley, C.H., Somersworth
Malley, C.H., Somersworth	Somersworth Branch
Somersworth Branch	

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

VOL. II. No. 51

CHICAGO, ILL., U.S.A., SATURDAY, JUNE 9, 1900.

Whole No. 101.

"IF MEN WERE ONLY GOOD" INDIVIDUAL SALVATION HUMBUG

By Rev. Chas. H. Vall

It is a common error to suppose that if men were only good the evils that afflict society would disappear. This fallacy is due to a failure to trace the evils to their source. Assuming that the social and industrial ills result from the perversity of human nature, they inform us that we need only to make men good and the problem would be solved. "Good men," they say, "would make good conditions." Just what is meant by "good conditions" we are not informed. But judging from observation, the conditions which such men make are only such as minister to the well-being of the dominant class. Their morality is merely conventional—one that meets the requirements of the present system of industry. The demand to put such good men in office is only that the present system of government may be administered in accordance with the ideas of right, etc., which are the reflex of the present economic system. Those making this demand have no idea of altering in any way economic relations or changing the present capitalist method of production. They merely desire a better management of public affairs. This is laudable enough in itself, but to suppose that it is sufficient to remedy the social and economic evils from which we suffer is to evidence gross ignorance of the whole question. Were we to place men in office who are corruption-proof, it would not remedy the situation, for the evils from which we suffer are inherent in the system itself. The mere making men good, whether they occupy a private or public position, will not in itself make such conditions as will remove the cause of poverty and eliminate the evils which afflict humanity. The fact of a man's being good and well disposed does not imply a knowledge of the economic question, and consequently of the means necessary to secure justice and plenty for all.

The cause of social and economic evils today is due to the private ownership of the means of production and distribution. Here is the basis of servitude and exploitation. The private ownership of these means enables some to levy a tax of tribute upon the labor of others. Yet many a man called "good" appropriates the product of others' labor under the title of rent, interest and profit, apparently wholly in ignorance of the fact that he is living thus in idleness at the expense of his fellows. He does not perceive the moral wrong, because moral ideas, right, etc., are the reflex of the prevailing economic system—in other words, the ruling ideas of any age are the ideas of its ruling class, or those ideas are interpreted by

it to suit its class interests. Thus under slavery it was considered right to own human beings as private property, just as today, under capitalism, it is considered right to own the instruments of production as private property.

A man's being good, then, does not insure that he will apprehend injustice and lend himself to its abolition. All men might be good, a la Rockefeller and Wanamaker, but so long as the means of livelihood are privately owned poverty and want will stalk hand in hand through the land.

It is not my purpose here to consider the quality of this good; suffice it to say that really good men can best be produced and kept good in good, healthy conditions. Those who talk about "making good men and good men making better conditions" put the cart before the horse. If it good, healthy conditions that make good men, rather than the reverse; the environment is the chief factor in shaping the man. Men's conduct toward each other is primarily determined by their economic relations. Under the present system of antagonisms, the brotherhood of man is an idle dream. Surround men with an environment where their interests are identical, and the conditions will inevitably produce good men. Those who reverse the process have failed to grasp the fact of the economic basis of progress. The economic structure of society at any given time forms the real basis of society and explains, in the last analysis, the whole superstructure of social relations.

A comprehension of this economic truth reveals the absurdity of those who imagine that all that is necessary to bring in the golden age is merely to make men good. We need to supplement the moral purpose with economic knowledge. We need intelligent men as well as men with good intentions—men with sufficient insight into the economic question to enable them to direct their efforts aright.

Socialists do not disparage any effort to make men better, but they call attention to the fact that individual salvation is no remedy for social ills. When the evil is social, it can only be remedied by social readjustment. Personal goodness may uplift the individual, but there is no assurance that he will remain uplifted, for as soon as he becomes plunged into the corrupt competitive environment he is almost sure to become contaminated. Socialism will produce the only good conditions—conditions that will not only make men good but keep them good.

REPLY TO INGALLS'S SILLY NONSENSE

WRITTEN FOR THE NEW YORK JOURNAL BY REQUEST BUT NOT PUBLISHED

By Eugene V. Brewster

Before a man is competent to judge of the possibility or the impossibility of Socialism he should first know what Socialism is. This, Mr. John Ingalls does not. He may be able to give a dictionary definition, but his paper "Socialism is Impossible" (Journal, May 6) shows an utter misconception and an astonishing misinformation on the subject. This is why Socialism has not more friends.

Mr. Ingalls begins by erecting a house of glass which he calls "Socialism." With boyish glee he proceeds to demolish it and then with eminent self-satisfaction he proudly shows us the ruins.

Strip the essay of its charming rhetoric and beauty of expression, forget the masterly intellect and fascinating character that penned it, and what is there left but a conglomeration of misstatements and silly nonsense?

Mr. Ingalls' argument against our Socialistic postoffice is so old that it cannot stand alone. It has been answered so many times so conclusively that it is surprising to see it resurrected—especially by a statesman. He forgets that the errors and evils of the mail service are all traceable to the individualism of the natural monopolies that have not yet been nationalized. So long as we have railroads and the other means of distribution owned by private individuals we cannot hope for much better postal service, but when we consider the educational work being done by the department, the enormous amount of free government literature distributed, the extremely low rates for newspapers, books and magazines; when we consider the fact that privately owned railroads criminally swindle the department of millions every year, and that the government has no railroads of

its own with which to perfect the service, we are inclined to be more charitable, and only wonder that we get such excellent service at such low cost, and with such a small annual deficit. Socialism would take over the railroads and thus it would destroy the corrupter, the briber and the criminal that now stand in the way of a perfect service.

Mr. Ingalls does not state precisely whether he favors competition in preference to co-operation, but if he does, perhaps he would destroy the present postal organization and go back to individual enterprise where every man is to deliver his own mail. That would be absolute individualism. But if he favors co-operation, what more perfect co-operation is possible than for the government to own and operate the railroads along with the other essentials in the postal service, such as the telephone, the telegraph, the manufacture and operation of printing presses, paper mills, etc.?

But to return to the straw man that Mr. Ingalls created and with which he so heroically and victoriously wrestled. The Socialism that he conceives is indeed impossible. No Socialist ever claimed that there is some power in society above and beyond individuals, and that government is an independent political being. Socialists believe in co-operation. In order to get the best co-operation they hold that society must be organized. This organization is at present called government. Government is not or should not be simply a president, a congress, etc., but all the people. Mr. Ingalls believes in co-operation because he believes in the trust, in the railroad, in public schools, in public highways, etc. He does not recognize the trend of evolution from individualism to collectivism, from single effort

to solidarity, from competition to co-operation. The only quarrel we Socialists have with the trust is that we are not in one, and we propose that all shall be stockholders in all the trusts. The only question is, shall all the people co-operate for the benefit of all, or shall we permit only Mr. Rockefeller and a few others to do all the co-operating? Shall we go back to the time of the cliff-dwellers and have a lot of isolated, individual units all working in different directions, or shall we all combine our efforts to get the greatest yield from mother earth with the least possible effort? Shall we encourage a class of idle parasites who consume without producing, or shall we all co-operate in the business of supplying the human family with food, clothes and shelter? Yes, "the race is to the swift, the battle to the strong" now; but should it, need it, be so? Need there be a Man with the Hoe? Need there be Plenty and Poverty working hand in hand? Is there not enough for all, and can we not co-operate so that all will have plenty?

Mr. Ingalls entirely loses sight of the fact that the workingman's former individual tools have been replaced by social machinery. So long as a class owns these instruments of production there must be a class struggle, there must be injustice, inequality, strife and discord. Production now being socially performed, the product must go to the producers, and this cannot be till the instruments are owned by society collectively. Then, and not till then, will the producer get the full product of his toil. Then there will be universal co-operation in the food, clothes and shelter business. There will be competition, yes, but not competition for gold, but competition for applause and approval, which have always been man's greatest incentive and reward. There will be competition, but it will be not competition in getting, but competition in doing.

AMONG THE TOILERS

The twenty-five Italians who were arrested for inciting a riot during the strike at the Cornell dam have been discharged by the court before which they were arraigned. This outcome of the affair has a curious appearance. If the men were guilty, they should be punished. If they did not incite riot, the question naturally will be asked whether they were arrested for the effect upon the other strikers.

There are said to be 6,000,000 working people in the German empire, 800,000 of whom are connected with trade unions. Socialists have fifty-seven representatives in the reichstag, agitating labor interests.

The trade unionists of England have filed a petition containing 85,000 signatures declaring that the South African war is purely capitalistic aggression and is not favored by the working people.

A truant officer at Daleville, Ind., found a number of children 14 years old and under who attended school all day and then worked until 2 o'clock next morning in the glass works.

Full returns from the Typographical union election show the defeat of President Donnelly for re-election. Mr. James Lynch of Syracuse, N. Y., will be the next president.

A new machine in the shoe industry is being developed with which, it is claimed, one operator will do the work of five. The shoe machinery trust owns the new tool.

One judge alone had 400 cases before him on May day in which landlords desired to have their moneyless tenants dumped into the streets of New York.

The street-railway strike and boycott which was carried on in London, Ont., all last summer and fall is again being waged and the people are walking.

The by-election for member of parliament in the district of Nuremberg, Germany, resulted in the triumph of the Socialists by a large majority.

The Socialist party of Spain now has representation in the municipal councils of Manresa, Cordoba, Burgos, Baracaldo, Gallarta and Bilbao.

The Western Labor union has decided to circulate works of English, French and German political economists among its members.

Union people and Socialists of England are holding joint open-air meetings and declaring for the co-operative commonwealth.

It is said that 75,000 men without work are walking the streets of New York, and that is probably a small figure for Chicago.

Edward Boyce has been re-elected president of the Western Federation of Miners by practically a unanimous vote.

Advices from Europe state that labor organizations are in a healthy condition and growing steadily and surely.

Paul Goehre, formerly a leader of the German Nationalist party, has joined the Socialist party.

THE ETHICS OF THE FUTURE A CONJECTURE AND A HOPE

By Peter E. Burrows

The men who today are aware of the hideousness of our commercial anarchy, whose hearts have been touched, whose souls, quickened by the spark of social intellect which comes from God to us, through society, are not rebels, warriors, nor leaders in physical revolts. We are just thinkers, no more and yet enough; passive men whose place in the world it is to yield social thoughts out of this night of chaos, to the future, and the future will grow its own institutions from these seed thoughts of ours. Individuals as passive thinkers may and can help the civilization of the world; but individuals, as doers and willers from their own initiative, have always hindered and can do no other than hinder the progress of the race. Men must learn to think collectively and obey individually. When I commenced to think on these things I hastily concluded that because the environmentalists or practical socialists were for the most part also acknowledged non-religionists, therefore Socialism and religion were in conflict with each other, but I clung nevertheless to both, for I felt too deeply that both were true. Now I know that men like Owen, Marx and Morris were not in revolt against God, but against individualism. Realized or not realized, uttered or not uttered, the output of personalism was the common object of their disgust, their moral and intellectual resistance.

The ethics of the future collective society will be religious by recognizing this new revolutionary truth that all true life lies outside of the ego, both as to the source of its origination and the immediate object of its leading.

The social or divine germ can reach the individual cell only through its environments, and knowing this, the future society will bring every individual into touch with the same environments.

The intellectual activity of the world coming will, instead of wasting itself producing the weeds of self-culture or individualism, be devoted entirely to the improving of our old and the creating new and better environments—the good, the better and the best ethics being known and measured only by this rule. That which establishes familiarity and fellowship with people, with more people, with most people, and which is maintained while engaged in the business of the common life, making environments for the citizens, it will be a mechanical age because it shall be a spiritual age, vehemently longing for concrete expression, calling all else vanity. The abolition of all private business out of the world would follow one year's taste of any decent human co-operative order.

The individualist always has been and is now an anarchist, holding but hollow truce with society, and he must be disarmed. But the mental attitude of the new man will be loyal self-denial and true conservative public affirmation. Beside this, how contemptible will soon appear the ethics of individualism? Not all the subtlety of the phrase masters from the Pope to Herbert Spencer will suffice to conceal the sordid rags of selfishness when once this truth is flashed upon humanity. A society it will be of courageous democracy, of freedom of intercourse and an open-door life in which there will be no good society and no bad society, where each will be looking after everybody else's business because the unit will not have any business of his own, a whistling, singing, sawing, hammering, painting, plowing, reaping life; a frank, unpretentious, non-secretive, open-browed life where no one has any false reputation to prop, no pretended virtues to tap and no vices to conceal, a society whose vices and virtues are collective only and will be seen alone in its public works, a society whose unit men and unit women are but mechanics to think the social thought and do the social deed. A society which, bringing its individuals down to red earth, has no more room for shams and hypocrites, it will grow neither saints nor sinners; a society where each is taking root in all, a society believing its individuals to be each morally and intellectually nil, and yet holding the race itself to be the body of God; and the mind of the race to be all that is accessible to us in this aeon of the very God indeed. Such a race will cleanse itself and make its homes and cities as beautiful as ever Solomon desired to make the temple, and the units of such a race will socialize and beautify themselves that some of the race thoughts may come into them. A society all of whose better thoughts will be expressed in social and permanent operations.

Our preparation for such an age must be for a long time to come, I suppose, negative; an interregnum of self-repudiation of repealing, denying, revising,

I know not when we shall as units learn to affirm with that great life, but we can deny for it now.

The individual of this society is not in any sense a moral agent, not even a rational agent in his own affairs, until he becomes converted to public life; that is, a social man; the soul or mind of the race is the one active potential energy in all that pertains to intellect and to virtue; the individual man having no more productive kinship germane to virtue and public reason than does the brow of him who wears a civic chaplet of flowers bear to the flowers which society has for a moment placed upon his brow; it is a benediction from without.

Whoever has made religion a subject of critical observation as a student will recognize the truth that through all ages, among all races, and under all climatic conditions, it carries this one sentiment or experience, viz.: a mistrust of and dissatisfaction with the individual's moral sufficiency. This venerable unfaith in self is the holiest and the most resuructive of human convictions; it is as much a part of mankind as his bones; it is the framework, the foundational perception upon which all ethic achievement must rest.

In the hands of the priests, however, this mistrust became a partial depravity and was misused, as every other good has been misused, to make chains, saints and heroes with. On the other hand, the democracy of ethics will assert of the individual that he is merely nil, having no innate moral perceptions, only as he stands with or is influenced by a crowd of humans; that sin, his sin, is nothing but the social inertia of an isolate without sympathetic or moral affinities, an atom that can glow in the social fire, though it cannot burn, but which at last acquires from its environments a social consciousness, turning it from a dead isolate to a social man—an immortal life.

If the individual life be ethically nil whence the run amuck, the moral rough riding of ego through society? Ego is like unto a great stone misshapen and set in motion by social contact; it cannot roll uniformly; it wobbles and pitches over itself egregiously, being harmful only as it is a contiguous thing. He rolls over toes without malice pre-pense, having no pre-pense. He is only an incarnation of the inept, and the stupid; the social sight, outline or movement are not yet his; he is only self-conscious. At first not even that. The inertia of him to the many hands that needs must push him aside, developed in time into a push-back, but not against society per se, it is only a general push back against everything; this is the primary self-consciousness of the savage man. Of the genus Roosevelt which in process of time develops into a sense of othering and grouping in family, village, church, city, class consciousness and in the social manhood.

But the atomic life is not a social resistant of itself that were to give it an attribute inconsistent with nil. It is other atomic lives only that provoke the savage ego into the competing resistant; it makes no war upon the social, for it knows its rest is there, it is one note of music on one string, and it becomes conscious of the joy of being when at last it finds its place in a harmony. It is in the strife of competing and overcoming other atomic lives that the anarch individualist is developed. A number of persons present in this place, converging their united attention, interest, sympathy or indignation upon me constitutes on this occasion, here and now the ethic of the race. I use the word ethic in the sense of a moral and intellectual force acting upon me as its subjective; converging upon my life and causing me to think and say and do things that are socially organic and right. This force has no verbal definition; it is the un verbal reality of the human life and cannot but remain un verbalized while the mind and moral of the race is broken by individualism, conflict and anarchy. Religion has been trying to lip it; poetry has sought to throb it forth in words; music and the arts have followed after it, wrestling for its name till the break of day, but it has been forced to keep silent till the age was made ready for it—today that name is Socialism.

Thoughts are the things of life, or the thing makers if you will and the king makers. The commonwealth of the future will be a commonwealth of true organic thoughts crystallized into social forms of deed and word, just as the civilizations of the past have been composites of bastard inorganic thoughts held together by force and fraud and called society; of such thoughts is com-

(Concluded next week)

Social Democratic Herald

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board
JESSE COX, Chairman
SEYMOUR STEDMAN, Secretary
EUGENE V. DEBS, VICTOR L. BEROKE
FREDERIC HEATH

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, 50 cents. Six months, 25 cents. No papers sent to any one on credit. If, without having subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and no bill will follow. Foreign subscriptions \$1.00.

Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

A. S. EDWARDS, Editor
THEODORE DEBS, National Sec'y-Treas.
126 Washington St., Chicago.

101 is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 102 your subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, JUNE 9, 1900.

NOTES AND COMMENT

Here is an interesting editorial paragraph from the Chicago Press—and it's no lie:

"The twine factory in the Kansas penitentiary is playing havoc with the profits of the binding twine trust. Warden Tomlinson says the farmers of Kansas, in buying twine made by the state, will save 2 cents a pound, or an aggregate of \$200,000 this year. The Sunflower state has discovered and applied the cure for trust extortion. The remedy would work equally well in many other lines of production, and it is not necessary that the operatives in such plants should first commit a crime in order to become available anti-trust crusade."

There is no single industry from making twine to furnishing the house and supplying the table that Socialism could not operate without making criminals as capitalist production does.

Such occurrences as that at St. Louis, in which some of the striking street-railway men are reported to have taken part, are deplorable in the extreme and not to be condoned even by those in closest sympathy with the men. These exhibitions of passion and degradation are most repugnant to Socialists; there should be no attempt to excuse them. And yet neither should it be forgotten that these men, like their fellows in all parts of the world, are engaged in a terrific struggle for an existence. While the capitalist system lasts men who have no opportunity to gain a livelihood, except as a charity dribble from capitalists, will revolt. Resistance to tyranny may be obedience to God, but there are actions that hurt labor's cause. Let them be avoided.

"If," says the St. Louis Republic, "the various Socialistic organizations outside the democratic party and fusion populists could be combined into one party with the support of the more than million union workmen, it would immediately become a most formidable factor in national politics, controlling some states and with the balance of power in many others. Such a party is not an impossibility, but even a probability, before the campaign of 1904." The party is already here that union men will support. It is the Social Democratic party. Its candidate for president is Eugene V. Debs.

The Buffalo Express, noting that Kansas needs 20,000 men to harvest her wheat crop, says "it is a pity that the unemployed of the great cities cannot be turned into the grain fields of that state," and hopes that "when Socialism rules the land free transportation on the railways will be given to the poor." When Socialism gets that far it will probably make the most effective possible use of all modern machinery in gathering crops, rather than transport human beings like cattle merely to put them to work. Socialism will see that the people get grain, too.

The contract price for meals furnished to prisoners at Chicago police stations, formerly 25 cents a meal, has been cut down to 15 cents, and \$150 a month saved to the city. This economy ought to go a little further. Fifteen cents for a meal! Why, this is public extravagance! Really, there are thousands of "free citizens" walking the streets of Chicago without the price of a 15-cent meal in their clothes.

A Washington dispatch tells us that the bosses of the republican party don't want "to alarm conservative business interests," though it is necessary to do something on the trust issue to offset the Bryan movement. Since the leaders of the Bryan movement, and more particularly Mr. Bryan himself, do not want to alarm conservative business interests, they should get together where they belong and set up one cry for the preservation of the "holy rights of property."

Here comes that name Fairbanks again! Senator Fairbanks is to prepare the republican anti-trust plank. Fairbanks? Where did he come from? Did he formerly live in Illinois?

Socialists adopt certain fixed principles and adhere to them. These principles, put into practice in industry and society, will free the workers from the slavery of capitalist production. Republican and democratic politicians adopt certain political planks, like anti-trust declarations to land suckers on. Adherence to these planks by the workers keep them in subjection to their capitalist masters.

The increase of the Socialist vote in Belgium over six years ago, as shown by the last election, is about 140,000. This "foreign importation" has remarkable vitality at home in some places. But watch and see the greater increase abroad—in the United States. It's just as well to know what it is, for it's coming, sartin!

Great Britain is in possession of the mines, and the cause of the war is thus removed, or passes into other hands. Now, let there be a special season in the English church for returning thanks to Almighty God for the triumph of British arms in the glorious cause of civilization.

So long as the Standard Oil company can sell oil that costs to produce only 2.9 cents a gallon at 18 cents, there should be no difficulty about big dividends, and Mr. Rockefeller will be enabled to continue his contributions to the spread of the gospel which teaches that the poor shall be rewarded "over there."

In the Italian elections last Sunday the Socialists all wore red neckties, and the women, wearing red carnations, handed the voters Socialist pamphlets on entering the polling places. Report says the Socialists elected eleven deputies and made great gains.

A constitutional amendment to deal with trusts proposed just as congress is about to adjourn is only offered for campaign purposes to fool the gullible voters.

It is pleasant to know that Lord Roberts, the successful butcher of South Africa, is in full sympathy with the things taught by the Galilean carpenter.

The administration of Cuban affairs has apparently been on the principle that whoever could get his hand on public money was entitled to keep it.

The Chinese government, which is having much trouble in suppressing the "boxers," should turn the job over to the editor of this paper.

The turn of events in the iron and steel industry seems to lend justification to the views of the late lamented Magnate Gates.

The big cotton slump is a "baleful" warning to the prosperity howlers who have got to have funds to re-elect Bro. McKinley.

Think of it—an anti-trust proposition from the republican party!

If this collapse of big concerns goes on, what will Hanna do for funds?

The Cuban frauds are the logical result of Hannaism.

KEEP TAB ON THE FUSIONISTS AND BOLTERS

Against the will of a majority of their own party, regularly expressed by a referendum vote, five members of the committee appointed at Indianapolis for the purpose of effecting a union of the Socialist forces, which union was effectually prevented by the perfidy of the S. L. P. committee, propose to force their scheme for fusion, not in the interest of Socialism and their national organization, but to promote their individual and local interests. This is what they call loyalty to the Socialist cause. Reject all overtures coming from them. They are a disgrace to Socialism.

While Job Harriman is recalling the incidents of the past three or four months in public talk, he should not omit to tell the people what was the procuring cause of the "unity issue" and fiasco, viz., his own individual failure to do the thing at New York that he promised at Indianapolis he would do. He may talk as much as he pleases, but no amount of talk can obscure the fact that he agreed to do a certain thing he did not do. Harriman is responsible for the fiasco. His subsequent prattle about "spirits" cannot cover the hideousness of his own guilt.

Bear the fact in mind that half a dozen Social Democrats who are now co-operating with a committee of the S. L. P. to capture or destroy the Social Democratic party are doing so in open and flagrant defiance of the will of the majority expressed in a referendum vote. They have repudiated the majority judgment of their own party. Their names are J. F. Carey, J. C. Chase, G. A. Hoehn, W. Butcher and W. P. Lonergan.

It is not true that the S. D. P. in New York and other states mentioned is working with the fusionists. It is true that a few individuals who propose to ignore and repudiate a majority vote of their party are working together with the S. L. P. promise-breakers and diplomats to destroy, if possible, an organization which they have failed to deliver. New York branches all stand pat.

"Before the tribunal of honest and unprejudiced opinion he made his plea," says the Haverhill Social Democrat in a report of a meeting held in New York at which Harriman spoke. The plea was against the charge of having "broken his pledge," and the applause, the report intimates, left no doubt that the verdict was that Harriman didn't do it. All this in the Haverhill Social Democrat, whose editor knows that the pledge was made and broken!

The "spirit" of the S. L. P. is permeating the eastern segment of the S. D. P. in fine style, as witness the following from a speech by Leonard D. Abbott in New York: "The hands of the Debs-Berger faction are red with the most dastardly crime ever committed against the cause." Just think of a union with that "spirit"! Gee! What a time we would have!

No report made up by the eastern fusionists has been or will be submitted to the membership of the S. D. P. The majority of the party will stand upon the decision rendered by the vote already taken. Fusionists and bolters, having failed in their designs, will follow their own inclinations, but Social Democrats will adhere to their own organization.

Indications point to an early exodus of Socialists from the played-out S. L. P. who are satisfied with the "spirit" and methods of the Social Democratic party. We give you this hint while the fusionists are counting chickens before they are hatched.

The Haverhill Social Democrat does not speak for the Social Democrats of Massachusetts. It speaks for some and for some only.

JACK POTTS' OBSERVATIONS

Three out of six men whom I induced some weeks ago to subscribe to a Socialist paper are now unalterably determined to vote for Eugene Debs next fall. There are probably hundreds of propagandists who are doing as well as I am. I guess the Socialist vote will make a pretty respectable showing!

This week I saw one of my insurance friends. I asked him how he liked our "prosperity" and he replied: "Another dose will kill us."

A man said the other day: "I am mighty glad I have got done voting the old party tickets. I feel as though I had got a great load off my mind."

A sensible man remarked recently: "There are many people these days who talk much of 'brotherhood,' but too many of them stop at talk; they don't VOTE it. Now it seems to me that as each man has a vote it would be more practical if every man who talks thus would vote with the Socialists. That is the least he can do. I think that all these men who talk 'brotherhood' and don't vote for it are, to use a slang phrase, simply making 'hot-air' conduits of themselves." There is much truth in what he says. The man who votes as well as talks for the brotherhood of man is terribly in earnest! A big, robust Socialist vote will beat metaphysics in some quarters. The "practical politicians" have their ears to the ground and they can hear the steadily growing rumble of the Socialist movement. They are scared, boys. Roll up the vote! Don't let any small frictions interfere with you. Whenever any of the old mossbacks ask you to vote for their candidates tell them that their proposition interests you only as a study in degeneracy.

We have got 'em on the run right now! Inside of eight years the industrial goblin will get them all, whether or not they "watch out."

JACK POTTS.

A Churchman on Socialism

Individualism regards humanity as made up of disconnected or warring atoms. Socialism regards it as an organic whole. The aim of Socialism is the fulfillment of service; the aim of individualism is the attainment of some personal advantage—riches, place or fame. Socialism seeks such an organization of life as shall secure for every one the most complete development of his powers; individualism seeks primarily the satisfaction of the particular wants of each one in the hope that the pursuit of private interests will, in the end, secure public welfare.—Dr. Westcott, Bishop of Durham.

At the convention of the Western Federation of Miners at Denver resolutions denouncing President McKinley and Governor Steunenberg of Idaho were adopted.

THE FISH IN THE WELL

A boy once caught a fish and put it into his father's well. There it lived for years, and because the well was small, it swam around and around, all day and day after day, in little narrow circles. After many years the boy drew the fish out of the well and carried it to the great lake near his father's dwelling. There he threw it in, and watched, expecting to see it swim merrily away, in the full enjoyment of its new-found liberty.

Now this was an immense lake that stretched far, far away, till its waters melted into the very margin of the skies. The big, blue waves flowed on and on, and seemed to be running races to the horizon, and even far beyond it. Before the little fish were space, freedom and infinitude. But it had spent so many years in the little well that it had lost its power of moving about freely in the great world of waters; so even in the boundless lake it swam around and around in tiny circles, just exactly the size of the narrow well in which it had lived its little life.

A Socialist party was once constrained by the force of circumstances to move in an exceedingly narrow sphere. The time was not ripe for its principles to be adopted by the people, and therefore for many years all its activities were cramped and its energies confined to one limited course of action. In this narrow circle its tactics grew narrow, its spirit grew narrow, even its language was narrowed down to a set of stock phrases. And this could not be otherwise under the circumstances which then prevailed.

But after many years there came a mighty change. Men began to wake, and waking they saw before them the great vision of the co-operative commonwealth. But this fresh strength, this new-born power, was not to be tied to a set of phrases or forced into one narrow groove of action. Here were men and women of all classes, of all creeds, of all cultures, from the East and the West, differing in everything else, but united together by one purpose of laying the foundations of Socialistic order. Here was the opportunity for a broad Socialist movement, founded on the love of Humanity, and the faith of common brotherhood, a movement which should be firm and elastic, and in which there should be room for all. Such an opportunity had never come before.

But alas! the Socialist party that had lived so many years in its own small round of thought and action, had now lost all power and desire for larger things. It persisted in moving around and around as of old in its own little narrow circle; in that circle it is moving still, and in that circle it will continue to move, even to the very last moment and the final hour of its existence.

E. H. T.

Socialism in the Colleges

An intercollegiate Socialistic movement was launched at Boston May 30 by the meeting called in Foresters' hall of Socialistic students from many American colleges and universities. The purpose is to perfect an organization and formulate plans to spread the Socialistic doctrine next fall when the colleges reopen. In a circular issued by the promoters "the barbarous nationalism in France" and "the spread of imperialism in England and the United States" are violently assailed and "the dangers of militarism everywhere" are forcefully alluded to.

Invitations to attend the convention were sent to all the colleges by Henry B. Slade, Brown, '95, of Providence, R. I. The institutions represented include Harvard, Boston college, Tufts Medical school (represented by a woman), the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Wellesley, Amherst, Columbia of New York and the University of Chicago.

Muncie is Indignant

Muncie, Ind., where Mr. Neely is well known (we believe he runs a newspaper there) is scandalized. Throughout the rest of the country the Cuban postal frauds have awakened emotions ranging between deep disgust and mild indignation; but in Muncie the excitement is at fever heat. Little knots of men gather on the streets corners and denounce in bitter and unmeasured phrases—what? Neely's dishonesty? Not a bit of it. Here is the cause of Muncie's indignation, as set forth in a Muncie dispatch to an Indianapolis paper:

"The feeling against Corydon Rich, who, it is said, confessed to the defalcations in the Cuban postal service, is very strong here, and he is roundly condemned for peaching. He is under obligations to Neely for his appointment, and his confession is pronounced by his political friends the basest ingratitude."

Muncie contains the printing establishment suspected of turning out bogus postage stamps for Cuban consumption. Rich's treachery has given business in the town a setback. Hence the indignation.

Nice, moral place, Muncie. It really ought to be a suburb of Philadelphia. Indiana is a shade too respectable.—Chicago Journal.

Subscribe for the Herald.

NOT A REFORM BUT A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

Eugene V. Debs in New York Journal

Eugene V. Debs in New York Journal. The Social Democratic Party is not a reform party, but a revolutionary party. It does not propose to modify the competitive system, but abolish it. An examination of its platform shows that it stands unequivocally for the collective ownership and control of all the means of wealth production and distribution—in a word, Socialism.

The modern tendency is toward centralization and co-operation. This has given us the trust, and there has been a great hue and cry about this latest phase of the economic development. The Republican and Democratic parties, yielding to the popular outcry, will declare in favor of destroying or restraining the trust, but just how puerile and dishonest such declarations are every member of the Social Democratic Party knows too well to be deceived into voting for either of said parties. As a matter of fact the trust is the inevitable outgrowth of the competitive system, and to declare against the private ownership of the trust is to declare against the system itself. That neither the large capitalists, who own the trusts, nor the small capitalists, who are opposed to them because they do not own them, favor the overthrow of the capitalist system of production and distribution is a foregone conclusion. The Republican party represents the former class and the Democratic party the latter class. Both stand for essentially the same system of exploitation, and the Socialist wage worker realizes that it makes precious little difference to him and his class whether they are exploited by a few great capitalists or an innumerable brood of small ones. They propose to put an end to exploitation entirely by abolishing the system and transferring the means of production from private hands to the collectivity and having them operated in the interest of all alike. To carry out this programme the first step necessary is political organization, and this step has been taken by the Social Democratic Party.

The Social Democratic Party is necessarily an international party. It is as wide as the domain of capitalism. It is everywhere and always the same. It takes no backward step. The reins of government is its goal. It refuses to be flattered, bribed, stamped or otherwise deflected from the straight course mapped out for it by Marx and Engels, its founders, and pursued with unflinching fidelity by their millions of followers. Before its conquering march every throne in Europe is beginning to tremble. The last one of them will fall to the earth while the century is still in its swaddling clothes.

Among the last countries to organize, for reasons so generally understood that they need not be discussed here, is the United States, but the conditions which develop Socialism have come upon us so rapidly during the past few years that it now seems certain that the American movement will soon become the most formidable of them all, and that here, where political democracy was first achieved, industrial democracy will gain its first triumph.

The Social Democratic Party has no interest in any of the so-called issues over which capitalist politicians fight sham battles. They care nothing about the currency question, the tariff or imperialism. They stand first, last and always for the collective ownership of all the means of production and distribution, and they will press forward unceasingly until they secure them, thereby liberating the race and solving the problem of the centuries.

The Freedom of Democracy

The violent unrest called labor trouble, is the striving for liberty on the part of the working class which asserts itself in a demand for higher wages, which the workers imagine the employers can give them. The inefficiency of individuals to solve the problem has been demonstrated and it still remains unsolved. Want and the dread of want should be removed. Inequality bores. That is why we have classes. We are getting more and more equality and therefore more good society. When we speak of equality to some women they imagine we mean to take their pretty clothes away and put them in the kitchen. They are afraid of a dead level. In a democracy no man is free without the means of livelihood. The rich are freer than the poor.—From a speech of William Dean Howells, printer and novelist, before New York Printers' Club.

The article in this number of the Herald by Comrade Peter E. Burrowes, entitled "The Ethics of the Future," is the first chapter of a book contemplated by the writer. The reader will find this article of special interest. It was at a recent meeting of the Brooklyn Co-operative Club.

The Union Label

on everything you buy is a guarantee that the producers thereof receive a fair rate of wages for its production

Insist on having the label

Notices of Branch Meetings Inserted for
25 Cents per Month

\$706.15

Branch No. 21, Chelsea, permanent headquarters, Room 2, Postoffice Building. Open every evening. Business meetings every Thursday at 8 p. m. Public invited.

MICHIGAN

Branch No. 1, Battle Creek, Mich., meets 2nd and 4th Sundays of each month at 8 p. m., at 10 W. Main Street, in the International Congress Hall. All are cordially invited. L. C. Rogers, Secretary.

MINNESOTA

Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Gesswein, on Main St. A. Kingsbury, Secretary.

MISSOURI

St. Louis headquarters, Room 7, 32 N. Fourth St. Address all communications to E. Val Putnam, Secretary. For information concerning ward branches, inquire at the above address.

Branch No. 7, Kansas City, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m., at 1320 Union Ave. G. J. Storz, Secretary, 1230 W. 9th St.

MONTANA

Branch No. 2 meets first and third Sundays of each month at G. W. Wood's home, Chico, Mont.

NEW JERSEY

Branch No. 1, Secretary, Michael W. Schor, 57 Livingston St.

Branch No. 3, Camden, N. J., meets every 2d Sunday of each month. For particulars address Paul Eberding, 1236 Raigha's Avenue.

Branch No. 3, (German) Newark, meets every third Saturday, at International Hall, 7 Bedford St. Hans Hartwig, Secretary, 7 Bedford St.

Branch No. 3, (German), Paterson, N. J., meets first and third Mondays at 8 p. m. at Helvetic Hall, 54-56 Van Houten St. Karl Lindner, Secretary, 246 Edmund St.

NEW YORK

The City Central Action Committee of Greater New York, meets every second Tuesday at 412 Grand street, Windsor Hall. James Allman, Secretary, 22 Suffolk at care of Forward.

Branch No. 1, New York, meets every first and third Thursday at 112 Clinton St. A. Quyer, Secretary, 183 Suffolk St.

Branch No. 1, 5th Assembly District, meets second and fourth Wednesdays of the month at 1029 Second Ave., at the "Central." Henry Lang, Secretary, 224 E. 60th St.

Branch No. 4, West Side Branch, New York, meets every fourth and fifth Saturdays of every month at headquarters, 189 W. 80th St. Elizabeth H. Thomas, Secretary.

Branch No. 5 Brooklyn, New York, meets every Saturday at 8 p. m., at 4 Moore St. Visitors welcome. Comrades desiring to organize should communicate with Secretary Sol. Freeman, 190 Boerum St.

Branch No. 10, New York, meets every Friday, at 5 p. m., 609 E. Broadway. Lectures and discussions. Public invited.

Branch No. 12, Brooklyn, headquarters, 381 Rutledge St. Meets every third Thursday at 8 p. m. All persons interested are invited to attend these meetings and co-operate in organizing local branches in every district in the city. Wm. Butcher, Secretary, 381 Rutledge St.

Branch No. 20, regular meetings are held first and third Friday of the month at Webster Hall, 14th St. and Third Ave., Borough of the Bronx, E. Spranger, Secretary, 317 E. 14th St. All persons interested in Socialism and the S. D. F. are invited to attend.

Branch No. 2, Cleveland, meets in Ohlsen's Hall, 65 York St., second and fourth Sundays at 8 p. m. Lectures, discussions, business meetings, first and third Fridays at 8 p. m.

Branch No. 3, Cleveland, meets first and third Sundays of each month at 8 p. m. in Ohlsen's Hall, 65 York St. Lectures and discussions.

Branch No. 4, Cincinnati, meets at Richelien Hall southeast corner 7th and Plum Sts., every Sunday at 3 p. m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Jos. Jasin, Secretary, 1410 Central Avenue.

Branch No. 6, Dayton, Ohio, meets every 2d and 4th Friday evening, in Hall 27, Central Trades Council Block. Everyone interested in Socialism invited. J. C. Schaw, Chairman, W. Harringer, Secretary, P. O. Box 284.

Branch No. 8, Cincinnati, meets every second and fourth Saturday in Workingmen's Hall, 118 Walnut St. F. Hamel, Secretary, 1804 Frantz St.

Branch No. 11, German, Columbus. Ed Greiner, Secretary, 806 Mohawk St.

PENNSYLVANIA

Branch No. 2, Erie, meets every Sunday, 8 p. m., at K. of C. Hall, 78 St. Chairman, Joseph Stain, Secretary, J. E. Ferry, 119 Sassafras St.

Branch No. 4, Pittsburg, meets every Thursday evening at 7:30 p. m. at Funk Hall, 8 3/4th and Josephine St. W. Bohn, President, 444 Addison St. H. Lewis, Secretary, 2112 Jane St.

Branch No. 5 (Jewish), Philadelphia, meets every Friday at 4:25 P. Third St. at 7:20. Discussion from 8:30 to 9. I. Gerson, Secretary.

WASHINGTON

Branch No. 3, Tacoma. Meets every Monday evening at 8 p. m., 418 11th Street.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee Central Committee, S. D. R., meets first Monday of the month at Brewer's Headquarters, southeast corner 3rd and Washington Sts.

Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets at Kallier's Hall, Fourth Street, between State and Prairie, every second and fourth Thursday evening.

Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Friday in Goetzke's Hall, corner Green Bay and Concordia Ave.

Branch No. 3, Sheboygan, meets every fourth Thursday of the month at Muller's Hall, corner 3rd and Pennsylvania Ave. R. Schoen, Secretary-Treasurer, 8 12th St.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of each month at Miller's Hall, corner 22d and Brown Sts. George Moserobiel, Secretary, 891 25th St.

Branch No. 9, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at R. Sigel's Hall, southeast corner Orchard St. and 9th Ave. O. Wild, Secretary.

Branch No. 13, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of each month at Kraus' Hall, 21 and Center Sts. p. m. Secretary, Edmund Loeschman, 1125 23rd St.

Branch No. 23, Milwaukee, meets second and fourth Wednesday of each month, at 524 Clark street. Henry Harbisch, Secy., 1074 7th Street.

IF YOU SYMPATHIZE WITH TRADE UNIONS

You will encourage the sale OF UNION LABEL GOODS

If you want Union Label Shoes demand the above Union Stamp. No shoe is Union made unless it bears the Union Stamp. No charge or royalty for the Union Stamp. Write shoe dealer and take no excuses. Send for latest list of factories. Subscribe for "The Union Boot and Shoe Worker," 50 cents per year.

Boot and Shoe Workers Union.
620 Atlantic Ave., Boston, Mass.

Now Ready! — 125 Pages

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

ED BOOK

EDITED BY FREDERIC MEATH

Printed on Plate Paper. Handsomely Illustrated

This is an annual publication for Social Democrats who will find it indispensable for reference purposes. This first issue of especial value because of the historical character of its contents. Among the features are:

A HISTORY OF SOCIALISM IN AMERICA
Covering 76 pages, with portraits of Robert Owen, Etienne Cabet, Wilhelm Weitling, etc., etc.

ALBERT BREISHAKE
The first American agitator, with portrait.

A TRIP TO GIRAUD
By Wayfarer, with view of Appeal to Reason office.

KARL MARK ON THE SINGLE TAX
MACHINE vs. HAND LABOR
Compiled from government reports by Isaacs Laddoff.

SHORTER PIECES
Labor Conflicts in 1899. Gronland. Grant Allen Chronology for 1899. History of Social Democracy. Socialism Contrasted with J.B.M. To "Golden Rule Mayors." Prof. Barton's Case Social Democratic Platform.

BIOGRAPHIES OF WELL KNOWN SOCIAL DEMOCRATS. Twenty in all.

ELECTION STATISTICS
Covering the Socialist movement down to the present year. A valuable reference.

A SOCIALIST PORTRAIT GALLERY
Comprising seventeen likenesses of leading workers in the movement, distributed through the book.

Send postpaid an receipt of price, 15 CENTS.

DODS PUBLISHING CO.
TERRE HAUTE, IND.

SOCIALISM IS INEVITABLE

Lucien Sarrail in N. Y. Journal

Socialism is not a theory. It is a living force, evolved by the class struggle from the development of economic conditions and irresistibly increasing with that development.

Philosophers may philosophize, poets may poetize, theologians may anathematize, but for the very reason that capitalists capitalize, socialism will socialize.

Nor must "human nature" undergo a change before "human society" can pass from the present economic system to the next in the order of evolution. To be sure, no such change was required in Europe to bring about the fall of feudalism and the advent of capitalism; nor in this country to pass from colonial vassalage to national independence and from Jeffersonian middle-class democracy to imperialistic McKinleyism. Who in the light of history does not see to-day that it is the characteristic property of human nature to constantly modify its surroundings, while adapting itself physically, intellectually, morally and politically to its new conditions of social existence? And who, in the light of every day happenings, does not see also that, according to the economic environment, not human nature but its possible manifestations assume forms and aspects widely different?

Nor are the philosophers, the poets and other "intellectuals" seriously threatened by socialism with the loss of their "individuality," if they have any. True, the thing thus named may then be so defined and understood that it will no longer be possible for logomachists to connect it genetically with "individualism." The standard of it in an educated community may even be raised so high that not a few of those who to-day shine as stars in the intellectual firmament will have to do a little more thinking of the right kind or a little less talking of the foolish sort.

Of course Socialism will put an end to that kind of individuality which consists in monopolizing the means of production. By this very act, purely economic in its character, but pregnant with ethical consequences of the highest import, it will immensely broaden the field of all true kinds of individuality. Such ethical results are already flowing from the mere progress of Socialist sentiment, and this phenomenon of powerful individualities brought forth and strengthened by modern Socialism may be observed all over Europe. There numbers of "intellectuals," silent so long as they were only pauperized, are now rising in open revolt against moral degradation and flocking to the standard of social emancipation.

To refuse to see the inevitable or to fight it away when it is seen coming is not the act of sensible men. Socialism, I say, is inevitable and it is coming.

Every step that the capitalists are of necessity driven to take is of necessity also hastening its advent.

The law of capitalistic development is to-day as well known as the law of gravitation. Step by step competition leads to concentration. With the progress of invention, with the gradual transformation of the simple tool into machines more and more powerful and costly, the independent artisan is first supplanted by the small firm; the small firm is then superseded by the corporation, and the corporation by the trust. Evidence is not wanting that by the same law the trusts of each industry must some day be absorbed by a trust of trusts, or king trust. And as government, at any given time and in any forcible maintenance and full development of the economic system prevailing at that time and in that country, King Trust will say, like the Grand Monarch: "L'etat c'est moi." (I am the state.)

Let us suppose—as we may safely do—that this last stage is reached. A condition of affairs is established that might be termed "capitalistic Socialism" (productive of the highest possible despotism), in opposition to genuine Socialism (productive of the highest possible freedom). The whole enginery of production and distribution is jointly owned by capitalists in proportion to the amount of unpaid labor crystallized into wealth which they have respectively been able to appropriate during the previous period of "capitalistic anarchy."

All conflict between them is at an end. The middle class, from which the plutocracy emerged, has been annihilated by its own offspring. On one side stands the capitalist class, mighty in wealth, small in numbers; on the other side the great wage-earning class, mighty in numbers, economically impotent.

Not the manual worker alone, but the "man of brain"—from the technical director to the inventor—is a stipendiary, whose value as a value-producing labor power is arbitrarily determined by King Trust, and whose only stimulus to activity is the whip of want.

But long before this stage is reached capitalism appears in its true light, with all its baleful tendencies and inherent contradictions.

The function of the capitalist in society, formerly implying in the public mind a work of direction and certain qualities of thrift and foresight socially beneficial, is now seen to be the clipping of coupons, the waste of wealth

and the corruption of government. His "saving," his "industry" his "wages of superintendence," when they are still trotted out by his Manchesterian mouthpieces, are looked upon by sensible persons as metaphorical travesties, all the superintendence, all the exertion and all the saving being done by other men. And while it remains true, or becomes every day truer, that under our present economic arrangements no one can work and save for a capitalist without his permission, it becomes also every day plainer that the capitalist has no more part in the creation of capital than the potato bug in the raising of a crop of potatoes.

In a word, some of the people have ceased standing on their heads and seeing things inverted. And from that moment the class struggle gradually takes another course. The demand of the laboring class is less and less for an increase of wages, which it cannot get, or against a reduction, which it cannot prevent, but more and more for all its rights as wealth producer. The ground of battle is shifted from the economic field, where that class is impotent, to the political field, where it can be sovereign. The issue, there, is direct between capitalism and Socialism—"Shall the trusts own the people, or shall the people, in their corporate capacity, own the means of production?"

And upon this single plain issue, identical throughout the civilized world, Socialism is marching with giant's strides to the conquest of the public powers. Who can stop it? In Germany it ran over Bismarck, whose iron hand for twelve years tried to choke it. In France, since 1893, it broke down a president and three cabinets. In Belgium it is already backed by a majority of the voters, and will soon have a majority of the votes, notwithstanding the "plural suffrage" feature of the constitution, which gives two, three, and even four votes to men of property. In Austria, as in Belgium, it gained the franchise for the workmen. In America, where its activity is of most recent date, the rate of its progress is even more rapid than in any other country. Since 1892, when it first entered the national field, its vote has more than quadrupled.

Viewed as an international factor Socialism is the only force today that preserves the peace of Europe, and it may soon be the only force capable of preventing a stupendous war between the British and the American "empires" for the absolute control of the markets of the world.

Aye, Socialism is coming, and no one needs to fear it who, understanding it, truly longs for peace and freedom.

A CRITIQUE OF THE DOMINANT THEORIES OF MORALITY

(Conclusion)

question. If, as a matter of fact, pity and the satisfaction of doing good really constitute the mainspring of human acts, then the social schism that is characteristic of the capitalistic economy would carry with it no sinister results. Nor would it involve usurpation, since the privileged classes, if inspired with such altruistic sentiments, would naturally endeavor to eliminate all chance of injury to the poorer classes resulting from their inferior conditions, and themselves abstain from the commission of all violent and illegitimate acts. It is scarcely necessary to add that nothing of the sort has taken place, but that, on the contrary, in the relations between capitalists and laborers free rein is given to exploitation and the most unprincipled spoliation. We are therefore forced to recognize that altruistic sentiments play no part in the more normal and really important relations among men; but that on the contrary absolute egoism there reigns supreme. If pity really affects human actions, its influence must therefore only be subsidiary, and exerting with a view toward mitigating and making partial amends for the wrongs done by the egoistic acts of man.

According to this view, egoism would supply the motive for the habitual and more important acts of life, and thus constitute the mainspring of morality, while altruism would merely form the motive of a secondary ethical code serving to blunt the too sharp and painful edges of egoistic morals. Men would act, in short—to follow a comparison made by Lange—like the English dealers in Indian idols, who in their capacity of merchants favor Buddhism, but as Christians give alms to Protestant churches and encourage their missionary work. That is to say, the individual in his capitalistic capacity might practice the most shameless extortion against his fellows, while as a compassionate being he loaded his own victims with kindness. But the co-existence of two such contradictory systems of morality must appear, upon a moment's reflection, to be the acme of absurdity. What importance are we to attach to sympathy of this kind, and how can we possibly regard it as an autonomous moral factor or take it as a guide to conduct when it does not succeed in directing us in the more serious and important affairs of life, but leaves us still under the sway of our egoism? But the moment we recognize the fact, and there is, indeed, no help for it—that pity is after all but a subsidiary moral factor acting within the limited sphere allowed it by our

dominant egoism—the way is already opened to a more synthetic, harmonious and truer conception, according to which egoism determines not merely the essential but also the subsidiary moral code, and is only masked behind the altruistic sentiments which appear to dominate the latter. Sympathy is but the outward and visible mantle, while the unseen hand operating under this cloak is none other than egoism itself. It is the voice of egoism that advises the dominant class to relieve the sufferings it has caused, in order to avoid the danger of possible retaliation. To be sure, egoism of this character is far too remote to be directly appreciated by the beings it inspires. Their conscience merely perceives a mirage which causes their acts to appear like spontaneous outbursts of pity and love—for certainly no one would think of saying that he who succors the poor and unfortunate does so with the premeditated intention of avoiding possible reactions on the part of the downtrodden classes. But it is none the less true that the alleviation of misfortune is in the interest of the very classes that have unconsciously caused it, and it is this very interest that constitutes the unrecognized impulse of their benevolent acts.

All unattached Socialists in the state of Connecticut are requested to write Louis Schlaf, 26 Spring street, Rockville, for information concerning the organization of branches.

VOTE ON THE CONSTITUTION

The following constitution is submitted to the membership for a referendum vote. It was adopted at the Indianapolis convention to be referred to the members for approval or rejection. Branches are requested to take it up at once and report action through their local secretaries to the national secretary, 126 Washington street, Chicago, not later than June 23. The question is on the adoption or rejection of the constitution as it stands, and the vote must be Yes or No.

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION.

Section 1. This organization shall be known as the Social Democratic Party of America, and its headquarters shall be located at such place as the national conventions of the party may appoint, or as may be fixed by the National Executive Board subject to a referendum vote.

Section 2. The Social Democratic Party of America shall be organized as follows:

First—Local branches limited to five hundred members each.

Second—A National Executive Board of nine members, five of whom shall be chosen from territory convenient to the national headquarters, and shall be called "resident members," and the remaining four shall be chosen, so far as possible, from other parts of the country. All members of the Executive Board shall have equal rights and powers; but the resident members shall have power to act and a majority of said resident members shall constitute a quorum. The non-resident members shall not be required to be present at all meetings of the board, but shall be kept advised of all proceedings of the board. The Executive Board shall be elected by the national convention.

Third—The form of state organizations shall be left to the branches in the respective states.

EXECUTIVE BOARD.

Section 3. The Executive Board shall have supervision of the party organization, and shall have power to provide such rules, issue such orders and adopt such measures as may be required to carry out the object of the organization; provided, that no action shall be taken which will conflict with the constitution and declaration of principles.

Section 4. The National Secretary, Treasurer and other officers as may be required, shall be elected, and their salaries fixed by the Executive Board, to be approved by the direct vote of the party members through the referendum; and they and each of them may be removed by the Executive Board, subject to such referendum.

Section 5. The office of National Secretary and Treasurer may be held by the same person. Such Secretary and Treasurer shall make a report of the financial standing of the party semi-annually, to be given to the branches, and shall make a report to the Executive Board whenever required by it.

Section 6. Members of the Executive Board shall receive no compensation for their services. They shall hold annual and stated meetings at times to be fixed by the Board, and such special meetings as may be required; reasonable notice shall be given to each of the members of the Executive Board of all meetings.

Section 7. Any member of the National Executive Board may be removed, and his successor elected by a referendum vote, as hereinafter provided. All vacancies in the Executive Board, however occurring, shall be filled by the remaining members of the board, subject to a referendum vote.

Section 8. At each annual meeting of the board the officers of the board shall render complete reports of the transactions of their several offices, and transmit a copy thereof to each local branch.

REVENUES AND FUNDS.

Section 9. The revenue of the organization shall be derived from an admission fee of twenty-five cents for each member, and quarterly dues of twenty-five cents for each member, payable in advance on the first days of January, April, July and October.

Section 10. The funds of the organization shall be deposited in such bank or banks as the board may direct; and the National Secretary and Treasurer shall be required to execute a bond for the faithful performance of his duties in such an amount as the board may require.

OFFICIAL PAPER.

Section 11. This organization shall continue the publication of the official paper, called the Social Democratic Herald, under the supervision of the Executive Board. Each member of the organization shall be entitled to a copy of the official paper in consideration of the payment of quarterly dues.

Section 12. The columns of the national organ shall be open at all times to reasonable criticism and discussion of party matters by members of the party.

NATIONAL CONVENTIONS.

Section 13. The national conventions of the organization shall be held quadrennially at

some date prior to the first of June, and at such place as shall be decided upon by the National Executive Board, subject to referendum vote.

REFERENDUM.

Section 14. The National Executive Board may submit any question to a referendum vote of all the members of the party in good standing. The referendum vote may also be had upon the petition of ten local branches addressed to the National Executive Board, requesting such board to submit any proposition therein specified to such referendum vote; and upon the receipt of such petition said board shall forthwith so submit such proposition.

Upon the submission of any proposition to a referendum vote not less than three weeks shall be allowed for amendments to such proposition; and not less than six weeks, after the expiration of said three weeks, shall be allowed for the transmission of the votes to the Executive Board; provided, that if the votes transmitted by all the branches in good standing shall have been received by the board before the expiration of such time, the board shall announce the result of such vote forthwith.

LOCAL BRANCHES.

Section 15. Any respectable person who subscribes to the principles of the Social Democratic Party and severs all connection, and renounces allegiance to all other political parties, shall be eligible to membership.

Section 16. A local branch shall consist of not less than five, and not more than five hundred members. Branches shall fix their own quorum.

Section 17. Any person desiring membership shall make application to the local branch, upon being recommended by a member of said branch. And if accepted by a majority vote, shall be enrolled as a member. Upon objection to his admission being made, the matter shall be referred by the branch to the Central Committee of the locality, which shall have power to act in the matter. In case the decision of the local committee shall be against the applicant, upon appeal by the said person, or by the branch to which he has applied, the National Executive Board shall have power of final action in the matter.

Section 18. Any member of good standing in one branch may, upon the request, be transferred to another branch; and the Secretary of the branch in which he holds his membership shall, for that purpose, furnish him with a transfer card.

Section 19. A member in good standing may terminate his or her membership by obtaining from the Secretary of such branch the card of withdrawal.

Section 20. Each member shall be entitled to a card of membership, to be furnished by the National Executive Board, and issued to the members by the Secretary of the local branch.

DUES AND FEES.

Section 21. The admission fee which shall accompany each application for membership shall be twenty-five cents, which shall be forwarded to the National Executive Board.

Section 22. The dues of the members shall be fixed by the branch; but such dues shall be sufficient to include twenty-five cents per quarter, to be paid on the first day of January, April, July and October in each year to the National Executive Board.

Section 23. At the close of each meeting of a local branch the Treasurer thereof shall transmit to the National Secretary the names of all members admitted at said meeting, their postoffice addresses, and a remittance by postal money order of their admission fee.

Section 24. A member admitted on or before the middle of a quarter shall pay dues for the full quarter. A member admitted after the middle of a quarter shall be exempt for that quarter.

Section 25. On or before the fifth day of each quarter the Treasurer of each local branch shall remit by postal money order the quarterly dues for the current quarter to the National Executive Board, and each local branch shall be responsible for and remit the full amount due for the entire membership of the branch.

Section 26. The officers of the branch shall consist of a Secretary, Treasurer and Organizer, and such other officers as may be determined by the branch; said officers shall be elected at each annual meeting and serve until their successors are qualified. They shall perform such duties as appertain to their several offices, and as the local branch may direct. Any officer of the branch may be removed by a majority vote of the members of the branch.

Section 27. Each local branch shall hold at least one business meeting a month, and such other meetings as they may see fit.

Section 28. At the annual meeting the officers shall submit complete reports of the transactions of their several offices for the preceding year.

Section 29. Branches shall be numbered with reference to states, the numbers to be assigned by the National Executive Board.

Section 30. The National Executive Board shall issue a charter to each branch, which charter may be suspended or revoked by the National Executive Board in case of violation of the laws, principles or regulations of the organization, subject to referendum vote.

Section 31. Persons intending to organize a new local branch shall apply to the then existing city or state committee of the locality, where said branch is to be located, for its indorsement; and upon receiving such indorsement shall forward to the National Executive Board their application, together with the names and addresses of the proposed members, and their admission fees and dues. The National Executive Board shall thereupon, if they find the application in regular form, issue a charter to such person.

In case their shall be no such Central Committee the application shall be made direct to the National Executive Board.

Section 32. The local branch may adopt such by-laws as the majority of its members may determine, provided they do not conflict with this constitution or the platform and declaration of principles of the party.

Section 33. Any member violating the laws or principles of the organization may be suspended or expelled by a two-thirds vote of the members in good standing of the local branch of which he is a member; provided, that any charges against such member shall be preferred in writing, and the accused shall be entitled to a fair trial. The person so accused, if dissatisfied with the decision of the local branch, may appeal to the National Executive Board, and the person or persons preferring such charges shall have a like appeal to the National Executive Board. The action of the Executive Board on such case shall be final.

Section 34. This constitution shall be in force and effective from and after its indorsement by a majority in a referendum vote of the membership of the party in good standing.

Section 35. This constitution may be amended by a referendum vote as hereinabove provided.

Section 36. Under no circumstances shall the Social Democratic Party fuse with or act with any other political party, either in national or local elections, unless such party shall have substantially the same platform and principles as the Social Democratic Party.

SOCIALIST 4th OF JULY OUTING

Second Annual Picnic

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Of Chicago

JULY FOURTH, 1900

At Bergmann's Grove

On Desplaines River

Watch The Herald for full particulars. A large attendance of Social Democrats with their families and friends is expected.

Make no other engagement for the Fourth. Help the sale of Tickets, 10 cents each.

Pocket Library of Socialism

1. Woman and the Social Problem. By MAY WOOD BROWN. Shows that the emancipation of woman will only come with the emancipation of man through socialism.
2. The Evolution of the Class Struggle. By WILLIAM H. NOTES. A historical study showing how socialism is coming.
3. Imprudent Barter. By ROBERT BLATCHFORD. A masterly answer to the argument that "providence" would help the laborer.
4. Peckingtons. By A. M. SIMONS. A study of the Union Stock Yards, Chicago; how nature and man are alike scientifically exploited.
5. Realism in Literature and Art. By CLARENCE D. DAWSON. Shows how the workers of modern art and literature are helping on the new social order.
6. Single Tax vs. Socialism. By A. M. SIMONS. Shows the inadequacy of the Single Tax as a remedy for the evils pointed out by Henry George.
7. Wage-Labor and Capital. By HARRY MARK. The essence of the great philosopher's theory, in his own words.
8. The Man Under the Machine. By A. M. SIMONS. Tells how wage-slavery began, what it is today and how the workers are going to free themselves. A condensed handbook of socialism.
9. The Mission of the Working Class. By REV. CHARLES H. VAIL, author of "Modern Socialism," etc.
10. Morals and Socialism. By CHARLES H. VAIL. Shows how popular ideas of morals are manipulated in the interest of the capitalist class.
11. Socialist Songs. Sixteen good ones, at times every one knows.
12. After Capitalism What? By REV. WILLIAM T. BROWN. A logical historical study showing that socialism must come as the result of forces now at work.
13. A Political Quack Doctor. By W. A. COREY. A socialist view of the "Prohibition" movement.

Each copy printed, five cents each, post-paid.

SPECIAL OFFER: Five copies of the above will mail forty copies of the Pocket Library, all of one kind as assorted as preferred.

SEND ORDERS TO
THEODORE DEBS
126 Washington St., CHICAGO

THE BOOK YOU NEED

PRINCIPLES OF Scientific Socialism

By Rev. Charles H. Vail

Author "Modern Socialism" and "National Ownership of Railways."

CONTENTS:
The Industrial Revolution. The Analysis of Value. The Origin of Surplus Value.
The Advantages of Socialism: Production, Distribution, Elimination of Poverty, Prevention of Waste, Elevation of Woman, Proper Care and Training of Children, Efficient Directors, Solution of the Monetary Question, Abolition of Taxation, Simplification of Government, Benefits to Capitalists, Benefits to Laborers.
The Evidence of the Moral Strength of Socialism: Its Spirit and Aim; Abolition of Business Dishonesty; Restriction of Divorce; Prevention of Prostitution; Elimination of Crime; Prevention of Intemperance, Insanity, etc.
Poverty—Its Cause and Cure. Wage Slavery vs. Chattel Slavery. Rent and Interest. The Law of Wages. The Law of Progress. Industrial Depression and Commercial Crises. The Problem of Labor-Saving Machinery.
Popular Economic Errors: That Value is Determined by Capitalist Cost of Production; that the Interests of Laborers and Capitalists are identical; that Labor is Better Off To-day Than Ever Before; that Cheap Prices are Beneficial to Labor; that Foreign Markets are Beneficial to Labor; that Luxury is Beneficial to Labor; that Land Nationalization Would Solve the Social Question; that Extravagance is the Chief Cause of Economic Want; that Socialism Would Destroy Individuality, Conscience and Industry.
12mo, 236 Pages; Paper, 85c; Cloth, \$1.00.

SEND ORDERS TO
THEODORE DEBS, 126 Washington St. CHICAGO

NATIONAL FUND

The following is a list of comrades who have agreed, in response to the appeal of the National Executive Board, to contribute monthly for one year to the national fund. Other names will be added as they are received.

CONNECTICUT	NEW YORK
Finch, N.H., Hartford	Fales, L.C., Rochester
Holman, B., Hartford	Abbott, L.D., New York
ILLINOIS	Butcher, Wm., Brooklyn
Stedman, S., Chicago	Thomas, E.H., New York
James Cox, Chicago	Kahn, Arthur, New York
Moore, G., Chicago	Hale, F., New York
"A Friend," Chicago	Loupoloy, Jas., New York
Dr. J. H. Greer, Chicago	Pankov, J., New York
Mrs. C. Brown, Chicago	Worrell, Chas., New York
Graves, C. B., Chicago	Mark Raphael, New York
James Wright, Chicago	Aaron N. Bodof, New York
INDIANA	Philip Gruber, New York
E. V. Debs, Terre Haute	Ranger, Wm., New York
MAINE	McClell, T. F., Brooklyn
MASSACHUSETTS	NEW JERSEY
Flanders, P. B., Haverhill	Pankov, Carl, Jersey City
Cohen, A., Boston	Hart, L., Newark
Parke, Levi, W. Newton	"Comrade," Newark
Moore, G. U., Brockton	OHIO
Bosworth, W. P., Brockton	Boover, Jos., Cleveland
Tate, Peter, Everett	Reynolds, E. H., Cleveland
Hitchcock, D. G., Warren	Brain, F., Cleveland
Goldman, S., Haverhill	Altman, C. Cleveland
Hough, E., W. Newton	PENNSYLVANIA
Chase, Jno. C., Haverhill	Lewis, J. H., Pittsburgh
Brown, J. W., Templeton	F. W. Hirt, Erie
Graves, C. B., Amesbury	TENNESSEE
Allan, Helen, N. Lynn	Enloe, Dr. R.H., Nashville
Kearney, Dr. J. A., Lynn	Hamilton, W. A., Nashville
Carey, Jas. F., Haverhill	Mahoney, Wm., Nashville
MICHIGAN	Texas
Keller, S., Grand Rapids	Price, E. S., Houston
MINNESOTA	VIRGINIA
Gawwin, F. Red Lake Falls	Berger, V. L., Milwaukee
MISSOURI	Boover, E. H., Milwaukee
Fischer, Wm., St. Louis	Zisker, E., Milwaukee
Fulmer, Henry, St. Louis	Quinn, John, Milwaukee
Keech, Wm., St. Louis	Bannan, G., Milwaukee
MARYLAND	McMaster, E., Milwaukee
Jacobson, E., Baltimore	Heumann, O., Milwaukee
MASSACHUSETTS	Tuttle, H., Milwaukee
Forbes, F. J. E., Manchester	Woolson, L. B., Milwaukee
Harris, Geo., Manchester	Branch 4, Milwaukee
Woolson, L. B., Manchester	
"Somersworth Branch"	

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

VOL. II. No. 52

CHICAGO, ILL., U.S.A., SATURDAY, JUNE 16, 1900.

Whole No. 102.

THE INCLUSIVENESS OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE

By Outis

Words have a continual tendency to become our masters. The convenient phrase is first used to condense language, but in the end it narrows thought. The term becomes a shibboleth, a test of orthodoxy, a cant word of the narrow-minded, the tool of a dogma. The only remedy for this is to occasionally let in the air on our phrases, to turn them over, and find out what they do really mean.

What is meant by the class struggle? Is this a phrase that is degenerating into a cant term? Are the orthodox using it to narrow the Socialist movement? This is a question which cannot be considered too seriously, and a danger that cannot be too carefully avoided if it really does exist.

As this expression was first used, it broadly expressed the great economic struggle of the age, less a struggle of men than of the irrepressible forces that stand behind them. But who constitute the class, and who are to carry on the struggle, are the two points which we must make clear to ourselves before we can rightly understand the term and use it intelligently.

First then if we take the working class as the class for the struggle, must we narrow this down to mean exclusively the shop and factory workers? If so we are resting on a slender support for the formation of our co-operative commonwealth, and a support which is growing relatively smaller. The use of machinery, the rapid growth of the trusts, are constantly throwing the factory hands out of employment, and this will continue for years to come at a geometrical ratio. The remarkable development of manufactures in the United States has hidden this displacement of labor from our eyes; but this development cannot always continue. We have already too many rivals in the world-market, and new ones are springing up in the most unexpected quarters. As the markets of Asia are being thrown open, India with her cotton factories on one hand, and Japan with her great variety of excellent manufactures on the other, stand ready to flood the East with wares just as good as those manufactured in America or Europe. The great industrial nations of the world will soon find their supremacy disputed on every hand; and the Socialist who expects our manufacturing population

to continue growing at the same rate as in the past, will probably be seriously disappointed. If it is on this class we are to rest our class struggle, then the struggle is decided against us at the start.

But let us open our ranks a little wider. Let us invite to our standard all the dispossessed. They at least are a growing class. Find your recruits with them, and we shall have an irresistible army, composed of the mass of the people. Only let us pitch our camp broadly enough, and never fear but it will be full of eager fighters. No narrow field is large enough for this great battle of the ages.

Who, then, are the dispossessed? Are not all men who do not own the tools with which they work either manually or mentally? Is not the writer who cannot give expression to his best ideas because the power of the press is in the hands of the capitalist—is he not one of the most cruelly dispossessed of men? The minister who eats the bitter bread of dependence on his wealthy parishioners—is not he a wage slave? The college professor finds that the capitalist supplies the tools with which he works, that is, the college buildings and equipments, and not to him if he offends his employer. Shall we exclude these men from our ranks, or shall we not rather expect a hearty support from all of these who have thought far enough to realize their own position?

Nor shall we stop here. There are other forces in the world besides self-interest and indignation at our own wrongs. "The august powers behind the veil" are also in league with sympathy, love and remorse. In the struggle before us many generous natures will stand with the class to which they do not belong; the stings of conscience and the sense of the world's suffering will drive many a man to act directly contrary to his own interests and the interests of his own class. The negroes were emancipated by the whites. Some of the Russian nobles suffered imprisonment and exile for their efforts to free the serfs. Perhaps no oppressed class was ever yet uplifted without the assistance of individuals of other classes.

Yes, it is a class struggle, but men will be found in all classes to fight for justice. Open the gates wide.

ranny and to maintain equal rights for all, but enemies have entered a door which we have neglected to guard. The policy of Jefferson and Jackson has degenerated into an infamous bureaucracy which holds the working classes by the throat while capitalists and tariff robbers plunder them.

Since government has become the defender of the monied classes, the masses justly and wisely hold it in contempt, but the worst of it is that any corrupt and mercenary judge has the power of consigning a labor leader to imprisonment for contempt of a contemptible court. Judges, too, are chosen that they may pervert justice in the interest of trusts, combines and plutocrats.

In view of these glaring abuses, is not our boasted freedom a thinly veiled form of insanity? We all know, or ought to know, that amidst our gigantic productiveness and superfluity millions of unemployed are existing within sight of starvation. The devil's doctrine of every man for himself, is now our industrial and business motto. Monopolists and corporations purchase legislation as they purchase land, lumber or any other commodity, and make rulers, judges and cabinet ministers to order.

This kind of language may, no doubt, appear very obnoxious and un-American to pensioners, office-holders and millionaires; but hard words, my friends, are softer than hard steel and bullets, and now is the time to speak out boldly if we desire to avert revolutionary violence and bloodshed.

A peaceful revolution is what the Socialist movement is intended to accomplish; but the inexorable law of evolution moves on kindly, yet cruelly, toward its vast ends. It seems to be a law of nature that war and the destruction of life and property is the heavy price we must pay for all that is greatly good. No Socialist, therefore, whose judgment is worthy of acceptance, can predict a peaceful solution to the tremendous problem that must be solved in the near future. The overthrow of capitalism and its long-established injustice, is no light work. The universal cry among laborers now is nothing earned, nothing saved, and countless millions stolen and squandered. The system that has caused this deplorable condition is capitalism, the parent of imperialism. A democracy, therefore, with a suitable industrial system, is our only remedy. Such an industrial organization is Socialism. Understand this, friends, and labor's battle is won.

Machine Gas-Blowers

The success of the machine glass-blowers at the glass works at Elmer, N. J., would seem to indicate that the invention is destined to ultimately supersede human lungs and hands. A prominent blower from Bridgeton remarked that it is only a question of a very few years when all glassware will be made in this way. The two factories are now completely equipped with the machines and are working satisfactorily. A year ago one of these machines was installed there as an experiment, and improvement after improvement has been made, until they are now perfect. Unskilled labor can be used.

A glassman went to Bridgeton recently and exhibited a patent "no-shutter," which is intended to take the place of a boy. If there is any one thing the average glass manufacturer would jump at it is a machine to replace the boy. In some plants a dozen "shops" have been idle almost daily on account of the scarcity of boys. This new contrivance does the work completely.

But what will the capitalist system do with the boys? Does it propose any way to provide for the boys who are not scarce? Not at all; Socialism alone can look after them and the human glass-blowers who will no longer blow their brains into glass bottles.

Ministerial Musings

MINISTERIAL MUSINGS.

Legislation is powerless when met by concentrated billions.

The only cure for private monopoly is public monopoly.

The popular religion aims at nothing and hits what it aims at.

The worst criminals on our scaffolds were spouting angels when six months old.

"Liberty before property; the man before the dollar" is an old maxim grown obsolete.

The modern Christian has not learned that Standard Oil does not mix with the waters of life.

Mammon, the god of our civilization, compels the many to die undeveloped that the few may live misdeveloped.

No world in the universe has so much hell in it as this one, where Christians talk about serving God while doing their best to swindle the Almighty in serving them.—Rev. E. M. Wheelock, Texas.

Subscribe for the Herald.

SOCIAL DEMOCRAT ON THE ISSUES OF IMPERIALISM AND MILITARISM

W. Liebknecht in the Clarion

Again and again I repeat the cry. It cannot be altered. Imperialism and militarism—that is the enemy. Clericalism, according to Gambetta, is the enemy, and is not dangerous any more. Mind, I say clericalism, not popedom or papacy, which will be a world power still long after the downfall of the last emperor, and which will be the last enemy of Socialism. But that fight is not a political fight. The last political form which grasping, accumulating, robbing capitalism takes is imperialism organically united with militarism. And as there is but one capitalism, there is but one imperialism and militarism, too. It may have a different shape in different countries; in substance it is the same everywhere.

In any case—and now I begin to refute the objections that have been made to me—in any case, imperialism has nothing to do with keeping together and defending the British empire. There is no need to plead the British empire against me. I dare say there are not many who have pleaded more and in deeper earnest for it than I have. The breaking up and downfall of the British empire would be the greatest disaster for humanity. It would be the triumph of Russia, and, consequently, of despotism and barbarity over liberty and civilization. This I have said and tried to make understood hundreds of times. And just because I have such a high opinion of England, and put so many hopes on England, I regret this South African war so much, and feel bound, in the common interest of liberty and civilization, to do what is in my power to avert the evil effects of this unfortunate war, and to prevent the catastrophe which growing imperialism and militarism are sure to bring upon you if the English people do not put them down before it is too late.

How much damage has this war already done to England. You, as free-born Englishmen, must know the value and power of public opinion and public feeling. And the public opinion and public feeling of the whole world have been turned against England by this war. And were it true what our jingoists and all other enemies of England say, that the war fever and lust to conquer, such as it shows itself at present, is inherent to the British nation, and not only a passing moral disease, then the friends and admirers of England would indeed have to confess that they were in error.

It is true the chief of your ministry, Lord Salisbury, does not see that public opinion and public feeling all over the world are against England on account of this war. "It is the press of the gutter that attacks and calumniate us," says my lord, haughtily and contemptuously. "Press of the gutter"! Lord Salisbury is wrong, as he has been so often already. He does not know the press of the continent, as there are many other things which he does not know.

Certainly, we have a "press of the gutter"—the press of our anti-Semites, our jingoists, our junkers and other reactionists of all sorts and kinds; and this press of the gutter is certainly hostile to England, and villifies it on every occasion and in every manner. But it has been so and has done so since it existed, England being to it the detested land of the free; the country which broke the holy alliance under Canning—a crime never forgiven and never to be forgiven, by our would-be resurrectionists of the holy alliance; the hated country which for the last eighty years resisted all attempts of the continental politicians and policemen—with us synonymous as to our statesmen, policy, politics and police mean the same thing—to force or entice it to surrender the right of asylum, and to participate in the common international police-chase for hunting down democracy and Socialism.

This "press of the gutter," of course, did not miss the opportunity, and makes use of the South African war to attack and calumniate England with redoubled violence; but it is only a small fraction of our press. There is another press in Germany, the press that always defends England against the "press of the gutter." There is the Liberal (not National Liberal, which is identical with "reactionary")—the Liberal press that looks upon England as the mother country of constitutionalism and parliamentary government. There is the democratic press that regards England as the great bulwark of liberty and sovereignty of the people. And there is the Socialist press—almost 300 newspapers in Germany—that always stood foremost in the defense of England against the "gutter press," and that believed in England as the only power able to cope with the Russian despotism, which drags behind it the Borusso-German junker and po-

lice empire and the French republic as far as it is under the influence of capitalism. "Press of the gutter"? No, the press of the German people.

There is not one newspaper in all Germany that advocates the cause of England in this universally condemned war—not one, except a couple of low stock exchange papers, written by the accomplices and agents of Rhodes and Chamberlain.

The same unanimity of condemnation in France, the same unanimity in Italy. Everywhere!

And how could it be otherwise? An empire of 400 millions against two dwarf commonwealths of, together, 300,000 men, women and children. That alone is sufficient to arouse the indignation of any human being with a sense of fair play. I know Lord Salisbury thinks there was a conspiracy between German adventurers and the Boers for the purpose of founding a Dutch-German counter empire; and I know, too, that some of these German adventurers have been in foolish relations with the German government, whose foreign policy is as silly and zig-zaggy as its home policy. But how could a man in his senses take such foolish plans seriously? Or has the world become a madhouse?

"Press of the gutter"! I return to the word. It is significant. There is a program in it—the program of hostility to the people. That your prime minister can use such a word is in itself a grave and a most alarming fact. It shows the progress of imperialism in England, of continental imperialism, the characteristic trait of which has always been and is:

Cult of power and contempt of public opinion. And public opinion is the peoples opinion, the feeling and thought of the people.

Not yet of your people. But that is only a question of time, of short time; and Lord Salisbury's "press of the gutter" betrays what is in store for you.

I have not yet done with imperialism. I am told imperialism in the mouth of Englishmen means national unity; and I am taught what blessings unity has brought to France and to Germany—how necessary it was to get rid of the division in many provinces and small states. Maybe. Much might be said about the blessings of national unity. There is a unity of the jail, as Heinrich Heine, the poet, called it, and of which we Germans and our fellow-victims of "national unity," the poor Italians, could tell a long tale. However that may be, the comparison with German, French and Italian unity is more than limping. The different parts of the British empire cannot be compared with the different provinces and small states (kleinstaat) of Germany, France and Italy, which had to be united in the interest of national unity. This national unity Great Britain had before any of the modern great states. She has had it for three centuries and a half—since the reformation, which to you gave national unity and to us national division. Whether it will be possible or not to weld together Great Britain and her colonies into one organic empire, or whether the colonies will grow into new independent states, like the United States of America, that is a question which I shall not treat here, as it has nothing to do with the matter before us. But I am sure all Englishmen will agree that there cannot be a national union or unity of Great Britain and the Indian empire.

A Course of Reading

Editor Herald: Recently a friend wrote me for a list of books for a special course of popular reading in Socialism. Here is the list of ten that I made out. Perhaps some comrade can suggest improvements in it:

1. "Traveler from Altruria," Howells.
2. "Equality," Bellamy.
3. "The Co-Operative Commonwealth," Gronlund.
4. "News from Nowhere," Morris.
5. "Women in Past and Present," Bebel.
6. "From Utopia to Science," Engels.
7. "Fabian Essays."
8. "Signs of Change," Morris.
9. "Communist Manifesto," Marx.
10. "Working Class in 1844," Engels.

To this should be added the recommendation to read the history of the movement in this country, given in the Red Book. Wayfarer.

[In addition to the above the editor suggests "Principles of Scientific Socialism," Vail; "Socialism," Sombart; "Merrie England," Blatchford; "The People's Marx," Deville.]

AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

By Charles Trench

(A discourse on the Boston Common.)

It was recently announced by Judge Cauty, who has just returned from the Philippines, that it will require a force of at least 300,000 soldiers to subdue the natives of those islands. He further stated that after a period of ten years, which would be required for the subjugation of the Filipinos, a standing army of a hundred thousand men would be necessary to maintain law and order in our recently acquired possessions.

And who is to benefit from the vast expenditure of life and treasure daily wasted in this diabolical scheme? The answer is: No one but gangs of politicians and capitalists, who are using the resources of this country for purely selfish and mercenary motives.

According to the avowment of the functionary above mentioned—who, by the way, is a Republican expansionist—the ultimate aim of the conspirators is to drive the Filipinos to the mountains, and then appropriate all the level and fertile lands of Luzon, and all other islands, which they intend to cultivate by Asiatic cheap labor. They will thus hold an absolute monopoly over the entire products of vast tracts of territory at the expense of the American tax-payers. The whole project, from beginning to end, is a gigantic and infamous fraud, and well worthy of the administration which is doing the dirty work of Hanna and his confederates.

According to the testimony of reliable eye witnesses, the devastation and slaughter in Luzon is appalling. It is described as war, merciless beyond any known degree of human ferocity. "Yet," says Judge Cauty, "it is as much as our army can do to hold even the ground under the soldier's feet." It is said, with truth, that the horror and hatred with which the Filipinos regard Americans and this government almost amounts to insanity. Stung to madness at the treachery and duplicity of the McKinley government, they have resolved, one and all, to drive out the odious robbers and usurpers from their country, or perish in the attempt. Let us hope and pray that their heroic efforts may continue to be crowned with

success. Remember, oh workingmen! that these patriots are fighting for you as well as for themselves. Is there a workingman, let me ask, who has given this question any critical reflection, who can doubt that the triumph of Hannaism in the Philippines will be attended with disastrous results to our working classes? It must be clear to any one with a grain of common sense that the Philippine Islands, in the event of conquest, would be used as a sort of halfway house for capitalists to inundate this country with Chinese labor.

Let us turn now, for a few minutes, to Cuba—another profitable field of exploitation for bastard imperialism. Rathbone, McKinley's postmaster-general, nicknamed "the Great," raised his own salary from \$5,000 to \$45,000 a year! "The more the benevolent administration of affairs in Cuba," says the Boston Herald, "is probed, the worse it appears. Neely—another patriotic American appointee—has been pilfering the postal department out of millions. Official speculators and forgers have been so busy confusing accounts, and making false entries, that the whole administration of public affairs in Cuba is a chaotic muddle which no accountant can unravel."

I can tell you, my working friends, that something of a very radical nature must be done to save our country from unspeakable disaster. No greater calamity can happen a people than when criminals take an active part in its government. Oppression, spoliation and bloodshed are crying out as if no ear heard their voice; but mind you, the time is approaching when we shall experience a rude awakening to the blunder we are committing in passively submitting to the iniquity of an imperialistic oligarchy.

The moral sense of great masses of our people has been so perverted by martial tomfoolery that the most atrocious massacres, rapine and plunder carry with them no blame, and their perpetrators and abettors are sedulously sheltered from justice.

The government of our forefathers was established in 1776 to prevent ty-

Social Democratic Herald

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board
JESSE COX, Chairman
SEYMOUR STEEDMAN, Secretary
EUGENE V. DEBS, VICTOR L. BERGER
FREDERIC HEATH

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, 50 cents. Six months, 25 cents. No papers sent to any one on credit. If, without having subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and no bill will follow. Foreign subscriptions \$1.00.

Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

A. S. EDWARDS, Editor
THEODORE DEBS, National Sec'y-Treas.
136 Washington St., Chicago.

102 is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 103 your subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, JUNE 16, 1900.

NOTES AND COMMENT

Deprive the working class of their natural and social rights, deny them the opportunity to gain a livelihood by trying to galvanize a rotten-ripe system with middle-class reforms, compel them to pay rent for the privilege of occupying land (Does Bryan propose to abolish that "privilege"?), maintain the system which separates them from the means of production, burden them with war debts and the ruinous cost of militarism, invest corporations with power to hound them from the cradle to the coffin, and, if they are not model and contented citizens under such treatment, bring out the gatlings and murder them. That is the holy and sanctified business of capitalism and capitalistic government.

Currency reformers of the Democratic and Populist stripe want profits; they want to readjust the "skinning" business so that in place of a few big "skinners," like Rockefeller and Havemeyer, we will have a whole lot of little profit "skinners." But that stage of affairs has been passed; to it we shall never return. Social Democrats want productive capital socialized and operated by an industrial democracy for the benefit of all the people without profit. Every "skinner" is opposed to Social Democracy.

One of the friskiest corpses that ever disappointed and dismayed a funeral party is Deleonomism. After twelve months of the lustiest sort of assurance that the thing was dead, behold it bobs up with old-time vigor, stops the ceremonies, enters the lists with a national ticket; and the other fellow, who thought he had been attending the last obsequies, is beginning to say that he was deceived from the start to the finish—which isn't a finish.

There is no help for the working class, no relief for society, no higher attitude of civilization possible, so long as private individual ownership of the social means of production and distribution exists. All talk of abolishing every "form of privilege" that does not strike at the privilege of property in social capital—the means of life—is political humbug, which workingmen will do well to "pass up."

Mr. Bryan proposes the impossible against the class interests of the capitalists when he talks about the abolition of all forms of privilege. How, for instance, is he going to abolish that form of privilege known as the wages system without abolishing capitalism. And if that is not in his program, then is not his declaration about the abolition of all forms of privilege merely empty twaddle?

Social Democrats declare that the class which has the mastery over the economic power of the country, which controls social capital, also holds the mastery over the government of the country. The Bryanolators try to make you think they think if they could get control of the political offices they would then be able to control the capitalist class, but they don't believe it—not a single man of them.

What reason have you for supposing, since the wealthy class in any country and under any form of government has always been able to make or buy the laws they wanted, that the same class would not do the same thing if Bryan were president? There isn't a single human being living who can tell you, not even the "peerless one" from Nebraska.

The most iniquitous of trusts, as the Chicago Tribune looks at the matter, is the ice trust, in which Democrats are interested. But Tom Platt is represented in that trust by his son, and we are under the impression that Tom is a Republican boss.

The business failures for the month of May were the largest on record. But prosperity goes marching on.

Dr. Charles B. Spahr, author of "The Present Distribution of Wealth in the United States," says that for 4,650,000,000 shares of railroad stock now in existence, the original investors paid no more than \$465,000,000, or only 10 per cent of their face value. A railroad that pays 3 per cent is actually paying 30 per cent upon the real invested capital.

The republicans of China, the Boxers, whose distinguishing characteristic is a fervent patriotism much resembling that of Hannait Republicans in the United States, are still making a rumpus and preparing the way for a possible universal war.

It seems that some one blundered in representing that Deleon was dead and done for. He turns up with a convention composed of eighty-three delegates, puts a national ticket in the field and positively rejects the overtures for a funeral.

Scratch a Bryan Democrat who is a "Socialist too," and you will find a fellow with the profit hunger. He believes in the social necessity of competition and the sanctity of every skin game known to the capitalist system. But he's a "Socialist too"! Yes, he is!

The Bryan Democrats want to make laws to check tendencies; the tendencies they are after make up whatever is important in human history and civilization. Bryanism is nothing more than a lusty protest against the inevitable.

The Nebraska Socialist is the name of a new weekly, just out and supporting the Social Democratic party, which we welcome to our exchange list. It is published at Omaha by Branch 1 of the S. D. P. in Nebraska; 50 cents yearly.

There is a brand of soulful, sublimated sympathy with Socialism that reminds one of a church steeple—the higher it soars the narrower it becomes. Church-steeple Socialism is as bad and useless as church-steeple religion.

Chicago corporations (all composed of patriots and model citizens) owe \$473,916 in unpaid taxes. And they will to a man tell you this is the greatest country on earth. So it is—for chumps and looters.

A week ago 1,500 men employed by the McCormick company, Chicago, were laid off indefinitely. Cause: No work. But the advance agent and his satellites are still howling prosperity.

Progressive trades unionists will this year remember that it is better to vote for what they want and not get it than to vote for what they don't want and get it.

Concentration of the productive facilities and powers of society in fewer hands inevitably reduces opportunities for labor; yet it is the order and necessity of the times.

They have a rude and uncouth people in St. Louis, with no respect for a millionaire carrying a gun to protect property stolen from the community.

The world is going to be governed by an imperialism of capital or a fraternalism of labor joined to capital. Trades unionists, which shall it be?

Never estimate a working man by what he does not possess. No doubt the fellow he has worked for is well off.

The session of congress cost more than a billion dollars. All for liberty and civilization!

INTERVIEWS AND OPINIONS ON LIVE TOPICS OF THE DAY

President Kruger of the Transvaal: "Yes, it is quite true that the British forces have occupied Pretoria. That fact, however, by no means marks the end of the war. The burghers are fully determined to fight to the last, and will never surrender as long as 500 armed men remain in the country. Only now will the real struggle begin. I fear there is still to be much bloodshed, but the fault for that lies with the British government. The time has passed for us to talk. We have done plenty of that, but it has done no good. There is now nothing left for us to do but to keep fighting, keep fighting."

President Henry Wade Rogers of Northwestern University: "The tendency of the past has been to blame existing wrongs on the poor people. But it is a fact that the common people are at least no worse than the rich class. It does not follow because a man is wealthy he is a good man. Neither does it follow because a man belongs to the class known as common people he is a bad man. There has been too much of this sort of sentiment in this country."

August Bebel, German Social Democratic Leader: "The torpedo boat demonstration in China is ridiculous, and the Rhenish enthusiasm over it reminds us of cowards viewing a circus parade."

SOCIALIST PRINCIPLES IN UNEXPECTED PLACES

The United States presents many peculiar points of interest to the student of the world's economic development. In the prevalence of the trust we find a most marked advance toward associated or collective industry, existing side by side with political features of a most ultra individualistic type. Indeed, to the intelligent foreigners few facts surprise so much as the one that so many of the functions elsewhere performed by government are here left to the free play of private enterprise.

The keynote to our political institutions is found in the idea "that those governments govern best which govern least." Much of the unrest, uncertainty and disorder so characteristic of American political and industrial life can be finally traced to the constant and increasing antagonism between our associative method of wealth production and our antiquated individualistic political system.

It is my desire to show still another contradiction between our political theories and our social life. Have you ever noticed that while we proudly claim to be the most individualistic and competitive of nations, we have fostered and encouraged organizations—of a socialistic character—to minimize those evils that are direct results of unrestrained competition? To be plain, I allude to the remarkable development of fraternal and beneficiary societies in the United States, a development far surpassing that reached by any other nation. The cardinal principles of these fraternities, as exemplified in the Masons, Odd Fellows, Workmen, Knights of Pythias and kindred other societies, are identical with the ethical teachings of Socialism. Fraternalism teaches us the common brotherhood of man and our obligations to our fellow-members, that we should assist those members in distress, support the widow and educate the orphan, minister to the sick and bury the dead—in short, to do all in our power to make the lives of our associates prosperous and happy. This to be done not under the guise of charity, but as the result of sacred mutual obligations.

If these teachings are elevating and commendable when practiced by families and lodges, would they not be more worthy and potent if extended to the whole of the civilized world—instead of their benefits being restricted to coteries of selected individuals? This is a question I would ask all to seriously consider.

Socialism is merely the full and logical application of those lofty moral principles, preached so eloquently in our lodge room, to the details of our daily life.

Say, brother, are you in favor of this kind of expansion?

Ernest Burns, Jr.

PROBLEMS OF SOCIOLOGY

From "Some Problems of Life" by Annie Besant

The brotherhood which is a fact in nature is daily contradicted and defied in social life.

Society must again be based on a recognition of the fundamental laws of brotherhood; this alone can unite progress with order, assign social functions with justice, and insure abundance of material goods with propriety of distribution.

Conditions in the United States have brought about a complete disillusion as to republicanism in action, whatever arguments may be adduced for it theoretically by those who believe in human equality.

Men who twenty years ago were concerned in questions of government, now declare that whatever may be the form of government, it is a sound economic system which is needed to make a nation prosperous, contented and happy.

Trust and high honor are among the noblest and rarest of human qualities at the present stage of evolution, yet without these democratic Socialism must fail.

That a noble form of society is possible in which all the forces of the community shall be organized to subserve the general good, and in which all the plenty and happiness for which Socialists are rightly yearning, is indeed a truth.

The free combat that we call "civilization" is not a state that can endure.

In the older days those who were employed in supplying objects needed by the community were men who, to a great extent, had joy in their work, the joy of the creator in his finished product.

More and more in our modern life the man who tends a machine is becoming a machine himself, a flesh and blood lever of the thing of steel and iron.

The stunting of the mind in mechanical work is the justification of the cry for shorter hours of labor, and should be

met by the co-operation of all classes in bringing them about

The fundamental unity of mankind is the central truth of the coming race, and the nation which first grasps and practices that great conception will lead the future, humanity falling into line behind it.

ECONOMICS WITHOUT ETHICS

We have all been used to the doctrine of ethics without economics, also economics without ethics. The solution of the problem that confronts us will be solved by bringing the two together.

It is time to ask seriously if the old style of preaching and practice is a success. If we find the world as a whole is not becoming better and mankind as a mass is not becoming happier, then it is a part of common sense and business principle to change our tactics.

Statistics tell us that all manner of crime is on the increase—not alone in numbers but in proportion to the inhabitants. That beggary, destitution, trampism and starvation is on the increase both in numbers and in percentage.

Our prohibition friends will tell you that where fifty years ago there were 1,000,000 kegs of beer manufactured for 32,000,000 inhabitants in this country, now there are 36,000,000 kegs of beer manufactured for 75,000,000 inhabitants.

The total consumption of spirituous and malt liquors and wines in the United States was in 1880, 506,076,400 gallons; in 1896, 1,170,379,448 gallons. (World's Almanac.)

Deaths from alcoholism have increased from 61 per million in 1860 to 68 per million in 1895.

Prison population has increased 16 per cent faster than the population outside of prisons.

In 1885 deaths from suicide numbered 978; in 1895 deaths from suicide numbered 5,750.

In 1885 murders committed were 1,808; in 1895 murders committed were 10,500.

Between 1860 and 1890 insanity has increased 50 per cent faster than the population.

What is the cause of this great retrograde movement in these vital particulars?

A few more statistics may show: Wealth per capita in 1850 was \$345; wealth per capita in 1890 was \$974. There is no cause for murder or suicide in that.

But wealth of workers per capita in 1850 was \$239.50; wealth of workers per capita in 1890 was \$184; wealth of non-workers per capita in 1850 was \$1,293; wealth of non-workers per capita in 1890 was \$8,085. The wealth of the worker per capita has decreased \$55.50 in forty years, and the explanation of the whole dark tragedy lives in that statement.

The few have increased, the many decreased. As they go down in economics they decline in ethics.—From an address before the Social Democratic party at Los Angeles, by Walter L. Young.

Exploitation of Inferior Races

The Fabian society, London, recently listened to a lecture by Mr. Gilbert Murray on the "Exploitation of Inferior Races in Ancient and Modern Times." Mr. S. G. Hobson presided. After discussing the problem as it presented itself to the ancient world, Mr. Murray went on to speak of what was happening in the world to-day. The most important fact was the way in which the native races were being exploited in their own country. White men were working their factories in countries where black labor was cheap, and this might have an important effect on the future of work in this country. The whole status of slavery had little to do with the question. The essential object seems to be the world-wide division of labor between different breeds of men. The problem was a difficult one; and it yet remained to be seen whether the British were to be a great beneficent power, or whether its disappearance as a conquering race was to be the signal for humanity to raise its head with a sigh of relief.

No Man is Good Enough

The only remedy for trusts is trust. Shall we have trusts for the people or shall we trust the people? No man, we long ago discovered, is good enough to be trusted with absolute political authority. Neither is any man, nor any corporation, good enough to hold the control of any of the necessities of life in trust for the people. All vast power has in it the seed of abuse. The whole people alone are worthy of the control of the economic life and death of men. Democracy does not mean competition; it means co-operation. We are not units struggling against each other; we are fractions to combine into one great unit. Let politics, therefore, be enlarged. We must believe in the people. If we believe not we shall be condemned. What condemnation we already have is due to our unfaith.—Dr. Frank Crane, Chicago.

The fellows who have been holding steady jobs for a while, now scent an impending change. 'Twas sure to come, as we told you.

AMONG THE TOILERS

Montclair, (N. J.) bricklayers secured eight hours and \$3.50 per day without trouble.

The Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen has gained over 3,700 members in the past year.

In the first 20 days of the St. Louis street car men's strike seven people were killed and 72 injured.

There are said to be 4,000 idle furniture workers in Grand Rapids. Another evidence of prosperity.

The carpenters at Dallas, Texas, have secured the eight-hour day and several minor concessions.

The St. Louis Brewery Workmen's Union will contribute \$1,000 per week in aid of the street car men's strike.

Five hundred master painters have signed the union scale at Philadelphia—the eight-hour day, at 2.70 per day.

The strike of the Westerly (R. I.) granite cutters has been settled, the men securing the eight-hour day at \$3.

In the mines around Nevada City, Cal., Japanese are being introduced, who are paid \$1 a day, boarding themselves.

Factory and mill hands, bench and machine men of Toledo, Ohio, have organized a branch of the International Woodworkers' Union.

The Women's International Trades Union Label League has organized a large branch in Chicago and is spreading to other western cities.

Blacksmiths and horseshoers at South Bend, Ind., have secured an advance of from 25 to 50 cents a day, and a reduction in the hours of labor.

Carpenters at Newport News, Va., demanded a nine-hour day with ten hours' pay and got it, and now other craftsmen are striking for the same.

Sixteen men at the Burlington shops at Hannibal, Mo., quit because they were getting 92 cents a day and 3 cents of that was taken for relief insurance.

The street car company at Kansas City has about \$45,000 as deposits from employees, the interest on which is sufficient to pay nearly the entire running expenses for one day.

The strike in the copper district of Michigan has been settled. An increase of 10 per cent has been granted, and the underground employees will receive full time for half shifts on Saturdays.

The dispute between the International Typographical Union and Machinists as to the jurisdiction of typesetting machine tenders has been referred to an arbitration committee of nine—three from the I. T. U., three of the I. A. of M. and three just appointed by the executive council of the American Federation of Labor.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

The trade unionists of England have filed a petition containing 85,000 signatures, declaring that the South African war is purely capitalistic aggression and not favored by working people.

The Austrian government has introduced a bill for limiting the working day in mines to nine hours a day—i. e., fifty-four hours a week. If the masters wish at any time to work more, this will have to be assented to by a joint committee of masters and men.

A committee of the landtag—the local parliament—of Bavaria has agreed to the Socialist proposition that delegates of the miners be allowed to assist in inspection of the mines.

There is a strike of men employed by the Berlin tramways, and the police have shown great brutality in putting down a manifestation of the strikers.

At Haarlem, Holland, at a recent election for the states-general the Socialist candidate, though unsuccessful, obtained 633 votes. This is a distinct advance. In 1897 only 156 votes were cast.

The 1st of May in St. Petersburg, as in other large industrial centers, was signalized by an immense amount of proclamations and various other publications, as well as by arrests.

In the opinion of the Labor World (Tokio, Japan), war in the far East will be unavoidable in the very near future, because "Russia is trying to secure a naval station or two on the Korean coasts with utmost force." In its quaint English, the World remarks: "A brutal thirst over poor Korea is so strong as to forget the international morality entirely, and now this old but steady bear is pushing on toward the war with Japan. We are sure of bloody conflict with the northern barbarism soon. We oppose the war because any and all the war will be very burdensome to the working classes. We believe there is one way to escape war between nations, and that is all Socialists of the world should unite in one body and oppose war in the future."

Trust fever is beginning to rage in Japan. The plate-glass, muslin, and watch manufacturers' trusts are already formed. The coal, silk thread, tea, silk-weaving, habutai (a kind of silk fabric), coal oil, rice, wine, beer, iron smelting, contractors' and spinning trusts are in process of formation.

on everything you buy is a guarantee that the producers thereof receive a fair rate of wages for its production

The Union Label

Insist on having the label

NOTICE TO BRANCHES

The quarterly dues for the quarter ending Sept. 30 are due at the headquarters, 126 Washington st., Chicago, Ill., on or before July 5. Prompt remittance is of the highest importance to insure the interests of the organization, and the branches are urged to provide for the collection, which should be begun at once.

NOTICE TO SECRETARIES

The attention of Branch Secretaries is called to the revised constitution in this week's paper. It is submitted for a referendum vote. Secretaries will please bring it to the notice of their Branches without delay.

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN FUND

W. P. Borland, Burley.....\$ 50
J. E. Collins, New Glarus.....1.00
Wm. Wilkinson, New Glarus.....1.00
Sgt. Swift, Cincinnati.....2.00
Local Union No. 7 of Pacific Coast, Nat'l Union of United Brewery Workers.....50.00
T. A. Edwards, Omaha.....1.00
Dr. Joseph Joffe, Woodbine.....3.00
Previously reported.....786.15
\$844.65

NEW BRANCHES

Abilene, Kan.
Saginaw, Mich.
Springfield, Mo.
South Milwaukee, Wis.
Quincy, Mass.
Ft. Lee, N. J.

NOTES FROM THE FIELD

A new branch has been organized at South Milwaukee.

The Social Democrats of Texas will hold a state convention July 4 at Dallas.

The state convention of the Social Democratic party of Indiana will be held July 4.

Social Democrats of Omaha are holding open-air meetings and organizing new branches.

Branch 9, Milwaukee, will hold a basket picnic Sunday, June 17, in the vicinity of Forest Home.

Kansas Social Democrats are taking a referendum on a state ticket with G. C. Clemens for governor.

Resolutions of censure of the executive board, introduced at the Missouri state convention, were turned down.

Coming Events of Evansville, Ind., nominates Edward H. Meyer for mayor of the city in the local election next year.

German Brewers' Union, No. 114, at Providence, R. I., at its last meeting voted to support the candidacy and principles of Eugene V. Debs.

On June 24 Social Democrats of Milwaukee will have an excursion to Sheboygan. Tickets can be secured at 614 State street or of John Doerflinger, 701 Winnebago street, Milwaukee.

The Appeal to Reason, "Plan A," if carried out by Socialists and pushed vigorously, would give that paper a million subscribers at an exceedingly small expense to each one assisting in the work.

Comrade James T. Van Rensselaer, address 1618 Toberman street, Los Angeles, Cal., is starting out on July 1 for a speaking tour of several months. He would be glad to hear from Socialists in all parts of the country who desire a speaker to visit them, so that his time may be fully occupied during the campaign.

The new branch at Ware, Mass., which has been organized by Comrade MacCartney, is evidently very much alive. It held a large and enthusiastic meeting last Friday, addressed by Comrade Howard O. Gibbs, who reports that the young branch is a very promising and hopeful one.

The Herald again reminds its Chicago readers that the second annual picnic of the party will be on the 4th of July at Bergmann's Grove, Desplaines avenue and Twenty-sixth street. And in this connection we ask every Social Democrat to help the sale of tickets among his friends and make no other engagement for that day. We are going to have a great turnout.

The following is the ticket nominated in Missouri:
Governor—Caleb Lipscomb, Liberal.
Lieutenant-Governor—Leon Greenbaum, St. Louis.

Secretary of State—William H. Stripe, Kansas City.
Treasurer—W. M. Brandt, St. Louis.

Auditor—L. M. Richeson, Kansas City.
Attorney-General—John F. Delaney, Kansas City.

Railroad Commissioner—Thomas Hessler, Harviell.
Supreme Court Judge—Albert E. Sanderson, St. Louis.

Judge Court of Appeals, Eastern District—M. Ballard Dunn, St. Louis.
Judge Circuit Court, Western District—N. B. Vaughan, Kansas City.

Presidential Electors—G. N. Kuntz, Kansas City, and R. D. Morrison, Milan.

Every Tuesday night at 8 o'clock, meetings are held in the Hull House lecture hall under the auspices of the Federation of Social Justice, of which F. G. Strickland is field worker. The address next Tuesday will be by A. S. Edwards.

Miss Irene M. Ashby of England, a member of the Workers' Union, and of the Independent Labor Party, gave an interesting lecture on Socialism in Boston, June 10, under the auspices of the City Committee of the Social Democratic Party.

Indiana Socialists

For the purpose of organization of state and local branches and for the propagation of Socialism, all interested are requested to communicate with C. A. Thornton, No. 515 Law Building, Indianapolis, Ind.

INDIANAPOLIS HEARD FROM

Whereas, the attempt to unite with the Socialist Labor party faction has proven a failure; therefore, be it resolved, that it is the sentiment of Indiana Branch, No. 8, that the national executive board should submit a referendum vote to the branches for the purpose of selecting candidates for vice-president from the ranks of the Social Democratic party; also instructing the secretary to forward this resolution to the Social Democratic Herald for publication. Thomas Catton, Sec'y.

BALTIMORE WILL NOT VOTE

At a regular meeting of the branches of the S. D. P., held last week, it was recommended to the branches that—

"They do not vote on the majority report submitted by the conference committee on unity; that this organization hold a nominating convention on the first Monday in July and that we invite all Socialists who indorse the candidates of our national convention—E. V. Debs and Job Harriman—to take part with us in this nominating convention." Levine P. Jones, Sec. Joint Meeting of S. D. P. Branches.

IT IS OUT OF ORDER

Comrade Editor: I am instructed by unanimous vote of Branch No. 3, S. D. P., to report the action of the branch at a meeting on the 6th, in regard to a communication from Wm. Butcher and associates, asking us to vote upon each of the several propositions submitted, in regard to the matter of union. It was the unanimous opinion of the members that the referendum vote of the S. D. P. settled the question of union for the present, so far as the said party is concerned, and that we cannot vote upon any proposition until it is submitted in conformity with the constitution and laws of the S. D. Party.

I. Hiatt,
Sec. Branch No. 3, Oregon.

BECAUSE THEY LOVED UNION SO

Branch No. 41, Everett, Mass., in regular meeting assembled, hereby passes the following resolutions:

Whereas, The Haverhill Social Democrat has stated that it would not print articles either in favor of or against union and the editor has printed four (4) articles in favor of and none against; therefore be it

Resolved, That Branch 41, Everett, condemns said undemocratic action of the Haverhill Social Democrat; also be it

Resolved, That Branch 41 condemns action of organic unity committee at meeting of May 20 by ignoring the S. D. P. Ordered that copies of these resolutions be sent to the Haverhill Social Democrat and the Social Democratic Herald for publication.

M. M. Pond, Sec'y.

BETTER BIDE A WEE

To the Members of the Social Democratic Party of America:

At a regular meeting of Branch No. 9 of Brockton, Mass., held June 5, 1900, we adopted the following resolutions:

Whereas, The S. D. P. of America is at present involved in a discussion as to the question of unity with the S. L. P., which is wholly unnecessary and unwarranted, and the wisdom and loyalty of the E. B. has been questioned and the recent referendum vote disputed; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, Branch No. 9 of Brockton, Mass., abide by the majority vote of the S. D. P. and stand by the national organization; and be it further

Resolved, That we use every effort to prevent a division of the party or forming organic union with the S. L. P. until such time as the sentiment of the members indicates that union would be in fact as well as in name.

Signed on behalf of Branch 9 of Massachusetts. A. B. Bosworth, Sec.

ABIDE BY THE REFERENDUM

At a meeting of Branch 5, Brooklyn, held on June 7, the following resolutions were adopted:

Whereas, A referendum vote is the highest authority to decide any question in a Socialistic party.

Whereas, An attempt to overthrow a majority is a violation of the principles of Democracy.

Whereas, During the recent controversy in regard to union with the S. L. P. faction and the vote upon it,

our N. E. B. has conducted itself with perfect fairness and justice to the members of the S. D. P.; therefore be it,

Resolved, That we affirm our entire confidence in the N. E. B. and our unalterable resolution to abide by the decision of the referendum in refusing union with the S. L. P. faction at the present time; and we emphatically protest against the action of those comrades who have repudiated the decision of the referendum by participating in the unity committee meeting on Sunday, May 20, and in taking part in forming a new party. We call upon you, comrades, as Social Democrats, to rally and support our party in the crisis, and let us work for the coming campaign as we have never worked before. Comrades, rally around the S. D. P. and its standard bearer, E. V. Debs.

S. Pressman, Sec.

NEW YORK SETTLES THE QUESTION

At a meeting held by the local No. 1, S. D. P., on June 4 at 60 Broome street, a circular and a list of various questions were received from the secretaries of so-called conference committee—namely, William Butcher and I. Stone—asking us to vote on the majority report.

The following resolution was introduced and unanimously adopted:

Whereas, by voting on the proposition of our N. E. B., "Is unity desirable or not?" we have recognized the legality of such a proposition and committed ourselves to the decision of the referendum vote.

Whereas, by this decision all negotiations of the committee on unity were annulled and discharged, and be it further resolved that we, the members of Branch 1, cannot recognize the committee on unity, as a body which represents the party, and the legality of their report; and consequently we refuse to vote on the above named majority report; and be it further resolved that a copy of this resolution be sent to the Social Democratic Herald, "the Anti-Saloon People" and Comrade William Butcher.

B. Gillman,
K. Remy,
Resolution Committee.

A DENIAL

When Harriman and Hilquit, over their signatures, stated that I had at the New York conference, exonerated the S. L. P. delegates from the charge of bad faith, I did not think it worth while to deny the accusation, because the falsity of it was characteristically delinquent. They (or Hilquit's stenographer) simply omitted a little qualifying phrase, which would alter the sense materially. What I said was: "This being so, then I believe you have lived up to your pledges," etc.

But now that they come out and, growing bolder because of my silence, charge me with having signed such a statement, it is time for me to call a halt and absolutely deny their charge. The fact is, that when I got through speaking, Mahlon Barnes, who was taking notes of the proceedings, asked me if I would write down what I had just said. I said I would willingly, and took his pencil and paper, and wrote: "If this is so, then I think there was no bad faith, but much misunderstanding." Remember that I was not present at the so-called "peace conference," and no pledges were made to me personally, though I shared the general impression given to the convention by the four S. L. P. delegates that they were committed to our party name and had heard Hilquit ask for two weeks' time after the convention in which to prepare his constituents for the change of name. When the charge of bad faith was made by Comrade Heath there were but two alternatives before us—either to withdraw from the conference altogether, as Heath did, or to grant for the time being that their excuses were valid, so that we might be in a position to go on with the negotiations, reserving final judgment, however, until we could hear the other side of the story. I chose the latter alternative. I absolutely deny that I ever said or wrote, without justification, that there had been no bad faith or that they had kept their pledges. The allegation that I signed my name to any such statement is absolutely untrue, as Mr. Mahlon Barnes well knows, and I challenge him or any one else to produce such statement signed by me.

Margaret Haile.

Call For Convention

All members of the S. D. P. of the Twelfth congressional district of Massachusetts are notified to meet in mass convention at Brockton, Socialist hall, 86 Main street, on Sunday, July 1, 1900, at 2:30 p. m., to nominate a candidate for congress and transact such other business as may come before the convention.

Charles E. Lowell,
Secretary District Committee.

Iowa Socialists

All reformers living in Iowa who are interested in the Social Democracy are requested to communicate with the undersigned. By unanimous vote of the S. D. P. branches of the state I have been made the party organizer for the state. I desire the name of every Socialist in Iowa.

Lone Tree, Iowa.

LOCAL BRANCHES

Notices of Branch Meetings Inserted for 25 Cents per Month

CALIFORNIA

Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evenings, commencing at 8. Admission free. Educational meetings (for members) every Tuesday evening. Sociology, Economics, Public Speaking, etc.
Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening.
Membership, with advantage of Educational Course and Social Democratic Herald free to each member, 25 cents per month.
Apply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk street.

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock at Woodman's Hall, 1234 Spring St. J. Franc, 700 Dayton Ave. Secretary.

Branch No. 3, Alameda, California, holds free public meetings every Sunday, 8 p. m., at Foresters' Hall, 600 Park St. and Santa Clara Ave. Business and Educational meetings (for members) 1st and 3rd Mondays, 8 p. m., at 2405 Occidental Ave. Allan A. Crockett, Secretary, 1810 Walnut St.

COLORADO

Branch No. 1, Denver, meets every Sunday at 3:00 p. m. at 1715 California Ave., Chas. M. Davis, Secretary, 1629 17th Street.

Branch No. 3, Goldfield, meets every Sunday at 7:30 p. m., Liberty Hall, Mont. Secretary.

CONNECTICUT

The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at Turn Hall, Rockville. L. Schlar, Secretary.

Branch No. 4, New Haven, meets every Tuesday evening at 8 p. m., 5 p. m., Cornelius Mahoney, Secretary, 165 Frank St.

Branch No. 4, Rockville, Conn., meets first and third Sundays at Turn Hall, meeting room, Village street. Secretary, Richard Niederwerfer, Box 760.

ILLINOIS

Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 53 Dearborn St.

Branch No. 1, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening. Thomas Kirwin, Secretary, 204 Westworth Ave.

Branch No. 2 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays at 2 p. m. at Nagl's Hall, 535 Blue Island Ave. Vaclav Jelnek, Secretary, 606 Blue Island Ave.

Branch No. 3 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Mondays at 8 p. m. in Dunder's place, 1080 W. 18th place. Joseph Dunder, Secretary.

Branch No. 4, Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays at 4 p. m. at Andr. Muzik's, 40 String St. Paul Chapska, Secretary, 304 Rubie St.

Branch No. 5 (German), Chicago, meets every first Saturday each month at 8 o'clock at Nagl's Hall, 535 Blue Island Ave. near 18th St. Albin Gelsier, Secretary, 728 W. 20th St.

Branch No. 5 (Bohemian) (Chicago), meets second and fourth Sundays at 2 p. m., 502 West Street. J. A. Ambros, Secretary, 480 Wood Street.

Branch No. 6, Chicago, meets at 1145 W. 3rd St. first and third Sundays at 3 p. m. Roswell H. Johnson, Secretary, 632 E. 54th St.

INDIANA

Branch No. 6, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday afternoon at 2 p. m. at Reichwein's Hall, corner Market and Noble Sts.

IOWA

Branch No. 2, Hiteam, meets every fourth Friday at the month at opera house. S. B. Jameson, chairman. James Fisher, organizer. Joseph Schollcutt, secretary.

MAINE

Branch No. 1, Baltimore, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m. at Carpenter's Hall, 500 E. Baltimore St. Public invited.

Branch No. 2, Baltimore, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at Wenzel's Hotel, 325 W. Camden st. Good speeches. Public invited. Levin T. Jones, Secretary, 212 W. Barre st.

MASSACHUSETTS

The Massachusetts State Committee meets the first Saturday of each month at 724 Washington St., Boston. All dues and moneys intended for the State Committee should be sent to the financial secretary, A. McDonald, 104 W. Springfield St., Boston. All other correspondence should be addressed to the Corresponding Secretary, Margaret Haile, 5 Glenwood St., Roxbury.

Branch No. 2, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Mondays of each month at Springfield Turn Hall, 100 North Main St. Sumner St.

Branch No. 3, Lynn, permanent headquarters, 71 Munroe St. Business meeting every Monday night at 7:30, open house. Public invited. Harry Gotsmer, Secretary, 505 State St.

Branch No. 3, Brockton, meets Friday nights at 8 p. m. for business at Socialist Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Center Sts. Every comrade is expected to attend one meeting a month. Mrs. Annie Bosworth, Secretary, 31 Prospect St.

Branch No. 15, East Boston, meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 98 Chelsea St. Miss Jenny Segal, Secretary, 100 Chelsea St.

Branch No. 16, Newburyport, meets the second Monday of each month at Lester's Hall, 37 Pleasant St. T. H. Chiswell, Secretary, 16 Collins St. A. L. Bilyer, 28 Merrimack St.

Branch No. 20, Roxbury, Mass., meets at 24 Warren st. 2nd and 4th Fridays of every month. Public invited.

Branch No. 31, Chelsea, permanent headquarters, Room 2, Postoffice Building. Open every evening. Business meetings every Thursday at 8 p. m. Public invited.

To Our Washington Readers

Comrade D. Burgess of New Whatcom, Wash., has been selected as organizer for the state and is prepared to assist the Socialists of Washington in organizing branches of the S. D. P. Correspondence addressed to him will receive prompt attention.

Arizona Socialists

In every community should correspond with M. J. Casper, Box 178, Globe, Tucson, Ariz. We have plans for keeping organizers in the field to organize branches in every town in Arizona before November; 500 Socialists pledging 25 cents per month each will do it. Don't miss it—write at once.

California Socialists

Socialists resident in California and not members of the Social Democratic party are requested to communicate with John Carter, 929 Twenty-second street, San Francisco.

Attention, Nebraska

Persons living in Nebraska and accepting the principles of Socialism are requested to communicate with T. A. Edwards, 3220 California street, Omaha, with a view to the organization of branches of the Social Democratic party.

To Texas Socialists

For purpose of State organization, the Bonham Social Democratic Branch requests that every Socialist in Texas who reads this notice, will please send name and address to the undersigned. Please attend to this at once. W. E. Farmer, Bonham, Texas.
All Socialist papers please publish.

SOCIALISM is the coming issue in politics. You may be for it or against it, but in either case you need to understand it, and so you need to read **The International Socialist Review**.

Published by Chas. H. Kerr & Co.
By special arrangement with the publishers we offer **THE REVIEW** and **THE HERALD** one year for only \$1.00. The first number of **The Review** appears July 1, 1900. Address this Office.

MICHIGAN

Branch No. 1, Battle Creek, Mich., meets 2nd and 4th Sundays of each month at 8 p. m. at 10 W. Main Street, in the International Congress Hall. All are cordially invited. L. C. Rogers, Secretary.

MINNESOTA

Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Genswein, on Main St. A. Kingsbury, Secretary.

MISSOURI

St. Louis headquarters, Room 7, 32 N. Fourth St. Address all communications to E. Val Putnam, Secretary. For information concerning ward branches, inquire at the above address.

Branch No. 7, Kansas City, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1300 Union Ave. G. J. Storz, Secretary, 1300 W. 9th St.

MONTANA

Branch No. 2 meets first and third Sundays of each month at G. W. Wood's home, Chico, Mont.

NEW JERSEY

Branch No. 1, Secretary, Michael W. Schor, 87 Livingston st.

Branch No. 5, Camden, N. J., meets every 4th Sunday of the month. For particulars address Paul Eberding, 1204 Kaighu's Avenue.

Branch No. 3 (German) Newark, meets every third Saturday, at International Hall, 7 Bedford St. Hans Hartwig, Secretary, 7 Bedford St.

Branch No. 4 (German), Paterson, N. J., meets first and third Mondays at 8 p. m. at Holvella Hall, 54-56 Van Houten St. Karl Linder, Secretary, 245 Edmund St.

NEW YORK

The City Central Committee of Greater New York, meets every second Tuesday at 412 Grand street, Windsor Hall. James Allman, Secretary, 22 Suffolk st. care of "Forward."

East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every first and third Thursday at 112 Clinton St. A. Guyer, Secretary, 163 Suffolk St.

Branch No. 2, 24th Assembly District, meets second and fourth Wednesdays of the month at 1059 Second Ave., at the "Central." Henry Lang, Secretary, 324 E. 50th St.

Branch No. 4, West Side Branch, New York, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of every month at headquarters, 188 W. 9th St. Elisabeth H. Thomas, Secretary.

Branch No. 5 Brooklyn, New York, meets every Saturday at 8 p. m. at 55 Moore St. Visitors welcome. Comrades desiring to organize should communicate with Secretary Sol. Freeman, 190 Boerum St.

Branch No. 10, New York, meets every Friday, at 8 p. m., 208 E. Broadway. Lectures and discussions. Public invited.

Branch No. 12, Brooklyn, headquarters, 331 Rutledge St. Meets every third Thursday at 8:15 sharp. All persons interested are invited to attend these meetings and co-operate in organizing local branches in every district in the city. Wm. Butcher, Secretary, 331 Rutledge St.

Branch No. 20, regular meetings are held first and third Friday of the month at Webster Hall, 14th St. and Third Ave., Borough of the Bronx, E. Spranger, Secretary, 31 E. 14th St. All persons interested in Socialism and the S. D. P. are invited to attend.

OHIO

Branch No. 2, Cleveland, meets in Ohlsen's Hall, 55 York St., second and fourth Sundays at 3 p. m. Lectures, discussions, business meetings, first and third Fridays at 8 p. m.

Branch No. 3, Cleveland, meets first and third Sundays in each month at 4 p. m. in Ohlsen's Hall, 55 York St.

Branch No. 4, Cincinnati, meets at Richelieu Hall southeast corner 9th and Plum Sts., every Sunday at 2 p. m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Jos. J. Secretary, 14th Central Avenue.

Branch No. 5, Dayton, Ohio, meets every 2d and 4th Friday evening, in Hall 27, Central Trades Council Hall. Everyone interested in Socialism invited. J. C. Selby, Chairman, W. Barringer, Secretary, P. O. Box 24.

Branch No. 8, Cincinnati, meets every second and fourth Saturday in Workingmen's Hall, 1113 Walnut St. P. Hamel, Secretary, 184 Fifth St.

Branch No. 11, German, Columbus, Ed Greiner, Secretary, 906 Hawk St.

PENNSYLVANIA

Branch No. 2, Erie, meets every Sunday, 3 p. m., at K. of L. Hall, 716 State St. Chairman, Joseph Stain, Secretary, J. R. Perry, 119 Sassafras St.

Branch No. 4, Pittsburg, meets every Thursday evening at 7:30 p. m. at Funk Hall, 8, 24th and Josephine Sts. W. Bohn, President, 244 Addison St. J. H. Lewis, Secretary, 2315 Jane St.

Branch No. 5 (Jewish), Philadelphia, meets every Friday at 12:30, Third St. at 730. Discussion from 8 to 9. I. Gerson, Secretary.

WASHINGTON

Branch No. 5, Tacoma, meets every Monday evening at 8 p. m., 419 11th Street.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee Central Committee, S. D. P., meets first Monday of the month at Brewers' Headquarters, southeast corner Fourth and Chestnut st.

Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets at Kailer's Hall, Fourth Street, between State and Prairie, every second and fourth Thursday evening.

Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Friday in Geatie's Hall, corner Green Bay and Concordia Ave.

Branch No. 3, Sheboygan, meets every fourth Thursday of the month at Gustav Borgstrom's Hall on Pennsylvania Ave. R. Schoen, Secretary-Treasurer, S. 12th St.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday each month at Meier's Hall, corner 2nd and Brown Sts. George Moerschel, Secretary, 891 25th St.

Branch No. 9, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at R. Sigel's Hall, southeast corner Orchard St. and 9th Ave. O

MILWAUKEE CITY COMMITTEE

The central committee of the S. D. P. of the city of Milwaukee assembled at a regular meeting on the 4th of June, 1900, and discussed fully the proceedings and results of the informal convention of the seven members of the S. L. P. (anti-Deleon faction) and eight of the former S. D. P. committee on union at New York on May 20 and arrived at the following conclusion:

1. The modus operandi of the delegates of the S. L. P. once more proved to every unbiased mind the undesirability of organic union.

2. The action of Comrades E. V. Debs, V. L. Berger, S. Stedman and M. Haile at this informal convention was perfectly consistent with the principles of the S. D. P. and Social Democracy in general.

3. The conduct of Comrades Carey, Chase, Hoehn, Butcher and Lonerson was opposed to the Social Democratic party and the principles of democracy in general.

4. While regretting deeply the confusion instilled by the fusion agitation in the minds of some unripe members of the S. D. P., the central committee is, however, confident that the spirit of loyalty to the party and the good sense of the members will in a short time eradicate every trace of the "storm in a glass of water" created by a few unscrupulous persons in both parties.

5. The committee respectfully urges all the comrades of the Social Democratic party, in the name of all that is most dear and sacred to them as advance agents of Social Democracy, in the name of the great historical mission of Social Democracy, to take a decided, unequivocal stand on the subject before us, and dismiss from their memory the ugly attempt of a forced union with a party whose spirit and tactics are entirely foreign and repulsive to the American proletariat. With fraternal greetings, for the committee.

Eugene Rooney,
Secretary.
Fred Brockheisen,
Organizer.
I. Ladoff.

KENTUCKY STATE CONVENTION

At a joint meeting of branches 1 and 5 of Louisville, held Thursday, June 7, the secretary was directed to have call inserted in the national organ, the Social Democratic Herald, for a state convention of the Social Democratic party of Kentucky, to be held in the city of Louisville on July 4.

The convention will assemble at Reeb's hall, 516 Fifth street, at 11 o'clock a. m. Wednesday, July 4, 1900.

The convention is to name thirteen presidential electors, form a state organization of the party and transact such other business as may properly come before the convention.

First—Each branch shall be entitled to as many representatives as there are members in good standing; any representative, if selected, shall be entitled to one vote for each member whose name is attached to his credential, and provided that no member shall sign his or her name to more than one credential.

Second—Branches not sending their own representatives may select those of other branches of this state to represent them; provided, that in each case the representative shall hold the proper credential with the signature attached, as herein provided.

Third—All signatures of members attached to credentials, as herein provided, shall be certified to by the secretaries of their respective branches.

James H. Arnold,
Secretary of Joint Meeting.

AGITATION IN MASSACHUSETTS

At a meeting under Social Democratic auspices held at Ware, Mass., Comrade H. A. Gibbs being the speaker, a large audience listened to an admirable address on Socialism. Dr. Gibbs said in part:

"What do Socialists want? Why, we want it? How are we to get it?" He said that the great stumbling block was ignorance and indifference. Fear of change also keeps men from studying the question. Yet there is change in the physical world always going on; there must be in the social world also. It cannot be prevented. Capitalism was necessary to pave the way for Socialism. It must now give way. Capitalism now penetrates and dominates the social and intellectual life. President Andrews of Brown University lost his position because he was a man, and the trustees went where for his successor? To a wealthy New York church and selected Faunce, and presently Rockefeller's check came for half a million dollars, showing how capital dominates over educational institutions.

"The whole superstructure of capital is founded on a monstrous wrong.

"First, all wealth is the product of useful labor. Capital is the accumulation of the plundered labor product of the workers. Capital is thus the result of the exploitation of labor.

"Society has thus been divided into two classes, producers and non-producers.

Capitalists or hobos are both social parasites. Only by giving back to every

producer the full value of his product can the existing wrong be righted.

"Statistics showing that the average laborer produces \$2,204 of wealth each year; he receives but \$445 in wages.

"How can the change from individual ownership be brought about? There must be a new social superstructure. It can be done by the wage workers uniting. It must be done by education to united political action.

"Under capitalism war is necessary. It should not be. The right basis of the social structure is that the man receives what he produces, not what he possesses. Socialism will bring forth peace and love in the educational, political and religious world. If the question is settled by war, it will be a war forced by the capitalistic class.

"Can the big parties bring about the change from individual to collective ownership? The Republicans will not, and Mr. Bryan's scheme to regulate trusts is defeated by the fact that the trusts own the government."

A MODEL DEMOCRATIC MAYOR

The New York Journal gives Mayor Van Wyck's record in ice as follows:

The cat is out of the bag at last. The Journal has given to the people of New York the name of every person who holds stock in the criminal ice trust. The names were transcribed from the official record of the ice trust's stockholders. The list is absolutely accurate. The transcript was made by an expert accountant. It cannot be questioned. It will not be.

The record is fatal to Mayor Van Wyck. It proves that he acquired (just how will be shown later) on June 1, 1899, 750 shares in the trust. These were never cancelled and he still holds them. On the same day—portentous coincidence—John F. Carroll acquired 1,750 shares.

Richard Croker's name is put opposite 500 uncanceled shares, acquired the same day, and Augustus Van Wyck is credited with still another 500. The ice trust was feathering its nest in a lively fashion upon that day.

April 20, 1900, was another busy day for the trust in placing its shares where they "would do the most good." On that day Mayor Van Wyck vetoed the Ahearn bill, passed by the legislature, which would have taken from the plundering trust the city piers, the possession of which was the basis of its monopoly.

Early in April the mayor blusteringly declared his opposition to the ice trust.

Before April 20 he "saw the light" and changed his opinion of the iniquity of the trust. On April 20 he had come to the conclusion that an ice trust was a good thing for the people of New York, and on that day he vetoed the Ahearn bill, which would have destroyed the monopoly.

On April 20 (mark the coincidence) he possessed himself of 2,000 shares of ice trust stock, par value \$200,000!

On the very same day (veto day) his brother, Augustus Van Wyck, got 1,000 shares of trust stock.

The mayor's veto of a bill that would have destroyed the ice trust was coincident with his getting hold of his first batch of ice trust stock.

Queer coincidence, that? Deadly, too.

The official stock records show that the mayor got stock in the ice trust with regularity. Between April 20, 1899, and July 9, 1899—seventy-eight days—he bought and sold 6,200 shares of preferred stock, par value \$620,000; the actual cost of which (if he paid it) at the then market price was \$434,000.

During these same seventy-eight days, the mayor acquired a liking for the common stock of the ice trust and got hold of and sold 6,100 shares; par value \$610,000, the actual cost of which (if he paid it) at the then market price was \$244,000. He is in ice up to his neck.

"LOOKING FORWARD"

The Rock Island Argus gave the following sketch of Debs' recent lecture at that place:

"At Harper's theater last night a thoughtful audience was held for one hour by Eugene V. Debs, the great labor leader and orator, who was introduced by E. C. Berry, president of the Tri-City Labor congress. His subject was 'Looking Forward.'

"Mr. Debs painted with artful stroke the wrongs and inhumanities of man to man—the accumulated curse of centuries, all centralized—a ghastly and horrible picture misnamed Fate and Destiny; slavery—slavery, as he sees it, all through the centuries from feudalism to the modern form of greed as expressed in the present and last slavery—the industrial.

"Then he pictured deftly, but with master strokes, wealth and society for the privileged classes, and the inevitable conflict that marked it all with the stain of blood.

"The history of civilization was outlined, and the evolution of governments from the barbarian days through monarchy, the church and kings, to free inquiry under out of it all the light dawned, the emancipation of the human intellect was pre-empted. From free cities to free institutions was but a step. The American republic wrought the change

on the map of the world, and hope for all peoples was inspired.

"Enemies, however, in our great development, said he, sprang up, and then began the great modern warfare for wealth that now has culminated in the tyranny of greed as it never was witnessed before. Now are we in the transition stage—the great change is at hand, and the world is to witness the transformation of hell to heaven right now and right here on earth.

"Mr. Debs is an optimist and has an abiding faith in the dream of social and political reformers. He has for his cure Social Democracy, of which he is now the leader, and his only weapon is an educated ballot. He believes that Socialism is the great and only panacea, and hence builds his arguments along the line of such theorists and doctrinaires.

"Mr. Debs had all the well-worn terms and phrases at his tongue's end and used them with telling effect, evoking applause and laughter at his humorous illustrations and apt and happy hits at capital, private ownership and the great captain of colossal fortunes. Mr. Debs is intensely in earnest and he imparts his enthusiasm to his hearers.

"The man is a study—once the living flame that caused the great railway strike—now the calm but interesting lecturer. His figure is bent, his limbs unsteady, his features showing the mental battles of his restive mind in its struggle to solve the problem, the answer to which no man can foretell.

"Mr. Debs pictured the better future so as to make one hate the present in spite of all its progress and advantages. The lecture abounded in witty sallies, sprightly aphorisms and good humor. He has many graces of oratory and gesture, is brimming with illustrations and anecdotes, is a master of elocution and diction.

"Speaking of the scope and influence of trusts, Mr. Debs said if there were no new markets in the Philippines, there would not be war there, and if there were no gold in South Africa the British soldiery would never have invaded that country."

ETHICS OF THE FUTURE

A CONJECTURE AND A HOPE

(Conclusion)

petition and all its kindred brood of unrealities and falsities. Over against those such other thoughts as these, the public, communication, fellowship, co-operation, justice, duty are among the organics which to crystallize into words, deeds and hand products will be the business of the future generations. To the social man of coming times it will be more gratifying to be permitted to build one foot into the walls of the city sewer than to build a hundred feet into the walls of a palace which he would be constrained to call his own.

Of course such a time will have a mental philosophy peculiar to its conditions as we have to ours. One of the characteristics of our mental make-up now is seen in the habit we have of individualizing each thought. Public speakers of our times are constantly bringing us this little thought and that little thought, considering each as a thought standing of itself apart. Such an isolation of thoughts is natural under individualism. Socialism, on the contrary, will only know thoughts as trends or tendencies towards an ultimate moving from an isolate uttermost to the collective central or master thought of that series. I not only deny that there is any proper individual thought but that there is any individual thinker; conceiving the whole faculty of thought to be a social function to which the individual rightly adjusted tends by the formation chiefly of industrious habits of doing things obediently and making things socially; that is assisting in the making of things for collective use, and making them collectively. This assisting in the making of things for collective use lies at the root of true society.

All work of the future will be social, for that which is not social is not work, but bondage. There will be, there can be no individual positive-builders. At the best the individual can only do the negative work of the world, his chief duty will be the removing of that which intervenes between the natural and true foundations of social life and the social corps of builders. Much of this excavation and removal will consist of the obstructions to social life found in the makeup of the individuals themselves; thus to take one's self out of the way of the builders will constitute much of the work of the future. And in this sense is to be taken what I say that the work of ego in future reconstruction will be negative for a long time. What, under those conditions will regulate our personal intercourse with each other? We shall feel every man, woman and child, that we have no other position in life but that of society's representatives to one another. With this great master thought dominating each life we will speedily grow human beings of such a spirit, mould and feature as the world has not yet known. Our material cities then will be great masses of crystallized thought, firmly built, human environments having these two qualities towards man, defensive and expressive. As turned to the individual they shall express the largeness and unity of social life and the defense of its integrity,

SPLENDID LIFE-LIKE PORTRAIT OF EUGENE V. DEBS CANDIDATE OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

SIZE—21 X 28 INCHES, ON GOOD PAPER

Price, 10 Cents, Single Copy

Sent by mail, securely enclosed in tube to insure safe transmission, on receipt of price.

Address,
CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY,
126 Washington St., Chicago

and they shall express the individual to the state as a thing of dependence in need of protection and loyalty. Towards the divine life our cities shall be as palaces of glass giving entrance to every ray of light.

The individualist conception of life turns society into a swarm of secretive, self-concealing, stinging hypocrites, the majority of whom fear to admit the thought of a higher unit, lyingly assert that it is religion that makes hypocrites. No, it is not religion, but plain secular everyday individualism that makes liars and hypocrites more or less of us all. In the mart or the workshop, or the court house, or wherever we are compelled to take advantage of each other for a living, it is there, by that act, and under that compulsion, that we are made false.

The Pastry Cook's Fable

Once upon a time there was an island inhabited only by men and pigeons; pigeons formed their only food. The inhabitants had neither traps, guns nor bows and arrows, but depended solely on a single piece of rock, which was common property and used by all in turn. First one man took up the rock and with it killed his pigeon, then a second, and so until all were satisfied. By and by a man came along who was stronger and smarter than the rest, and when he had killed his pigeon, instead of restoring the rock to its place for the next man's use, he put it in his pocket and claimed that it belonged to him. Thereupon there was great misery and hunger, and some of the inhabitants were starved to death. A deputation was then got up to ask for the restoration of the stone. But, to their great surprise, the owner demanded purchase-money for the return of the stolen rock. After further negotiation the owner of the rock offered to loan the use of the stone, if the inhabitants would undertake to give him two pigeons out of three that should be killed.

Moral: The owner of the rock is more liberal than landlords, who get all the pigeons, and give only the tail for "bare subsistence" to their tenants, and this because death would put an end to further service and also entail the cost of burial.—Nineteenth Century.

Production and Distribution

The result of our mechanical development has been a vast increase in accumulated wealth. In France and England the wealth accumulated during this century is more than five times as great as the total accumulation of all preceding ages in those countries. In America the wealth of the Union in 1800 was about \$1,000,000,000, while now it is well toward \$90,000,000,000, or, taking fractions into account, an increase of eighty-five fold, which is over six times the growth of population in the same period, the per capita wealth having risen from \$200 in the year 1800, to \$1,200, or thereabouts in the year 1900.

While, however, the creation and accumulation of wealth have progressed in this unexampled way, the diffusion of wealth has met with no corresponding improvement. On the contrary, there has been a progressive concentration of wealth into relatively fewer hands, until now, according to the data collected by Dr. Spahr of the Outlook, "one-half of the people own practically nothing; one-eighth of the people own seven-eighths of the wealth, or forty-nine times their share; 1 per cent of the people own 54 per cent of the wealth—one family in every 100 being able to buy out the other ninety-nine families and have something left besides; and finally, about one-two-hundredths of 1 per cent of the people, or 4,000 millionaires and multi-millionaires, have 20 per cent of the total wealth, or over 4,000 times their fair share on the principles of partnership and brotherhood."—Prof. Frank Parsons.

All unattached Socialists in the state of Connecticut are requested to write Louis Schlaf, 26 Spring street, Rockville, for information concerning the organization of branches.

SOCIALIST 4TH OF JULY OUTING Second Annual Picnic SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY Of Chicago JULY FOURTH, 1900

At Bergmann's Grove
On Desplaines River

Watch The Herald for full particulars. A large attendance of Social Democrats with their families and friends is expected.

Make no other engagement for the Fourth. Help the sale of tickets, 10 cents each.

Pocket Library of Socialism

1. Woman and the Social Problem. By MAY WOOD BROWN. Shows that the emancipation of woman will only come with the emancipation of man through socialism.
2. The Evolution of the Class Struggle. By WILLIAM H. NOLAN. A historical study showing how socialism is coming.
3. Imprudent Marriages. By ROBERT BLATFORD. A masterly answer to the argument that "providence" would help the laborer.
4. Packingtown. By A. M. SIMONS. A study of the United States Stock Yards, Chicago; how nature and man are alike scientifically exploited.
5. Realism in Literature and Art. By CLARENCE B. DARROW. Shows how the workers of modern art and literature are helping on the new social order.
6. Single Tax vs. Socialism. By A. M. SIMONS. Shows the inadequacy of the Single Tax as a remedy for the evils pointed out by Henry George.
7. Wage-Labor and Capital. By KARL MARX. The essence of the great philosopher's theory, in his own words.
8. The Man Under the Machine. By A. M. SIMONS. Tells how wage slavery began, what it is today and how the workers are going to free themselves. A condensed handbook of socialism.
9. The Mission of the Working Class. By REV. CHARLES H. VAIL, author of "Modern Socialism."
10. Morals and Socialism. By CHARLES E. KELL. Shows how popular ideas of morals are manipulated in the interest of the capitalist class.
11. Socialist Songs. Sixteen good ones, at times every one knows.
12. After Capitalism What? By REV. WILLIAM T. BROWN. A logical historical study showing that socialism must come as the result of forces now at work.
13. A Political Quack Doctor. By W. A. COREY. A socialist view of the "Prohibition" movement.

Daintily printed, five cents each, post-paid.

SPECIAL OFFER—For one dollar we will mail forty copies of the Pocket Library, all of one kind, as asserted as preferred.

SEND ORDERS TO

THEODORE DEBS
126 Washington St., CHICAGO

The Book You Need

PRINCIPLES OF Scientific Socialism By Rev. Charles H. Vail Author "Modern Socialism" and "National Ownership of Railways."

CONTENTS:

The Industrial Revolution. The Analysis of Value. The Origin of Surplus Value.
The Advantages of Socialism: Production, Distribution, Elimination of Useless Vocations, Prevention of Waste, Elevation of Woman, Proper Care and Training of Children, Efficient Directors, Solution of the Monetary Question, Abolition of Taxation, Simplification of Government, Benefits to Capitalists, Benefits to Laborers.
The Evidence of the Moral Strength of Socialism: Its Spirit and Aim; Abolition of Business Dishonesty; Restriction of Divorce; Prevention of Prostitution; Elimination of Crime; Prevention of Intemperance; Insanity, etc.
Poverty—Its Cause and Cure. Wage Slavery vs. Chattel Slavery. Rent and Interest. The Law of Wages. The Law of Progress. Industrial Depressions and Commercial Crises. The Problem of Labor-saving Machinery.
Popular Economic Errors: That Value is Determined by Capitalist Cost of Production; that the Interests of Laborers and Capitalists are identical; that Labor is Better Off Today Than Ever Before; that Cheap Prices are Beneficial to Labor; that Foreign Markets are Beneficial to Labor; that Luxury is Beneficial to Labor; that Land Nationalization Would Solve the Social Question; that Extraneousness is the Chief Cause of Economic Want; that Socialism Would Thwart Inventions and Improvements; that Socialism Would Destroy Individuality. Conclusion and Index.
12mo, 226 Pages; Paper, 35c; Cloth, \$1.00.

SEND ORDERS TO

THEODORE DEBS, 126 Washington St.
CHICAGO

NATIONAL FUND

The following is a list of comrades who have agreed, in response to the appeal of the National Executive Board, to contribute monthly for one year to the national fund. Other names will be added as they are received.

CONNECTICUT	NEW YORK
Fineilver, N. H. Hartford	Falco, L. O. Bensonhurst
Holmes, B. Hartford	Abbott, L. W. New York
Lincoln	Butcher, W. M. Brooklyn
Stedman, S. Chicago	Thomas, E. H. New York
James Cox, Chicago	Kahn, Arthur. New York
P. P. Ayer, Chicago	Hais, F. W. New York
"A Friend" Chicago	Leopold, J. New York
Dr. J. H. Greer, Chicago	Panken, J. New York
Mrs. C. Brown, Chicago	Weyell, Chas. New York
"Friend" Chicago	Mark Raphael. New York
James Wright, Chicago	Arnold N. Sadole New York
INDIANA	Philip Gruber. New York
E. V. Debs, Terre Haute	Sanger, Wm. New York
MASSACHUSETTS	Meade, T. F. Brooklyn
Flanders, P. B. Haverhill	NEW JERSEY
Cohen, A. Boston	Fankopf, Carl Jersey City
Parker, Levi. W. Newton	Karl Linder. Paterson
Monette, G. C. Brockton	"Comrade" Newark
Bosworth, W. Brockton	OHIO
Tate, Peter. Everett	Bevar, Joe. Cleveland
Hitchcock, D. G. Warren	Zinn, Julius. Cincinnati
Holbrook, S. Haverhill	Braun, F. Cleveland
Hough, E. W. Newton	Leibermann, C. Cleveland
Chase, Jno. C. Haverhill	PENNSYLVANIA
Brown, J. W. Templeton	Lewis, J. H. Pittsburgh
Orleans, C. B. Amesbury	F. W. Hirt. Erie
Allen, Helen N. Lynn	TENNESSEE
Keown, Dr. J. A. Lynn	Enloe, Dr. R. H. Nashville
Carey, Jas. F. Haverhill	Hamilton, W. A. Nashville
MICHIGAN	Mahoney, Wm. Nashville
Keliber, S. Grand Rapids	TEXAS
MINNESOTA	Price, R. S. Houston
Goswain, P. Red Lake Falls	WISCONSIN
MINNESOTA	Berger, V. L. Milwaukee
Fischer, Wm. St. Louis	Brooker, E. H. Milwaukee
Fellner, Henry. St. Louis	Ziegler, E. Milwaukee
Roesche, Wm. St. Louis	Doerfer, John Milwaukee
MARYLAND	Baumann, G. Milwaukee
Jacobson, E. Baltimore	Arnold, L. Milwaukee
NEW HAMPSHIRE	Meier, E. Milwaukee
Gordon, G. H. Manchester	Hocmann, O. Milwaukee
Rowie, Geo. Manchester	Turtis, E. Milwaukee
Mellen, C. H. Haverhill	Beath, F. Milwaukee
"Bosworth Branch"	Branch 4. Milwaukee

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

THIRD YEAR. No. 1.

CHICAGO, ILL., U.S.A., SATURDAY, JUNE 23, 1900.

Whole No. 103.

ANOTHER ADVANCE IN WISCONSIN FOR SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

Score one more for Socialism! The annual convention of the State Federation of Labor of Wisconsin, held in the city of Sheboygan last week came out square for Social Democracy, passing strong resolutions and electing well-known Social Democrats to the leading offices. The pledge went through with a whoop, the vote being 45 to 9. Each succeeding convention of the federation, which is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, has shown an increased socialist sentiment and it was only a question of time when the organization would take its stand in the international advance of labor. Members who have "scabbed" each election day have become less yearly, just as in other labor organizations, and the day is not so far distant as people suppose, when the workers of the Badger state will march solidly to the polls to take possession of government and to not only run it in the interests of labor but also in the interests of the demand for changed fundamental conditions. The socialistic plank which the convention endorsed reads as follows: "For the collective ownership by the

people of all the means of production and distribution. By this is meant that when an industry becomes centralized as to assume the form of a trust or monopoly, and hence, a menace to the best interests of the people, such industry should be assumed by the government. This is true protection to the weak, those least represented in legislation." The resolution was introduced by comrade Howard Tuttle, chairman of the committee on resolutions.

Resolutions were passed condemning child labor in factories and the legislative committee was instructed to draft a bill for presentation at the next state legislature.

The officers elected were:

Executive Board—S. McCarthy, Paul Huebner, Charles Nicholas of Milwaukee, and Edward Mahneke of Sheboygan.

Secretary-Treasurer—Fred Brockheisen, Milwaukee.

General Organizer—Frank J. Weber, Milwaukee.

The next regular convention will be held at West Superior.

SOCIALISM IS LARGER THAN ANY ONE CLASS

By Arthur Allen

I am bound to confess that I am one of those Socialists "who have nothing to gain but everything to lose" by the advocacy of the ownership by society of the means and sources of production. Although a member of a profession, I am one who through the sacrifices of my father (a workman) and others was enabled to obtain what passes for education. I have always felt that those sacrifices were made for the purpose of fitting me more completely for the service of my fellows. I cannot understand why either my profession or training should in any way interfere with my being a loyal Socialist. As far as work is concerned, I presume but few men have toiled harder or longer hours than I did from the time I was 12 years of age until I was 24. These statements have been called forth by certain things that have been said recently by certain persons who bear the name Socialist but whose sympathies are as contracted as those of the most bigoted individualist. I do not understand what a Socialist means when he proclaims that the coming conflict is between the academic Socialist and the proletariat—meaning by the former the editors, the lawyers, the ministers and the physicians in our ranks. Neither do I understand the spirit which prompts some few Socialists to speak contemptuously of the farmers of the country. Let me ask those who dream that among the so-called wage-earners are to be found the materials exclusively of founding the co-operative commonwealth; if they have faced the fact that if they converted every wage-worker, that still they would not possess a majority of the voters of this country? The number of small tradesmen and professional men is rapidly increasing in proportion to our population. The greatest appeal that can be made to these is the appeal to their moral sense. Are we going to say to the men who risk their all to identify themselves with the movement, which is not for one class, after all, but for the larger interests of humanity, that they are not worthy to be Socialists? Where have the great leaders of Socialism in the past come from. What are you going to say about Cabot, the lawyer and former attorney-general of Corsica; of Count Henry de Saint-Simon, the first advocate of pure Socialism—that is, the ownership of the means and sources of production by the people. St. Simon spent his fortune in the advocacy of this principle. He was forced to become a copyist at \$200 a year in order to live. He then robbed himself of sleep and proper food in order that he might advocate his ideas. Is this a man who is not worthy to be a Socialist? Not one of the great founders of Socialism among the French came from the proletariat. It was the condition of the working people that aroused them to do something to ameliorate their conditions. Robertus was a judge, and yet he was in a large measure the founder of German Socialism. La Salle, the son of a wealthy Jewish merchant, fitted himself for a university professorship. Yet we are told that he went up and down Germany arousing the workingmen to a realization of their condition. He found them like oxen and left them as men. Marx was the son of a converted Jew whose social position was high and who held a civil service position. Marx himself fitted himself first for the law. He afterward studied philosophy and intended himself for a professorship. He finally entered politics and became the editor of the Rheinisch Gazette. After his expulsion from Germany he supported himself as newspaper correspondent. In England the Socialist movement has had the inspiration of such men as Morris and Hyndman and many others who according to the theories of some should be looked upon as dangerous to the Socialist movement. If no one can be a true Socialist who is not a so-called wage-worker, what are we to do with the great leaders of the past? I do not mean to contend for one moment that some of the most far-seeing and noblest leaders of our movement are not to be found among the wage-workers of the world. What I do stand for is the recognition of a spirit of brotherhood that will recognize every honest Socialist, no matter what his previous or present condition of servitude may be. It is not bigotry or intolerance that will win the day, but fairness and tolerance.

With this marked and clear indication in the evolution of society we find Mr. Bryan, instead of assisting this growth and attacking the feebleness, contradictions, inadequacy and failures of the capitalist system; and instead of proposing the logical and natural solution, he stands opposing the trusts and syndicates and proposing legislation which he hopes will send us back to primitive conditions. Those who would discard the trip hammer for the simple one of hand use, the thrashing machine for the flail or the spinning machine for the spinning wheel would be regarded as idiots. The change which this evolution in the methods of production has created in society; this candidate proposes to alter by simple legislation. He would stem the natural tide of economic progress and go back to a system through which we have passed never to return. It does not require a scholar nor a professor to see the folly of such a position. Bryan was asked if he believed in Socialism. He answered no. He was asked if he believed in single tax. He answered no. He was asked if he believed in the nationalization of railroads. He answered: "We will settle that when we get through with the money question," and this is the wondrous leader which so many laboring men cheer. He is leading, or trying to lead, a retreat. Nature will prepare the abyss for him. While feudalism was disappearing Don Quixote with Sancho Panza and their little mule run over the hills to find wind mills upon which to charge, and this modern chevalier with a mule of no greater intelligence, is trying to find new wind mills upon which to demonstrate his valor and his wonderful system of atmospheric propulsion.

Ydets.

The municipality of London, England, acquired one of the street railway systems about a year ago. At that time the service was wretched and the employees were compelled to work seven days in a week and furnish their own uniforms. In a year of public ownership the service has been reorganized, the employees are furnished uniforms and given one day's holiday a week, the fare has been reduced from one penny to a half-penny, and the highways committee reports to the city council a surplus of \$170,000.

The officials of the government are investigating the complaints entered by the trades unions of the Pacific coast that the provisions of the Geary exclusion act are being openly violated and that the Chinese are again pouring into the country, the claim being made that 10,000 have been landed in San Francisco alone in the past two years. It is generally known that the grossest frauds have been practiced in the administration of the law to exclude the Chinese.

Bull-headed bosses are responsible for more labor troubles than unreasonable workmen. If employers were as willing to be as fair as the workers are, nine-tenths of the strikes might be avoided.

The Western Union Telegraph company is about to install a modern telephone plant in the city of New York and to enter into active competition with the Bell telephone monopoly.

ORGANIZATION WANTED IN EVERY STATE OF THE UNION

In this column will be found calls upon the unattached Socialists in many states to communicate with comrades of the Social Democratic party. To these imitations special attention is called. The Social Democratic party stands (and moves) in this country for the principles of International Socialism. It seeks to organize the movement in every state and territory of the Union and solicits correspondence from Socialists wherever branches have not yet been started. Letters should be addressed to the National Secretary, The Social Democratic party is controlled by no individual, nor by any set of individuals short of its entire membership through the referendum. From its inception in June, 1898, to the present time it has stood for the principles of genuine democracy, notwithstanding all representations of designing and unscrupulous men to the contrary. Communicate with the organizer in your state. Full instructions and all necessary supplies for organizing local branches may be obtained by addressing the national secretary, Theodore Debs, 126 Washington street, Chicago.

California Socialists

Socialists resident in California and not members of the Social Democratic party are requested to communicate with John Carter, 929 Twenty-second street, San Francisco.

Oregon Socialists, Attention

You are requested to communicate with J. D. Stevens, Box 204, Portland, organizer for the S. D. P., with a view to instituting branches of the party in your community. The future belongs to Socialism. Lend a hand and get your state thoroughly organized.

Iowa Socialists

All reformers living in Iowa who are interested in the Social Democracy are requested to communicate with the undersigned. By unanimous vote of the S. D. P. branches of the state I have been made the party organizer for the state. I desire the name of every Socialist in Iowa. A. W. Ricker, Lone Tree, Iowa.

Arizona Socialists

In every community should correspond with M. J. Casper, Box 178, Globe, Tucson, Ariz. We have plans for keeping organizers in the field to organize branches in every town in Arizona before November; 500 Socialists

EUGENE V. DEBS TO ORGANIZED LABOR OF ST. LOUIS

In answer to an invitation to visit St. Louis Eugene V. Debs sent the following letter to the Central Trades and Labor union:

"Terre Haute, Ind., June 6, 1900.
"Central Trades and Labor Union, St. Louis, Mo.

"Dear Sirs and Brothers: Your communication in behalf of the executive committee of the C. T. and L. U., under date of the 2d inst., is with me and has been carefully noted. Unfortunately the appeal of the striking street-railway employees finds me confined to my bed, under the care of a physician. I am suffering from rheumatism, the result of exposure and overexertion.

"From the very beginning of the strike in your city I have been profoundly interested in its progress and final outcome, and had not imperative engagements, previously made, prevented, I should have voluntarily tendered my services to President Mahon and the Amalgamated Street Railway Employees' Association in their struggle to defend their members against the Transit company.

"In this struggle it is not necessary for me to say that my sympathies are entirely with the striking employees, and I only regret that my physical condition is such that I cannot put myself squarely on record in their interest by giving them my active support.

"The turbulence incident to the St. Louis strike has excited the usual flow of capitalistic comment. Of course it is claimed that the strikers are responsible for all the trouble. It is so easy for people who live out of the labor of others to talk about law and order. If only they were compelled to run a street car through crowded streets for nine or ten hours for a paltry wage, they would not wonder why honest and peaceable men are driven to extremities, in which fine points of law as to their conduct are simply mockery. As a matter of fact, they are not striking for their rights; but against tyranny and exploitation; and as the struggle involves not only their means of living, but their very lives, as well as the lives of their wives and babes, it would be strange indeed, and far more to their discredit than acts of violence incident to the strike, if they did not exert all the means at their command to prevent defeat and degradation.

"The St. Louis strike is an important battle in the great warfare for the liberation of the working class from the oppression and robbery of capitalism. Whatever may be the outcome it will be a victory for labor, for no strike is ever lost.

"I do not doubt this strike has opened the eyes of many of the working class

pledging 25 cents per month each will do it. Don't miss it—write at once.

North Dakota Socialists

Socialists residing in North Dakota and desiring to organize for effective propaganda work in that state are requested to correspond with Math. Eidsness, Tower, N. D.

To Our Washington Readers

Comrade D. Burgess of New Whatcom, Wash., has been selected as organizer for the state and is prepared to assist the Socialists of Washington in organizing branches of the S. D. P. Correspondence addressed to him will receive prompt attention.

Michigan Socialists

All Social Democrats and all unattached Socialists residing in Michigan are requested to write at once to Henry Ramsey, 84 Railroad street, Battle Creek, Mich., and thus aid in placing a Social Democratic state ticket in the field this fall.

Socialists of Tennessee

For the purpose of organizing branches and putting a ticket out this fall, the undersigned urges that you write to him at once. Also send him a list of all unattached Socialists. Wm. L. Hamilton, Organizer Branch No. 1, 323 Russell street, Nashville, Tenn.

Southern California, Attention

All Socialists in the seven southern counties of Southern California should now get to work and so far as possible form branches in every voting precinct. To further this end communicate at once with James T. Van Rensselaer, 1618 Toberman street, Los Angeles, Cal.

Attention, Nebraska

Persons living in Nebraska and accepting the principles of Socialism are requested to communicate with T. A. Edwards, 3220 California street, Omaha, with a view to the organization of branches of the Social Democratic party.

To Texas Socialists

For purpose of state organization, the Bonham Social Democratic branch requests that every Socialist in Texas who reads this notice, will please send name and address to the undersigned. Please attend to this at once. W. E. Farmer, Bonham, Texas.

to the power of capitalism in such a crisis. All departments of government are subject to the class which owns the means of production and distribution. Only the capitalist class can secure the issuance of injunctions, call into action the posse comitatus, swear in deputy sheriffs, call out the militia and command the federal troops to commit crowning acts of capitalistic despotism. The working class have only to submit—or be jailed or shot down. But surely such object lessons are not in vain. The Transit company, in its blind cupidity, is hastening its own doom. Collective ownership is the lesson taught, and the demand for it will spring spontaneously from such a situation.

"I wish you to tender my profound sympathy to President Mahon in this trying hour. I know him well, and there is not a more honest or courageous leader of the working class. I have seen him tried, and he has proven himself worthy of the confidence and esteem of all men. Under his leadership the men at St. Louis have made and are making a brave fight, and most heartily do I wish that complete victory may crown their struggle. The Central Trades and Labor union and the organized workers of St. Louis generally cannot be too highly commended for their loyal support of the strike. They have given to the country an exhibition of devotion to the cause of labor worthy of universal emulation. Mrs. Debs, who is writing this for me, and all our family, unite in the earnest wish that victory may come to the striking comrades. Yours fraternally,

"Eugene V. Debs."

PROGRESS IN MONTANA

Miners' union day is a great day for parading, but it is also a good day for doing a little thinking. The sooner the workingmen of this country begin to find out where their true interests lie, the better for Socialism. A number of far-seeing leaders among the union workers in Montana have taken up this question in earnest, as the proceedings of the last convention at Denver will show. For instance, the resolution of creating an educational bureau for the purpose of distributing Socialistic literature was introduced by citizens of Montana. Those workers of the Social Democratic party who started the movement in this state feel greatly encouraged by such favorable signs. The dawn of a new era in American politics is upon us. Under the leadership of Eugene V. Debs the Socialists are marching forward, and when next November the votes will be counted, the first battle will have been fought for the emancipation of the wage-workers.—The Reveille, Butte, Mont.

Social Democratic Herald

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board
JESSE COLE, Chairman
SEYMOUR STEEDMAN, Secretary
EUGENE V. DEBS, VICTOR L. BEGER
FREDERIC HEATH

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, 50 cents. Six months, 25 cents. No papers sent to any one on credit. If, without having subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and no bill will follow. Foreign subscriptions \$7.00.

Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

A. S. EDWARDS, Editor
THEODORE DEBS, National Sec'y-Treas.
126 Washington St., Chicago.

103 is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 104 your subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, JUNE 23, 1900.

SOMETHING ALL CAN DO

There is one way open for every member and every reader of this paper to help the campaign. It is to get out among friends and neighbors and secure new subscribers to the Herald. The circulation of this paper should go up to 50,000 in the next three months, and 5,000 men can put it there, too, if they will just hustle. We are not sending out "gentle notifications" that your services will be greatly appreciated in the coming campaign. We tell you here in the columns of your own paper that if you are a Social Democrat and anxious for ripening sympathizers into active workers and voters this year, you will quit the "patience on a monument" act and get down to business for Socialism—get subscribers to the Herald.

The Herald proposes to co-operate with its readers to the fullest extent possible to increase its list and help the campaign. To this end we have concluded to make a special campaign rate for new subscriptions covering the period from the first week in July to the close of the year—twenty-six weeks. The rate under this campaign offer will be 20 cents for the twenty-six weeks. With two months' canvass and enthusiastic work the members can enable us to start the campaign with 50,000 subscribers on the Herald list. That is worth striving for and means a tremendous vote for Socialism next November.

WHAT WE ARE DOING

While the wind blows and our enemies bellow the Social Democratic party continues without interruption its work of organizing the people for the great campaign and revolutionary Socialism. It is a proof of the splendid esprit du corps of the organization that it has weathered a storm and is giving every week evidences of growing strength and vitality. With charity for all, with malice toward none, it presses forward—a living movement, a potent factor and an unconquerable division of the Socialist army—to the realization of its hopes. Again this party hears from the people who are turning their faces toward it from every section of the country, and again we are enabled to convey cheering news to the readers of this paper. Eleven new branches organized and enrolled since the last issue of the Herald went to press, testifies as no other fact could to the accelerating growth of conscious Socialist sentiment in the country and the high favor in which the Social Democratic party stands with the people who are coming to accept our principles. There is everything to encourage and enthrall Social Democrats in the present prospect. Since the first day of the present month thirty-one new branches have been reported to this office, the last being one of fifty-two charter members (included in this week's list) at Cokeville, Pa.

Surely and irresistibly the Social Democratic party is generating its old-time power and re-enforcing its ranks for the historic campaign upon which it is about to enter.

Everywhere Socialism is the chief topic of conversation among men. Let Social Democrats everywhere take advantage of the present hour and prevailing sentiment and push forward the work of organization.

PRESENT DAY OPPORTUNITIES

When Justice Brewer of the United States Supreme court was asked if a young man of ability, integrity and industry nowadays could do what he had done, he made this reply. Note in it the support given to the argument of Socialists:

"I do not believe he would get the opportunity, for all the conditions are so changed. I could not have got such a start in any eastern city then. There are no frontier towns like Leavenworth now. I was a raw youth, with a very inadequate legal education, even though I had had a year in my Uncle David Dudley Field's office, and another year at the Albany Law school, and I had been admitted to the bar at Albany without examination and before I was quite 21. I could not have been elected to so important a judgeship as that of probate and criminal jurisdiction anywhere in the east, and I suppose there

is no place in the west where a similar young man could be elected now to a similar position. Opportunities, at least in my profession, are not so numerous now and the conditions of success are much harder. Of course, if a young man with the necessary qualifications has influential friends to get him a place with one of the great law firms in our largest cities and he is pushed along, he may succeed rapidly; but as a rule success even to the most favored comes slowly. No one can succeed without ability, attainments and persistent, concentrated hard work; but opportunity is equally essential."

The International Socialist Review

The first number of the International Socialist Review, appearing the first of July, will contain a number of interesting features. There will be an article by Rev. W. T. Brown on "Plutocracy or Democracy" that is one of the best things this well known Socialist writer has produced. "Socialism in England" is treated in a most thorough way by H. M. Hyndman, who has long been known as one of the pioneers of international Socialism, and as the author of "The Economics of Socialism" and "The Historical Basis of Socialism," both among the classics of the subject. Marcus Hitch of Chicago treats the subject of "Karl Marx and the Money Question" in a new and original manner that is sure to provoke much thought and discussion. Jean Longuet, a grandson of Karl Marx, and member of the editorial staff of both La Petite Republique and Le Mouvement Socialiste, sends a contribution on "French Political Parties and the Recent Elections," that not only gives some interesting news but also tells just what everyone has been wanting to know about the positions and relative strength of the different French political parties. "The Legislative Elections in Belgium" are discussed by Prof. Emile Vinck of the Nouvelle Universite of Brussels, who is also the secretary of the League of Socialist Municipal Councillors. One or two other articles have been promised but cannot be definitely announced as yet. In addition there will be the editorial review of the month, events in the labor world and general foreign news.

Among the delegates to the convention of that great "workingmen's" organization known as the republican party were the following:

John Lambert of Joliet, president American Steel and Wire company of New Jersey.

Isaac L. Ellwood of DeKalb, chairman board of directors American Steel and Wire company of New Jersey.

H. D. Judson of Aurora, superintendent Chicago, Burlington & Quincy railroad; travels only in a private car.

Frank O. Lowden of Chicago, Pullman Palace Car company.

Charles H. Deere of Moline, of the Moline Plow company and the so-called "plow trust."

Martin B. Madden of Chicago, president Western Stone company.

Frederick H. Smith of Peoria, banker and capitalist.

F. C. Rice of Galesburg, division superintendent Chicago, Burlington & Quincy railroad.

Pleasant T. Chapman of Vienna, railroad builder, capitalist and railroad director.

Because the street-car company broke its agreement with the employees and preferred force to arbitration, St. Louis has this object lesson: The strike at the end of thirty-two days has these totals: Persons killed 11; made insane, 2; persons shot, 57; persons injured, 167; children shot, 8; loss to city trade, \$22,500,000; loss in street-car fares, \$600,000; loss in wages, \$500,000; police on duty, 1,000; extra officers, 3,000; cars wrecked, 76.

The Socialists of Marion county, Ore., in order to test the strength of the Socialist sentiment, nominated F. A. Myers for school superintendent. The vote cast, 1,698, was a great surprise to the old parties, and gives the Socialists much encouragement. The republican candidate was elected by a vote of 3,030.

Signor Gallo, the government candidate for the presidency of the Italian chamber was elected by 242 votes against 214 cast for the Socialist candidate. It is thought that the present session will be even more stormy than the last.

The place to work for Socialism is in the organized Socialist movement. The clabbered nonsense about promoting the cause by holding aloof from it has no influence with a sane mind. Get into the Social Democratic party and push.

There is a great difference between a trust and a union—a trust is formed to increase the profits of a few men who have already wealth enough, while a union is formed to secure living wages for all underpaid working people.

Van Wyck, the notorious ice-trust man will give Bryan a cordial support on an anti-trust platform.

TO MAKE MEN FREE

To make men free has been the dream
Of every noble soul on earth—
To bring a better time to birth:
To see the future's hills agleam
With the first, holy light
Of a new era bright,
From which the human might
Of ages speeds away.
Its sable folds withdrawn
Before the golden dawn,
Where earth goes rolling on
Into the grander day.

To make men free from court and throne,
Free from the money-changer's greed,
Free from hypocrisy and creed,
Free from the dreaded lash of need,
And free to reap where they have sown;
Free from earth's scourge, the conqueror,
Free from the murderous lust of war,
Free from the robber's cry of more,
And free to have their own;

Free voluntarily to share
Their blessings for the common good;
Free to each other's burdens bear,
In helpfulness and brotherhood;
Free in security to live
And seek the blessing of content;
Free in the freedom love can give,
The freedom of enlightenment!

To make men free! It is with me
The dearest purpose of my heart,
That I may know and do my part,
To help the cause of liberty;
My energy and life to be
Made consecrate to the one theme,
The single purpose and the dream,
In every land, to make men free—
To make men free.

A SUPREME FARCE

By Chas. French

When Lord Russell, Chancellor of England, visited this country a few years ago, he was asked by a reporter what he thought of "our glorious Constitution." To his questioner's blank surprise his lordship frankly avowed that the document referred to was quite beyond his comprehension. "How can I understand it," added the chancellor, "when it appears to be beyond the legal acumen of the justices of your supreme court? You, no doubt, are aware, as well as I am, that in 1862, under Mr. Lincoln's administration, the supreme court decided that an income tax was constitutional; but, later on, under the Cleveland administration, it declared that the income tax, which had become law by act of Congress, was not constitutional."

Any well informed and outspoken citizen could have informed the British chancellor that the obscurity lay not in the constitution, but in the pettifogging judges who had distorted its meaning at the dictation of their masters—the money kings and monopolists.

It may be affirmed, without fear of contradiction, that the whole administration of justice in this trust-ridden country has become a by-word of contempt in the mouth of every well meaning and intelligent American. It is not only the foe of honest labor, but the worst enemy of honest government.

It is too notorious to need repetition that our plutocrats and railroad wreckers purchase law as they purchase land or other property. Indeed, American administration of justice may be likened to a spider's web, which catches the small insects, but allows the big gold bugs to break through its slender meshes with impunity. It cannot be denied that a defaulting bank president or cashier is occasionally confined in "durance vile"; but he rarely remains there after he places a part of his booty where, in popular phrase, it will do him the most good.

On the other hand, it may be interesting to observe that our laws are usually administered with tyrannical rigor on delinquents who lack the arguments so effectively employed by rich offenders. A few years ago, for example, a poor inhabitant of a town in New Jersey was imprisoned for his inability to pay a tax of fifty cents upon a dog. After several days of incarceration the prisoner was released by proving, beyond doubt, that the dog did not belong to him! Again, a pauper in Staunton, Va., was imprisoned for life for stealing 37 cents worth of bacon. Another offender, in the person of a poor Russian widow, was fined \$5 and sent to jail for selling a pair of shoestrings in New York on the "Lord's Day."

I tell you, my working friends, it is simply absurd to expect our judges to be honest under this regime of competitive terrorism. Falsehood, corruption and trickery spring out of the capitalistic system as stench rises from carrion. Under its pestilential influence the majority of us are more or less dishonest than we wish to be. One of the most audacious falsehoods ever put in circulation is the ancient adage that "Cheating never prospers." In this rough-and-tumble scramble for unearned wealth the honest competitor will always be beaten hollow by the artful dodger and plausible rogue.

But Socialism is at length illuminating the long and dreary nightmare of capitalism, and telling the masses, in trumpet tones, that the present economic and social system is driving them down into the ways of brutes by giving them a bare subsistence, in good times, and starving them in dull times. There is no denying that large masses of the wage slaves of New England have by a long course of depressing treatment, been made slavish in their spirit, and debased to the belief that there is no higher motive of existence than enriching their already wealthy masters.

It may be plausibly affirmed that such people may be unfit for a Socialistic form of government; but it cannot, on

the other hand, be too often insisted that Socialism is the only system that can help them up into developed manhood, and qualify them for a higher form of government. Under present conditions you may vote and "resolute till the cows come home," but any legislation in favor of labor which you may secure by suffrage will be declared unconstitutional by the supreme court. It is about as futile for you to fence with this powerful antagonist as it would be for a simple rustic to play with an accomplished card-sharpener. Your old enemy, the capitalist, will always have a trump card up his sleeve in the form of a supreme court decision, and annul your statutes every time.

In view of these considerations it must be as apparent as any evidence can make it that if we desire to emancipate ourselves from the bondage of capitalism we must accept Socialism as only another name for a series of struggles, the aim of which is to accomplish the economic and social deliverance of the working classes.

THE ECONOMIC JUGGERNAUT

Hoarse, horrible and strong
Rises to heaven that agonizing cry,
Filling the arches of the hollow sky,
"How long, O God, how long?"
—Whittier.

The trail of the Commercial Serpent is over us all!

Any keen observer who meets many people cannot help noting how our economic juggernaut is smashing morality, out of humanity. The whole world is writhing in the throes of commercialism. No matter how good your life or how great your nobility of soul, my friend, your acquaintances will rate you high or low—a "failure" or a "success"—according to whether you have accumulated much or little temporal goods. Great questions of state are delayed or expedited just as they decrease or increase dividends. The question is not "Is it true and noble?" but "Is there anything (financial) in it?" The usefulness of statesmen is gauged by this same commercial instinct, and they rise or fall as they cater to or oppose it.

Dozens of men have confessed to the writer that they are tired of the terrible grind. They feel that "something is wrong," but just what it is they don't know. When pressed they say they would like to "read up" on Socialism, but they are so intensely engaged in earning a mere living that they have no time. A bright, strong woman who travels out of Chicago for a certain firm, on being asked how the situation appeared among her customers, replied: "It seems that they have to work much harder and longer to get the same results as formerly." She said she would be glad to learn something about Socialism, but "At the end of each day," she remarked, "I am so dead tired that I just tumble into bed, sleep till morning, and then arise and renew the treadmill." But she gladly agreed to read a small book which was furnished her by one who is helping to hold up the hands of those great souls who are fighting the battle of right against organized greed—nay, against even the oppressed themselves; for the latter are too often amazingly dull and obstructive.

I noted with approval a week or so ago, in "Jack Potts' Observations" in the Social Democratic Herald, his complaint that many men who preach brotherhood do not work and vote for it. Can these men not see the crying necessity for doing something objectively as well as subjectively? Can they not see the lax morality of women as well as men which in thousands of cases is directly traceable to our unscientific commercial system? True, all reform, like charity, should begin "at home"—in the individual; but to be collectively symmetrical it should proceed along economic lines as well. There is much apathy on this subject among my brotherhood friends. More than that—sometimes, actual hostility! But in many cases this has changed to strong sympathy on gaining a more intelligent viewpoint. To all men who believe in the brotherhood of humanity, without regard to "race, creed, sex, caste or color," comes the question: Are you willing to do even so little as to vote for it? You vote, don't you? A Catholic priest said to the writer recently that the reform contemplated by Socialists would minimize crime. Of course it would. The principle of Socialism is not an ephemeral thing of barter and trade. It aims to objectify the brotherhood of man, which exists esoterically; and in that esoteric brotherhood at least, we are all on the same "dead level"! The cold, "clammmy lie of negation" will not keep it down forever. You can help it by your vote! And you will be in good company. Note how the men and women of broad, deep religious minds are lining up on our side; and some of them are losing good jobs by so doing. After all, it is a religious as much as a political matter. No living man can refute the Socialist argument, for it is founded on a rock.

Forrest S. Green, F. T. S.

Do not forget the picnic nor how to reach the grounds. Arriving at the terminal of the Metropolitan Elevated at Forty-eighth street, take the La Grange electric car direct to grounds.

AMONG THE TOILERS

J. J. Eager, another populist leader of Texas, has left his party and is stumping the state for Socialism.

The tin plate trust has closed down some of its plants indefinitely. Several hundred men are out of jobs.

The theatrical trust of New York city has entered into a new contract extending the life of the trust to 1904.

Ten seats were won in the municipal election of Chaux de Fonds and eleven at Locle, Switzerland, by the Socialists.

In Wasungen, Germany, Socialist candidate for legislature was elected. Capitalist parties combined against him.

In the election for members of the legislature of Meiningen, Germany, the Socialists won six out of twenty-four seats.

When a man can think of no good argument against unions, he abuses those who are active in the labor movement.

The greatest hotel in the world is being built at Mecca by orders of the sultan. It will accommodate 5,000 guests.

Prof. C. W. Gibbs, a negro educator of note, has become a convert to Socialism and is making speeches in the southwest.

Waiter girls in Munich restaurants seldom receive any pay from their employers. Their fees amount to from 50 cents to \$5 a day.

While the Standard Oil company has raised the wages of 2,000 employees 10 per cent, it is said ten of its owners are making 2,000 per cent.

A contract has been secured by an American firm to furnish 60,000 tons of coal per month to a large German manufacturing syndicate in Germany.

The tube trust has closed down some of its branch establishments and about a thousand more workers have time to think of the beauties of capitalism.

The works of the Pressed Steel Car company at McKees Rocks, Pa., will be enlarged at once so as to make the output 180 railroad freight cars per day.

At the State Federation of Labor convention in Colorado it was shown that the only labor law to stand the test of courts was that legalizing union labels.

The world's cotton crop for the year 1899 is stated to have been 13,932,000 bales of 500 pounds each, of which the United States produced 11,235,000 bales.

The biggest pontoon bridge in the world is being built on the Tyne, England, for the Spanish government. It will be in six sections and capable of bearing up 12,000 tons.

The Prussian diet has reported favorably a bill taxing department stores. The tax proposed is 20 per cent on the stores that annually sell goods to the value of 300,000 marks or over.

The civic guard of Antwerp, Belgium, rebelled against obnoxious rules, sang the "Marseillaise" and nearly mobbed superior officers. Government fears the spirit of revolt will spread to other cities.

The steel railroad freight car weighs 35,000 pounds, or about the same as the wooden car, but will easily and safely carry 100,000 pounds of freight, whereas the wooden car carries only 70,000 pounds.

Secretary Gage of the United States treasury department has consented to the admission of some 50,000 foreign contract laborers to work on railroads over the protest of the immigration commissioner.

The Longshoremen's union has sixteen branches in New York city and vicinity and will demand 60 cents per hour for work on Sundays and Christmas day and whenever work is continued during meal hours.

London, England, will install a municipal telephone system at a cost of \$10,000,000. It will thus defeat a telephone trust and revolutionize telephone charges. The charge of the private company is \$75 for installation, and this will be reduced to \$15, with other charges proportionate.

Sheriff Pohlman at St. Louis, Mo., attempted to draft judges, bankers, brokers, attorneys and other prominent citizens as deputies to protect property during the carmen's strike, but they all had some excuse, the majority pleading sickness as an excuse for serving, and the sheriff says an epidemic must have broken out in the city, as all the prominent citizens seem to be disabled.

Ernst Windhovel, formerly of Solinger, Germany, who has not sent news of his whereabouts to his parents for eight years, is requested to send his present address to the undersigned. If any readers of this paper have information about him they will confer a favor by writing to the undersigned. Ernst Von der Stinen, 454 South Orange avenue, Newark, N. J.

The Union Label

on everything you buy is a guarantee that the producers thereof receive a fair rate of wages for its production

Insist on having the label

NOTICE TO BRANCHES

The quarterly dues for the quarter ending Sept. 30 are due at the headquarters, 126 Washington St., Chicago, Ill., on or before July 5. Prompt remittance is of the highest importance to insure the interests of the organization, and the branches are urged to provide for the collection, which should be begun at once.

NEW BRANCHES

Fisher, Minn.
Avery, Iowa.
Chicago, Ill. (two).
Natick, Mass.
Sawtelle, Calif.
North Woods, Wash.
Cokeville, Pa.
Fort Morris, N. J.
Rockford, Ill.
Kansas City, Mo.

NOTES FROM THE FIELD

A desire has been expressed for the organization of a women's Socialist club for Chicago, which promises to be realized at the Social Democratic picnic on the Fourth. Wives of members and their friends who think a club composed wholly of women would be helpful to the cause of Socialism as well as to themselves are urgently requested to send name and address to Mrs. Mary Horgan, 1495 Fulton street, as soon as convenient, in order that proper arrangements may be perfected for the organization at Bergmann's grove.

We are sorry to announce that Comrade E. V. Debs has been confined to his bed for several days and is advised by his physician that absolute rest is necessary to an early restoration to health. The difficulty is due to over-exertion and exposure incident to our comrade's remarkable lecture tour of the country during the past year.

At a meeting of Branch No. 4, Chicago, last Friday, the new constitution was taken up and acted upon. It was unanimously adopted. Three new members were admitted at the same meeting. This branch has never been in more flourishing condition than now.

Branch No. 10, New York city, rejected the overtures of the New York and Massachusetts committee on fusion, declined to send a delegate to the fusion convention and voted unanimously in favor of the constitution.

The reply of Branch No. 1 of Skowhegan, Maine, to the Butcher circular was that the referendum of the organization is supreme, that the members abide by it and have full and entire confidence in the national officers.

Every branch in Chicago is requested to forthwith organize a picnic committee for the purpose of disposing of tickets for the annual picnic on July 4. Communicate with Organizer W. C. Horgan, 1495 Fulton street.

There will be no attraction for Socialists in Chicago on the Fourth equal to the Social Democratic party picnic. This is the second annual outdoor gathering of the party, and a big crowd is expected.

Ten days remain in which comrades and friends may push the sale of the picnic tickets. If you can dispose of ten, drop a postal card to Comrade W. C. Horgan and say so.

In going to the picnic grounds, Bergmann's grove, on the Fourth, take the La Grange electric line from Forty-eighth street, and look out for big sign near the grove.

The Social Democrats of Pike county, Illinois, have nominated a full county ticket and are preparing for an aggressive campaign.

The comrades of San Antonio, Texas have decided to put a full county ticket in the field and great enthusiasm prevails.

Ferdinand Svoboda has been elected secretary and Frank Hlavacek re-elected organizer of Branch 2, Chicago. State Organizer Fred Brockheisen of Wisconsin has organized a Scandinavian branch in Milwaukee.

Comrade Gus Geisler has been elected organizer of Branch No. 2, Massachusetts.

National Bohemian Council

At a joint meeting of the Bohemian branches of Chicago last Sunday the most encouraging reports of growth and progress were made. Branch No. 5 will organize a Social Democratic bicycle club. Branch No. 8 will organize a new branch at Grand Crossing. Requests having been made from friends outside Chicago that a national body of Bohemian Social Democrats be organized for the purpose of extending the organization and promoting co-operation for more effective propaganda, the meeting decided upon such organization which will be composed of two representatives from each local branch throughout the country. All Bohemian branches are requested to elect immediately two delegates to this

central organization. A meeting of the delegates will be called in the near future to perfect the organization. When the central council is in working order a national congress of Bohemian Social Democrats will be held.

New Haven Endorses the Board

At the last meeting of Branch No. 3, S. D. P., of New Haven, the following resolution was adopted and ordered published in the Social Democratic Herald and the Forwards:

"Resolved, That Branch No. 3, S. D. P., of New Haven, has indorsed the action of the national executive board in reference to the claim that the referendum settles the question of unity at present."

Charles Vollmer, Secretary.

Bingham's Loyal Branch

Whereas, It has been decided by a referendum vote of the Social Democratic party refusing to unite with the Socialist Labor party; and,

Whereas, In defiance of said decision, five members of the nine composing the Social Democratic party committee on unification—namely, Butcher, Chase, Hochu, Carey and Longtree—united with a faction of the S. L. P., thereby openly defying the will of the majority and thwarting the power of the referendum and actually united with a faction of the S. L. P. in starting an imitation S. D. P.; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we condemn the conduct of Butcher, Chase, et al., and fully indorse the worthy conduct of our esteemed Comrades Debs, Haile, Berger and Stedman at the convention on May 20.

We also appeal to all true Socialists to rally around the original standard of the S. D. P. and support its candidates.

W. J. Burdette, Secretary.

MASSACHUSETTS CONVENTION

To the Members of the Social Democratic Party in Massachusetts: The annual state convention of the Social Democratic party in Massachusetts will be held on July 8, 1900, at 10 o'clock a. m., at Paine Memorial hall, 9 Appleton street, Boston, for the nomination of a state ticket and of fifteen presidential electors and the transaction of such other business as may properly come before the convention.

Each branch is entitled to be represented at said convention by one delegate at large, and one additional delegate for every ten members or major fraction thereof, who shall be certified by the secretary and chairman of the branch to have been upon the books of the branch on June 12, 1900, the date of the issuing of the call.

It was voted by the state committee that "the S. L. P. be entitled to send delegates to said convention upon the same basis of representation as the delegates of the S. D. P.—viz., one to every ten members—said S. L. P. delegates to be admitted to all rights and privileges of the convention after the election of a state committee by the S. D. P."

Margaret Haile,

Secretary State Committee S. D. P.

From Far-Off Olympia

At a called meeting of Branch No. 6, Olympia, Wash., held June 10, the matter of the new constitution was presented, discussed and the same accepted by a unanimous vote.

The following resolutions were presented by Comrade J. B. Cutter, and, after much discussion, accepted, and the secretary was requested to mail them to the S. D. Herald and Appeal to Reason:

"Whereas, The referendum vote of the S. D. P. puts an end to an undesirable proposed unity; and,

"Whereas, Our gallant standard-bearer, E. V. Debs, and our loyal executive board, who have nobly and courageously discharged their duty, are at this time the subjects of infamous and unmerited censure, when entitled to earnest and hearty support; therefore,

"Resolved, That Branch No. 6, Olympia, Wash., emphatically upholds them and indorses the numerous protests which have been put forth against overtures and compromises with any party for any purpose whatsoever. Be it further

"Resolved, That we object to being flooded with literature hostile to our known convictions, sent out by persons who audaciously and shamelessly denounce and defame our presidential candidate, whose unparalleled self-sacrifice, ability and heroic devotion to principle have consistently culminated in a party whose membership can neither be cajoled nor stampeded.

"We therefore pledge our unqualified fidelity to the only and original Social Democratic party, and call upon all comrades everywhere to stand shoulder to shoulder in the conflict now upon us."

H. S. Geneva Lake, Chairman.

"The transformation of the crowd into the people—profound task! It is to this labor that the men called Socialists have devoted themselves during the last forty years. The author of this book, however insignificant he may be, is one of the oldest in this labor. If he claims his place among these philosophers it is because it is a place of persecution."—Victor Hugo, in "Shakespeare."

States His Objections

At the last regular meeting of Branch No. 4, Social Democratic party, of Bingham, Utah, action was taken on the constitution, which was adopted by an overwhelming majority, there being but one dissenting vote, which was cast by myself.

One of my objections to the constitution is that many sentences in various sections could be shortened without any loss of effect. It has long been my opinion that the constitution of the successful Socialist party must be brief; that the greatest caution should be taken against a copious use of words; but I admit that this objection is trivial. It embarrassed me to stand alone in opposition to the judgment of all the members of my branch. But as my objections were based on a firm conviction, I resolved not to yield. I have no talent for public speaking, and therefore could not make my objections very clear. I have been a Socialist for many years, and for the success of the Socialist cause my enthusiasm knows no bounds.

I have at all times been under the impression that the fundamental principle of Socialism is majority rule; that the expressed will of a majority is to be supreme—from which there can be no appeal. It seems to me that sections 17 and 33 conflict with this principle.

Section 17 says: "Any person desiring membership shall make application to the local branch, upon being recommended by a member of said branch, and if accepted by a majority vote shall be enrolled as a member."

This part of section 17 I would not hesitate to support, for in my judgment it sufficiently covers the whole subject. But the section proceeds: "Upon objection to his admission being made, the matter shall be referred by the branch to the central committee of the locality, which shall have power to act in the matter. In case the decision of the local committee shall be against the applicant, upon appeal by the said person, or by the branch to which he has applied, the national executive board shall have power of final action in the matter."

Then it is the national executive board that has power of final action—not a majority of the branch members.

I find in section 33: "Any member violating the laws or principles of the organization may be suspended or expelled by a two-thirds vote of the members in good standing of the local branch of which he is a member; provided, that any charges against such member shall be preferred in writing, and the accused shall be entitled to a fair trial. The person so accused, if dissatisfied with the decision of the local branch, may appeal to the national executive board, and the person or persons preferring such charges shall have a like appeal to the national executive board. The action of the executive board on such case shall be final."

It seems to me that part of section 17 and all of section 33 should be changed. If the delegates who drew up the constitution believed in majority rule, why did they adopt this intricate form? The executive board is the creature of our organization, and is to have power to overrule the expressed will of a majority of the members of a local branch in local matters. If it is safe to admit a member by a majority vote, why should it be dangerous to suspend or expel without a two-thirds majority vote? Cannot the members of the local branch settle its local matters without appealing to this creature? I am opposed to delegate power in every form that it can be avoided.

Any one claiming to be a Socialist if he objected to majority rule, would appear very ridiculous, would he not? This "two-thirds vote" to expel is certainly a departure from majority rule. My apprehensions may seem groundless to all who can make clear the true import of the sections to which I have taken exception. But I have believed at all times since I began to study the situation that straight-up majority rule is the only system by which all questions can be settled to the entire satisfaction of the majority.

E. L. Powell.

Freedom and Liberty

Till a man is independent he is not free. The man who is in danger of want is not a free man, and the country which does not guard him against this danger or does not insure him the means of livelihood is not a free country, though it may be the freest of the free countries.

Liberty and poverty are incompatible, and if the poverty is extreme liberty is impossible. The unrest which we call labor troubles is nothing more nor less than an endeavor for the liberty which the working classes think they see the employing classes possessed of.—William Dean Howells.

Oh, labor, labor! Creator, sacred creator! It is thou who ennobles. It is thou who consoles. Under thy footsteps ignorance is dissipated and pain flees. By thee humanity has leaped over the barriers of the night and mounts unceasingly toward that luminous and serene region where, one day, will be realized the ideal and the perfect accord of the power of justice and of good.—Millerand, Socialist, in his opening speech at Paris Exposition.

LOCAL BRANCHES

Notices of Branch Meetings inserted for 25 cents per month

CALIFORNIA

Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evening, commencing at 8 o'clock. Admission free. Educational meetings (for members) every Tuesday evening. Sociology, Economics, Public Speaking, etc.

Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening.

Membership, with advantage of Educational Course and Social Democratic Herald free to each member, 25 cents per month.

Apply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk street.

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 8 o'clock at Woodmen's Hall, 1234 Spring St. J. Frane, 700 Dayton Ave., Secretary.

Branch No. 5, Alameda, California, holds free public meetings every Sunday, 8 p. m. at Forsters Hall, 100 Park St. and Santa Clara Ave. Business and Educational meetings (for members) 1st and 3rd Mondays, 8 p. m. at 2406 Euclid Ave. Allan A. Crockett, Secretary, 1810 Walnut St.

COLORADO

Branch No. 1, Denver, meets every Sunday at 3:30 p. m. at 1715 California Ave. Chas. M. Davis, Secretary, 1630 17th Street.

Branch No. 2, Goldfield, meets every Sunday at 7:30 p. m. at City Hall. Chas. La Camp, Secretary.

CONNECTICUT

The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Monday of each month at Turn Hall, Rockville, L. S. Hall, Secretary.

Branch No. 4, New Haven, meets every Wednesday evening, at 8 p. m., at Aurora Hall. C. Vollmer, Sec.

Branch No. 4, Rockville, Conn., meets first and third Thursdays at Turn Hall meeting room, Village street. Secretary, Richard Niederwieser, Box 780.

ILLINOIS

Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 52 Dearborn St.

Branch No. 1, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening. Thomas Kirwin, Secretary, 254 Westworth Ave.

Branch No. 2 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Mondays at 8 p. m. at Nagli's Hall, 535 Blue Island Ave. Vaclav Jelinek, Secretary, 606 Blue Island Ave.

Branch No. 3 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Mondays at 8 p. m. in Dime's place, 1000 W. 15th place, 4000 W. 15th place.

Branch No. 4, Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays of each month at Andr. Muzik's, 40 Spring St. Paul Chlapicka, Secretary, 395 Lurie St.

Branch No. 5 (German), Chicago, meets every first Saturday each month at 8 o'clock at Nagli's Hall, 535 Blue Island Ave. near 18th St. Albin Giesler, Secretary, 725 W. 20th St.

Branch No. 8 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays, at 8 p. m., at 545 Leno Street. J. A. Ambros, Secretary, 4910 Wood Street.

Branch No. 9, Chicago, meets at 1145 W. 33rd st., first and third Sundays at 3 p. m. Roswell H. Johnson, Secretary, 632 E. 51st St.

INDIANA

Branch No. 4, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichwein's Hall, corner Market and Noble Sts.

IOWA

Branch No. 2, Hileman, meets every fourth Friday at the month at opera house. S. B. Jameson, chairman. James Fisher, organizer. Joseph Schellack, secretary.

MARYLAND

Branch No. 1, Baltimore, meets every Sunday at 3 p. m. at Carpenter's Hall, 50 E. Baltimore St. Public invited.

Branch No. 2, Baltimore, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at Wenzel's Hotel, 426 W. Camden st. Good speeches. Public invited. Levin T. Jones, Secretary, 202 W. Garret st.

MASSACHUSETTS

The Massachusetts State Committee meets the first Saturday of each month at 724 Washington St., Boston. All dues and moneys intended for the State Committee should be sent to the financial secretary, A. McDonald, 104 W. Spring field St., Boston. All other correspondence should be addressed to the Corresponding Secretary, Margaret Haile, 5 Glenwood St., Roxbury.

Branch No. 2, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Mondays of each month at Springfield-Turner Hall. Gus Geisler, Organizer, 561 Sumner St.

Branch No. 3, Holyoke, permanent headquarters, 71 Monroe St. Business meeting every Monday night at 8 p. m. Open house. Public invited. Harry Guttmir, Sec., 12 Essex St.

Branch No. 4, Brockton, meets Friday nights at 8 p. m. for lectures at Socialist Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Center Sts. Every comrade is expected to attend one meeting a month. Mrs. Annie Bosworth, Secretary, 8 Prospect St.

Branch No. 15, East Boston, meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 99 Chelsea St. Miss Jennie Segal, Secretary, 99 Chelsea St.

Branch No. 16, Newbury port, meets the second Monday of each month at Lusk's Hall, 57 Pleasant St. T. H. Connell, Secretary, 16 Collins st. A. L. Butler, 258 Marine St.

Branch No. 20, Roxbury, Mass., meets at 24 Warren st., 21 and 4th Fridays of every month. Public invited.

Branch No. 21, Chelsea, permanent headquarters, Room 2, Postoffice Building. Open every evening. Business meetings every Thursday at 8 p. m. Public invited.

EDITOR'S LETTER BOX

Dear Comrade Editor: We are being told by a comrade who has recently returned from the west, and is therefore presumably well posted, that the N. E. B. are in the party for revenue only. As you are on the spot, perhaps you can tell us how much revenue they have derived from it. We would like to know how much they are getting out of the funds of the party, and will feel obliged for the information.

Lochbuy.

[If the "recently returned" has any knowledge of the relation of the members of the N. E. B. to the movement and the party since June, 1898, he knows that he lies; he knows that not a single man of them has received one penny from the organization for any service rendered; he knows that each and every one of them has paid out of his own pocket money to meet expenses connected with the work in which he was interested; he knows that hundreds of dollars have been expended by these men for the sole purpose of advancing the interests of the cause and the welfare of our organization, and all with no prospect whatever of return from any source, immediate or remote.]

M. H.—The document styled a "call" for a convention and signed by "R. A. Morris, Sec.," was received, read and thrown into the waste basket. We have no disposition or space in which to explain why to you. Get a copy, read it and if you can't understand why we decline to print slush of that description, nothing we can say will be all likely to enlighten you.

SOCIALISM in the coming issue in politics. You need to know it, and in either case you need to understand it, and you need to read **The International Socialist Review**.

Published by Chas. H. Kerr & Co.
By special arrangement with the publishers we offer THE REVIEW and THE HERALD one year for each \$1.00. The first number of The Review appears July 1, 1900. Address this Office.

MICHIGAN

Branch No. 1, Battle Creek, Mich., meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of each month, at 3 p. m. at 10 W. Main Street, in the International Congress Hall. All are cordially invited. L. C. Rogers, Secretary.

MINNESOTA

Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Geswein, on Main St. A. Kingsbury, Secretary.

MISSOURI

St. Louis headquarters, Room 7, 22 N. Fourth St. Address all communications to E. Val Putnam, Secretary. For information concerning ward branches, inquire at the above address.

Branch No. 7, Kansas City, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1800 Union Ave. G. J. Storz, Secretary, 1330 W. 9th St.

MONTANA

Branch No. 2 meets first and third Sundays of each month at G. W. Wood's home, Chico, Mont.

NEW JERSEY

Branch No. 1, Camden, N. J., meets every 2nd Sunday of the month. For particulars address: Paul Eberding, 1230 Kaighn's Avenue.

Branch No. 3 (German) Newark, meets every third Saturday, at International Hall, 7 Bedford St. Hans Hartwig, Secretary, 7 Bedford St.

Branch No. 6 (German), Paterson, N. J., meets first and third Saturdays at 8 p. m. at Heitold Hall, 54-56 Van Houten St. Karl Linder, Secretary, 546 Edmond St.

NEW YORK

The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York, meets every second Tuesday at 412 Grand street, Wood or Hall. James Allman, Secretary, 52 Suffolk care of "Forward."

East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every first and third Thursday at 112 Clinton St. A. Guyer, Secretary, 153 Suffolk St.

Branch No. 2, 24th Assembly District, meets second and fourth Wednesdays of the month at 1059 Second Ave., at the "Central." Henry Laug, Secretary, 324 E. 90th St.

Branch No. 4, West Side Branch, New York, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of every month at headquarters, 189 W. 96th St. Elizabeth H. Thomas, Secretary.

Branch No. 5 Brooklyn, New York, meets every Saturday at 8 p. m. at 50 Moore St. Visitors welcome. Comrades desiring to organize should communicate with Secretary, 201 Presque, 100 Avenue St.

Branch No. 10, New York, meets every Friday, at 8 p. m., 200 E. Broadway. Lectures and discussions. Public invited.

Branch No. 12, Brooklyn, headquarters, 231 Rutledge St. Meets every third Thursday at 8:15 sharp. All persons interested are invited to attend these meetings and co-operate in organizing local branches in every district in the city.

Wm. Butcher, Secretary, 231 Rutledge St.

Branch No. 24, regular meetings are held first and third Friday of the month, at Webster Hall, 14th St. and Third Ave. Honorary, E. E. Byrnes, Secretary, 317 E. 14th St. All persons interested in Socialism and the S. D. P. are invited to attend.

OHIO

Branch No. 2, Cleveland, meets in Ohlsen's Hall, 65 York St., second and fourth Sundays at 3 p. m. Lectures, discussions, business meetings first and third Fridays at 8 p. m.

Branch No. 3, Cleveland, meets first and third Sundays in each month at 8 p. m. in Ohlsen's Hall, 65 York St. Lectures and discussions.

Branch No. 4, Cincinnati, meets at Richfield Hall on 1st, 3rd, 5th, 7th, 9th, 11th, 13th, 15th, 17th, 19th, 21st, 23rd, 25th, 27th, 29th, 31st. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Jos. Ja-in, Secretary, 1410 Central Avenue.

Branch No. 5, Dayton, Ohio, meets every 2d and 4th Friday evening, in Hall 27, Central Trades-Council Block. Everyone interested in Socialism invited. J. C. Schaw, Chairman, W. Barringer, Secretary, P. O. Box 28.

Branch No. 8, Cincinnati, meets every second and fourth Saturday in Workingmen's Hall, 1215 Walnut St. F. Hamel, Secretary, 1844 Frantz St.

Branch No. 11, Cincinnati, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m. at 1215 Walnut St. Ed Greiner, Secretary, 306 Mohawk St.

PENNSYLVANIA

Branch No. 2, Erie, meets every Sunday, 3 p. m., at K. of L. Hall, 716 State. Chairman, Joseph Stain, Secretary, J. E. Perry, 118 Nassau St.

Branch No. 4, Pittsburgh, meets every Thursday evening at 7:30 p. m. at Funk Hall, 8, 10th and Josephine Sts. W. J. Bonn, President, 244 Ad-olson St. J. H. Lewis, Secretary, 213 Jane St.

Branch No. 5 (Jewish), Philadelphia, meets every Friday at 8:30, Third St. at 7:30. Discussion from 8 to 9. I. Garson, Secretary.

WASHINGTON

Branch No. 5, Tacoma, meets every Monday evening at 8 p. m., 418 11th Street.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee Central Committee, S. D. P., meets first Monday of the month at Brewers' Headquarters, southeast corner Fourth and Chestnut st.

Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets at Kallier's Hall, Fourth Street, between State and Prairie, every second and fourth Thursday evening.

Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Friday in Geatke's Hall, corner Green Bay and Concord Ave.

Branch No. 3, Sheboygan, meets every fourth Thursday of the month at Gustav Burgard's Hall on 1st St., Pennsylvania Ave. R. Schoen, Secretary, Treasurer, R. 12th St.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday each month at Meller's Hall, corner 2nd and Brown Sts. George Muenchel, Secretary, 891 25th St.

Branch No. 5, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at R. Rigel's Hall, southeast corner Orchard St. and 9th Ave. O. Wild Secretary.

Branch No. 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of each month at Krane's Hall, 21 and Center St., at 8 p. m. Secretary, Rudolph Loschman, 1125 4th St.

Branch No. 23 Milwaukee, meets second and fourth Wednesday of each month, at 524 Clara street. Henry Harbicht, Sec., 1074 7th Street.

IF YOU SYMPATHIZE WITH TRADE UNIONS

You will encourage the sale of UNION LABEL GOODS.

If you want Union Label Shoes demand the above Union Stamp. No shoe is Union made unless it bears the Union Stamp. No charge or royalty for the Union Stamp. Visit your shoe dealer and take no excuses. See latest list of factories. Subscribe for "The Union Boot and Shoe Worker" 50 cents per year.

Boot and Shoe Workers Union, 620 Atlantic Ave., Boston, Mass.

Now Ready!—135 Pages!

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRACY RED BOOK

EDITED BY FREDERIC HEATH

Printed on Plate Paper Handsomely Illustrated

This is an annual publication

SITUATION IN MASSACHUSETTS

Congratulations to you, comrades of Indianapolis, Oregon, Baltimore, New York, Brooklyn and Milwaukee, upon the noble stand you have taken, as announced in this week's Herald. I regret that Massachusetts lags behind; but we are still in the thick of the fight here, as is natural, this state having been the headquarters of the rebellion. But we're coming, boys, we're coming!

Alas for our one-time harmonious organization in this state! And alas for the attempt to force upon us an untimely union, the fruits whereof are contention and disruption!

Our hitherto united branches are divided into two factions by the action of those who, in defiance of the will of the majority, are still determined to carry their point. One faction believes in the rule of the majority, and stands by the referendum of May 7, the S. D. P. and Debs, and is willing to co-operate politically with the S. L. P. in the coming campaign; the other does not want political co-operation, but insists upon organic union forthwith. Of the latter faction Haverhill takes the unworthy lead, while Brockton heads the faction which is loyal to principle and to party. One mayor and one representative took part in the illegal conference of May 20 and the attempted organization of a new party. The other mayor and representative, Coulter and MacCartney, stand solid as a rock for democracy, for Debs and for the S. D. P. Up to date twenty-five branches have lined up with Brockton; probably fourteen are with Haverhill; three are about evenly divided and eight are uncertain.

Hitherto the principal scene of contest between the two factions has been the state committee, but it will undoubtedly be transferred to the state convention on July 8, if the minority still insist upon organic union. Our state committee had to have three different meetings over the calling of the state convention. The first was held immediately after the result of the referendum was known, and resulted in a deadlock, eight members out of twelve being present, four of whom voted for a united convention with the S. L. P., and four for a separate convention and political co-operation. At the next meeting, all twelve members being present, a motion for a united convention was carried, by 7 to 5, at which "the S. D. P. delegates should be admitted with the same powers and privileges possessed by the representatives of the S. D. P." Some voted for this, on the misunderstanding that it meant only political union; and as there immediately arose among the branches much discussion as to what it really did mean, and also a vigorous agitation for a separate convention, a third meeting was called, at which it was finally decided to call a state convention of the S. D. P., to which "the S. L. P. shall be entitled to send delegates on the same basis of representation as the delegates of the S. D. P.—viz., one to every ten members—said S. L. P. delegates to be admitted to all rights and privileges of the convention after the election of a state committee by the S. D. P." This also was voted for by some on the understanding that it signified political union only, and not organic union.

But the comrades may as well understand before they get to the convention that the door has been left open for organic union. If it is political co-operation we are after, the only clean and proper method would be to have separate conventions and nominate separate tickets, leaving it to the two state committees or campaign committees to retire an equal number of candidates from each ticket and make up a joint ticket satisfactory to both. This plan, however, they (the disruptionists) rejected at our first meeting, making it evident that they want more than political union, and will try to get it.

If you doubt it, just try and answer this conundrum: The report of "the highest constituted authority of the two parties" is to be voted upon by June 26, at which "90 per cent" of our party will declare for union (?). Now, if union is to be consummated on June 26, why do we need a convention on July 8 to arrange for political co-operation? Isn't that really laughable?

Of course it is just possible that 90 per cent of our party will not declare for union, and it may be necessary to try the alternative plan of "uniting by states."

A joint convention would be safe enough, if all our members were loyal to our own party and desirous of keeping it separate; but where an active minority is doing its best to drag us into the S. L. P., whether we will or no, it is a step to be taken with great caution, and with eyes wide open and alert.

Under the specious argument of "state rights" the disruptionists claim that what we do in the state has nothing to do with the national organization. I wonder what they think the national organization is made up of! This, comrades, is the doctrine of disruption and of anarchy! Had the national party taken no action in this matter, with which our local action would conflict, the question would be open; but where the party as a whole has decided upon a certain course, we, as a state, cannot act contrary to that decision without severing ourselves from the national organization. Get this point clear in your

minds, comrades of Massachusetts (and New Hampshire, too): We are a national, not a state organization, and we cannot unite organically with the S. L. P. in this state, in defiance of the decision of the national party, without seceding from it.

The referendum of May 7 does not "settle the question of union for all time"; certainly not. But it does settle it until such time as that decision shall be reversed by the party, by a new referendum, after further agitation by legitimate means and a full discussion upon "newly discovered evidence."

It is settled for the time being, and the movement for "union by states" is simply an attempt to bring about by other means the very union which the party has declared against. It is illegitimate and should be nipped in the bud.

Delegates should be instructed by their branches how to vote upon this question, which is sure to come up in some form or other. If you believe in upholding the principles of democracy, if you believe in the S. D. P. and its mission, if you believe in maintaining our separate organization until the majority of our party shall see fit to reverse its decision in a legitimate way, then instruct your delegates to vote for political co-operation but against a union of the two organizations in the state, however disguised in form. The decision rests with you. Consider the question carefully.

So long as there had to be a division in our ranks, it is well that the lines should be drawn upon a clear question of principle, which allows no room for personal feeling or mere sentiment, and affords a sheet anchor which will prevent our being carried away by any torrent of oratory or whirlwind of sophistry, or any appeal to prejudice or passion. It is a time for the exercise of calm, cool, clear-headed judgment.

We understand, all of us, that an organization is only a means to an end, and not the end itself; but we also understand that it is a means without which the end cannot be accomplished; and that the more compact and harmonious the organization is and the more loyal and reliable every member of it, the more effective will be its work. It is a very easy thing to break up an organization; but is it wise? It is not by any means so easy to build one up. I know, and you know, fellow-comrades of the rank and file, and brave comrades of the national executive board, struggling, working and sacrificing in silence, without applause and without recognition—we know, I say, the cost in energy and self-denial of getting this Social Democratic Party started, and keeping it alive through its most crucial years. And now, just at the moment when it has become able to stand alone, and to require less toil and sacrifice on the part of a few, are we to allow disruptionists, under the fair-seeming mask of "socialist unity," to destroy and scatter to the winds the socialist unity we already have within our own ranks, and in the sacred name of Socialism, to set back the cause of Socialism in this country for years, by breaking up the first Socialist political party that has ever taken root in American soil?

Not if we can help it. The S. D. P. in its brief existence has proved that it is on the right track; and that its distinctive ideals, spirit, tactics and methods are such as to appeal to the American people and to build up within a few years a party that will be able to bring about the transition from capitalism to the co-operative commonwealth. To throw this party off the track now or to go back on all it stands for, would be treason to the Socialist movement and to the suffering millions of our fellow-wage slaves, whose only hope is in Socialism.

I have faith to believe that on July 8th Massachusetts will rise to the occasion, and decide to continue upon her accustomed way, but with a little added wisdom gained from the hard experience of the past three months.

Margaret Haile.

Indiana State Convention

Social Democrats will hold a state convention in Indianapolis on the Fourth of July for the purpose of nominating a state ticket and perfecting the state organization. Each member of the party in the state is entitled to a vote in the convention, and if unable to be present may vote by proxy. Thus each member of the convention is entitled to as many votes as he has signatures to his credentials. On the evening of July 9 the branches of the party in this county will hold a county convention in the C. L. U. hall in this city for the purpose of nominating a county ticket. It is likely that no township ticket will be nominated, as it would be impossible to find a member of the party who would consent to make the race for justice of the peace or constable. As one member expressed it, "If we have any members who are not too honorable to hold such offices, we will expel them." The membership of the local branch is growing steadily, and the branch will make a lively campaign. At present the members of the party in this county are devoting their time to circulating Socialist literature where it will do the most good and endeavoring to make Socialists.—The Toiler, Terre Haute.

THE CAPITALIST CLASS

The growth of a class whose sole claim to recognition is the number of dollars its members possess must always be an interesting study. In the first place such a class did not come into being as did the classes of bygone days. The powerful military chieftain who led his hosts to successful battle, and who afterward had allotted him the lands of a conquered people, was the founder of the upper class of one period. Such a man, whatever he may have been deficient in, had at least such virtues as bulldog courage.

In more recent times men were distinguished by their genius and rewarded more or less justly. It was still the recognition of those traits in human nature by which societies and nations have been built up.

Coming to the present day, we find a class growing up whose sole aim is the accumulation of money. Not for the sake of what is beautiful in art or nature does this money-grubbing contest become so feverish. The vulgar upstarts engaged therein are too low in the scale to understand the meaning of things beautiful. And the only taste they possess is in their mouths. This class owes its existence to no virtue, however rude. Avarice, the greatest of the vices, is its guiding star, its sole object in life. With such a paltry passion for its foundation, what must its other feelings be? We do not need to look very far to see their workings. Their religion is not a matter of faith, it is only a fashionable gathering. Their politics is not a question of conviction, nor of principles; they only ask, Will it be easier for us to accumulate money under such an administration? Can we reduce the wages of the workers, or increase the profits to the consumer if such a one is elected? If so, in he goes.

In the matter of fashion our fat-necked, would-be aristocrat waits until the members of the Parisian half-world have set the season's style for his wife and daughter to ape, and try to wear in an awkward sort of a way what the sinful daughter wears gracefully.

And what kind of literature satisfies this class? Do they yearn for the pearls of thought and expression which the skillful have strung so beautifully? No, indeed. The daily newspaper is good enough for them; some prefer the luminous "yellow journal," which "makes truth hideous in the morning," and with its levity that is paraded as wit; the other prefers the ponderous evening paper which "makes vice attractive in the evening," and which, disdaining light things, tries in a ponderous way, to make people believe its owl-like gravity is wisdom.

At every turn there is evidence of a state of society unnatural, unscientific and vicious in everything where it has full sway. Such a society cannot endure. Even its votaries must in time weary of it and conclude on the whole that "it does not pay."—The Miner's Magazine.

Overthrow the Capitalist System

The various personal interest and the many temperaments that go together to build the machine we call man, are so easily construed to mean such vastly different things that we find the workingman unorganized and in the midst of a reign of chaos, and it is only when we are tried in some really vital point that the class lines are closely drawn and we act in true union. Of all the hard things that the workingman has to learn, the hardest of all is that there is upon us an irresistible class struggle and that the only way out of this condition is a class organization, which has for its purpose the complete overthrow of the present system of organized society. Or more explicitly speaking, "capitalism which dominates in our social, legal and moral relations." I might add further that our economic surroundings are so closely allied without every thought and action, that even our religion is made to fit the governmental forms, no odds how inhuman and despotic that government is. I have only to cite you to the case of the late Cuban war, where the Catholic church of Spain supported the despotic Spanish monarchy in Spain, and the same church supported the inhuman and grasping reign of capitalism in the United States.—Caleb Lipscombe.

New Hampshire Shoemakers

The state labor commission of New Hampshire has recently published the statistics relating to the shoe industry in that state.

It is shown that there are employed 12,937 hands. They received \$5,055,521 for one year's labor, or an average of less than \$399 for each worker. The factory value of the product was \$22,902,788. The retail price or the cost to consumer, is increased on the average more than 50 per cent, making the retail value of the product \$34,354,182.

Subtracting the cost of raw material, \$15,027,802, and the wages, \$5,055,521, and the balance is \$14,270,859 that the shoemakers of New Hampshire produced last year and never received a cent. And even measured by the factory price these workers produced \$2,819,465 for which they received not one cent.

But Socialists are people who want to divide, you know. Can you see anything, or are you just a simple, everyday, plain, working imbecile?

SPLENDID LIFE-LIKE PORTRAIT OF EUGENE V. DEBS CANDIDATE OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

SIZE—21 X 28 INCHES, ON GOOD PAPER

Price, 10 Cents, Single Copy

Sent by mail, securely enclosed in tube to insure safe transmission, on receipt of price. Address,

CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY,
126 Washington St., Chicago

THE PLATFORM

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness depend upon equal political and economic rights.

In our economic development an industrial revolution has taken place, the individual tool of former years having become the social tool of the present. The individual tool was owned by the worker who employed himself and was master of his product. The social tool, the machine, is owned by the capitalist and the worker is dependent upon him for employment. The capitalist thus becomes the master of the worker and is able to appropriate to himself a large share of the product of his labor.

Capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people; but the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system will necessitate the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare.

The present system of social production and private ownership is rapidly converting society into two antagonistic classes—i. e., the capitalist class and the propertyless class. The middle class, once the most powerful of this great nation, is disappearing in the mill of competition. The issue is now between the two classes first named. Our political liberty is now of little value to the masses unless used to acquire economic liberty.

Independent political action and the trade union movement are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its political, the other its economic wing, and both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system.

Therefore the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be:

First—The organization of the working class into a political party to conquer the public powers now controlled by capitalists.

Second—The abolition of wage-slavery by the establishment of a national system of co-operative industry, based upon the social or common ownership of the means of production and distribution, to be administered by society in the common interest of all its members, and the complete emancipation of the socially useful classes from the domination of capitalism.

The working class and all those in sympathy with their historic mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America. The control of political power by the Social Democratic party will be tantamount to the abolition of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting the millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international Socialism, the brotherhood of man.

As steps in that direction, we make the following demands:

First—Revision of our federal constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to complete control of government by the people irrespective of sex.

Second—The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

Third—The public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones; all means of transportation, and communication; all water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

Fourth—The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal, and other mines and all oil and gas wells.

Fifth—The reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

Sixth—The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

Seventh—Useful inventions to be free, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

Eighth—Labor legislation to be national, instead of local, and international when possible.

Ninth—National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.

Tenth—Equal civil and political rights, for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

Eleventh—The adoption of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

Twelfth—Abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

The Social Democratic
Red Book
ORDER IT
PRICE 15 CENTS
Sent postpaid on receipt of price
DEBS PUBLISHING CO.
TERRE HAUTE, IND.

SOCIALIST

4TH OF JULY OUTING

Second Annual Picnic

SOCIAL
DEMOCRATIC
PARTY

OF Chicago

JULY FOURTH, 1900

At Bergmann's Grove
On Desplaines River

Watch The Herald for full particulars. A large attendance of Social Democrats with their families and friends is expected.

Make no other engagement for the Fourth. Help the sale of Tickets, 10 cents each.

Pocket Library
of Socialism

1. **Woman and the Social Problem.** By MAY WOOD SIMONS. Shows that the emancipation of woman will only come with the emancipation of man through socialism.
2. **The Evolution of the Class Struggle.** By WILLIAM H. NOYES. A historical study showing how socialism is coming.
3. **Imprudent Narratives.** By ROBERT BLATCHEPOND. A collection of answers to the question "What is 'prudence'?" would help the laborer.
4. **Packaging Town.** By A. M. SIMONS. A study of the Union Stock Yards, Chicago; how nature and man are alike scientifically exploited.
5. **Realism in Literature and Art.** By CLARENCE DARROW. Shows how the workers of modern art and literature are helping on the new social order.
6. **Single Tax vs. Socialism.** By A. M. SIMONS. Shows the inadequacy of the Single Tax as a remedy for the evils pointed out by Henry George.
7. **Wage-Labor and Capital.** By KARL MARX. The essence of the great philosopher's theory, in his own words.
8. **The Man Under the Machine.** By A. M. SIMONS. Tells how wage slavery began, what it is today and how the workers are going to free themselves. A condensed handbook of socialism.
9. **The Mission of the Working Class.** By REV. CHARLES H. VAIL, author of "Modern Socialism," etc.
10. **Morals and Socialism.** By CHARLES H. KERN. Shows how popular ideas of morals are manipulated in the interest of the capitalist class.
11. **Socialist Songs.** Sixteen good ones, fit to sing every one knows.
12. **After Capitalism What?** By REV. WILLIAM T. HAZEN. A logical historical study showing that socialism must come as the result of forces now at work.
13. **A Political Quack Doctor.** By W. A. COREY. A socialist view of the "Political Quackery."

SEND ORDERS TO
THEODORE DEBS
126 Washington St., CHICAGO

The Book You Need

PRINCIPLES OF
Scientific Socialism

By Rev. Charles H. Vail
Author "Modern Socialism" and "National Ownership of Railways."

CONTENTS:
The Industrial Revolution. The Analysis of Value. The Origin of Surplus Value.
The Advantages of Socialism: Production, Distribution, Elimination of Social Vices, Prevention of Waste, Elevation of Woman, Proper Care and Training of Children, Efficient Directors, Solution of the Monetary Question, Abolition of Taxation, Simplification of Government, Benefits to Capitalists, Benefits to Laborers.
The Evidence of the Moral Strength of Socialism: Its Spirit and Aim; Abolition of Business Dishonesty; Restriction of Divorce; Prevention of Prostitution; Elimination of Crime; Prevention of Intemperance, Insanity, etc.
Poverty—Its Cause and Cure. Wage Slavery vs. Chattel Slavery. Rent and Interest. The Law of Wages. The Law of Progress. Industrial Depression and Commercial Crises. The Problem of Labor-Saving Machinery.
Popular Economic Errors: That Value is Determined by Capitalist Cost of Production; that the Interests of Laborers and Capitalists are identical; that Labor is Better Off To-day Than Ever Before; that Cheap Prices are Beneficial to Labor; that Luxury is Beneficial to Labor; that Land Nationalization Would Solve the Social Question; that Extravagance is the Chief Cause of Economic Want; that Socialism Would Destroy Individuality. Conclusion and Index.

12mo, 238 Pages; Paper, 35c; Cloth, \$1.00.

SEND ORDERS TO
THEODORE DEBS, 126 Washington St., CHICAGO

NATIONAL FUND

The following is a list of comrades who have agreed, in response to the appeal of the National Executive Board, to contribute monthly for one year to the national fund. Other names will be added as they are received.

CONNECTICUT Finckler, N. H. Hartford Holman, B. Hartford ILLINOIS Stedman, S. Chicago Jesse Cox, Chicago P. P. Ayer, Chicago A. Friend, Chicago Dr. J. H. Gross, Chicago Mrs. C. Brown, Chicago "Friend", Chicago James Wright, Chicago INDIANA E. V. Debs, Terre Haute MASSACHUSETTS Flanders, P. B. Haverhill Cohen, A. Boston P. Riker, Levi W. Newton Munroe, G. W. Brockton Tal. Peter, Everett Hitchcock, D. G. Warren Goldman, S. W. Haverhill Hough, E. W. Newton Chase, J. C. Haverhill Brown, J. W. Templeton Graves, C. S. Amesbury Allen, Helen N. Lynn Koons, Dr. J. A. Lynn Carey, J. A. Haverhill MICHIGAN Kallher, S. Grand Rapids MINNESOTA Goswein, F. Red Lake Falls MISSOURI Fincher, Wm. St. Louis Fellner, Henry St. Louis Roosche, Wm. St. Louis MARYLAND Jacobson, E. Baltimore NEW HAMPSHIRE Gordon, F. G. Manchester Hewitt, G. S. Manchester McLenn, C. H. Manchester "Homesworth Branch" NEW YORK Faulstich, L. O. Bensonhurst Abbott, L. D. New York Butcher, Wm. Brooklyn Thomas, E. H. New York Kahn, Arthur, New York Hale, F. W. New York Lempolow, Jas. New York Panken, J. New York Weyall, Chas. New York Mark Raphael, New York Lewis, N. Scotland New York Philip Gruber, New York Sanger, Wm. New York Moore, T. F. Brooklyn NEW JERSEY Pankoff, Carl Jersey City Karl Lindner, Paterson "Comrade", Newark OHIO Rever, Jas. Cleveland Zera, Julius, Cincinnati Braun, F. Cincinnati Altenbreudt, G. Cincinnati PENNSYLVANIA Lynn, J. H. Pittsburgh F. W. Hirt, Erie TENNESSEE Enloe, Dr. R. H. Nashville Hamilton, W. A. Nashville Mahoney, Wm. Nashville TEXAS Price, B. S. Houston WISCONSIN Berger, V. L. Milwaukee Brooksey, E. H. Milwaukee Ziegler, E. Milwaukee Dumler, John Milwaukee Rasmann, G. Milwaukee Arnold, L. Milwaukee Meister, E. Milwaukee Heumann, C. Milwaukee Tuttle, H. Milwaukee Heath, F. Milwaukee Branch 4 Milwaukee

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

THIRD YEAR. No. 2.

CHICAGO, ILL., U.S.A., SATURDAY, JUNE 30, 1900.

Whole No. 104.

CAPITALISM AND LIBERTY FREEDOM AND SOCIALISM

Examination of Pseudo-Socialistic Fetishes from the Stand-Point of a Race-Conscious Social Democrat

By Isidore Lador

The capitalistic mode of production leads inevitably to the socialization of industries. The gigantic development of the principle of combination of individual fortune for the purpose of exploitation of organized and unorganized labor, in the shape of stock companies and trusts in our time, is a phenomenon of far-reaching importance and of deep significance as a transitory stage of socialization. The individualistic principle of competition is gradually superseded by its opposite. The purpose of stock companies and trusts is to eliminate entirely the element of competition and substitute co-operation and combined action.

The socialization of economic activities under the capitalistic regime is, however, accomplished in the interests of one class and to the detriment of the race in general. The capitalistic class takes advantage of the applied principle of socialization in its own, and only its own, interest. Capitalists are one-sided Socialists. They strenuously oppose any attempt to apply the principle of socialization in the interests of the people at large and the laboring class in particular. Out of mere selfishness they preach for popular use the gospel of individualism and hypocritically erect altars to the fetish of liberty—of the competition of the economically weak among themselves. Indeed, the more competition there is among the unorganized and economically weak, the easier it will be for the socialized and economically strong to exploit the former in all stages and in all ways. This is obvious enough. The strange thing, however, is that some not especially clear-headed men try to deduct socialistic theories from the anarchistic principle of liberty. They somehow do not distinguish between two entirely different terms—freedom and liberty; and this leads them into an abyss of confusion of thought.

Liberty is an individualistic ideal, while freedom is a truly socialistic ideal. Socialists want to abolish capitalistic liberty and inaugurate real freedom, by the means of all-sided and complete socialization of economic functions in the interests of the whole human race.

Now, what is liberty? In the first instance it is but a mere negation—the absence of open coercion. To build a system of thought on the basis of a mere negative term is a striking absurdity. Suppose somebody would attempt to build a system of public hygiene on the principle of absence of physical pain. What could be said in favor of such a system? The worshippers at the shrine of the capitalistic and anarchistic fetish, liberty, forget the old truth—the Sabbath is for men, not men for the Sabbath. They are never tired of repeating the platitudes that men are born for liberty. They forget that liberty is—as it necessarily must be—the deadly foe of freedom? Liberty means the rule of the physically and economically strong and the actual unfreedom of the rest. Liberty is incompatible with real equality, while freedom is unthinkable without it. Liberty is a principle of the sub-human world, while freedom is a purely human ideal. A tiger is at liberty to kill any animal weaker than himself. A man, however, can be free only in case he lives in a perfectly organized community, where he—in return for certain functions performed by him in the interests of society—is assured all the necessities of life and happiness.

Another term derived by Socialists from the capitalistic dictionary is the so-called class-consciousness.

If liberty is a fetish of the somewhat muddle-headed neophytes of Socialism, class-consciousness is the idol of narrow-minded, dogmatic, pseudo scientific Socialists of the orthodox type. Dogmatism, orthodoxy and narrow-mindedness are, however, dangerous symptoms of spiritual atrophy and degeneration. There was and is too much of it in continental and S. L. P. Socialism.

Let us now analyze the terms class-consciousness, class-struggle, which are so commonplace in the socialistic vocabulary. We have knowledge of the struggle between slave and master, between the privileged classes of the feudal period and the middle class, and witness now with our own eyes the combat between the middle class and the proletariat. Historically speaking, the class struggle was and is a mighty dynamic power for good or bad, owing to conditions. At certain periods of history the one or the other class represents the interests of the race in general and the fate of that class is closely

linked with the general interests of the race. So, the middle class not long ago represented the advanced guard of humanity in its struggle against feudalism which outlived its utility. At present, however, this same class is not only conservative, but rather reactionary, and the role of the advanced guard of humanity belongs by right to the proletariat. There was hardly a class in the history of humanity more conscious or rather self-conscious than the middle class. In fact, class-consciousness is a distinctly middle-class virtue or vice—just as we choose to view it. As a matter of tactics the proletariat has to fight the middle class with its own weapons and possess class-consciousness in order to be successful in its battle against a class-conscious enemy.

Let us not, however, make a virtue out of a necessity.

Class interests are in the end only a little better than individual interests as a motive for revolutionary activity. If the struggle of the middle class against feudalism would be only a struggle in the exclusive interests of that class, no earnest thinker, public-spirited man or poet would feel inspired to take part in that struggle. It was the interest of all humanity—rightly or wrongly conceived—which imparted the inspiration to noble needs and sacrifices on the part of the great actors of the French revolution. The middle class, after its selfish class interests were secured, became satisfied and used the new conditions to the advantage of selfish class interests.

Shall the proletariat be trained in the same narrow and selfish channels of thought and sentiment? Shall the proletariat repeat the same sad and sordid comedy of achieving only class interests under the guise of euphonious but empty phrases of fraternity (of the Cain variety), liberty (tiger liberty) and equality (after death) connected by the middle class at the dawn of its victory? Are not the class-consciousness and class struggle so emphasized by some fanatical antediluvian Socialists, exceedingly narrow and near-sighted? There must be a struggle between the proletariat and middle class, but this struggle is of an eminently deeper and broader significance, than any other class struggle in the history of humanity. It is only a class struggle, if viewed from the surface, but as a matter of fact a struggle of all the human race against social institutions, which have outlived their utility, a struggle of all the human race for the entire reconstruction of our present social fabric on principles of reason and justice, a struggle of a truly human philosophy of life against a conception of life peculiar to the beasts of prey.

And the S. D. P. is the party not of a single class—however large and worthy of sympathy—but the party of all the toilers, all producers, all the people working for a living, all those who honestly and without reserve have at heart the interests of the laborer in the broadest sense of that term.

Let us, therefore, preach race-consciousness instead of class-consciousness.

The struggle between classes in history is—if analyzed closely and candidly—in the end a struggle between old and new forms of life. Let the dead bury the dead and the living take their places with a sense of continuity of life and activity of the human race of which we all form infinitesimal links.

Profits of labor, and all wealth which is the product of labor, are one and the same thing. If you possess wealth that you did not create, you are in the possession of the profits of labor, and between your working neighbor's lack of wealth and your excess of it there may be an inseparable relation, if you will look for it. The man who lives on the profits of labor that some other man performed, is living on what belongs to the other man. That the law calls the profits of labor property, and helps you get possession, does, of course, make your holding legal, but it does not make it right. There are no laws for the men who produce; they are made for the men who steal.

The idolatry of profit is the worst heresy of the age. It consists in buying for one dollar that which is worth five, and of selling for five that which is worth one.

The fortunes of the rich are limited only by the work and forbearance of the poor, and the more the poor work and forbear the more the rich possess.

THE DO-ALLS AND THE DO-NOTHINGS

By Sevenoaks

What confusion would reign among the Do-nothing rich people, if they could be made to realize what the Do-all poor people are to them. How—if they are not void of conscience—they would be covered with shame and shrink with fear at the sight of their own meanness. The Do-alls are to the Do-nothings what rain is to the parched land. Rain revives and reincarnates earth's productive forces. The Do-alls, by applying labor to land, or to land in its varied and modified forms, revive and reincarnate wealth. As the replenishing of the earth comes only through the action of moisture, of air, of heat and of cold, so the replenishing of the private fortunes of the Do-nothings comes only through labor—the sacrifice and the suffering of the Do-alls. Without the Do-alls doing the work, there would be no Do-nothings doing nothing. With the Do-nothings stealing and swaggering there will always be Do-alls sacrificing and starving.

The Do-alls earn all that they get and all that the Do-nothings steal. The Do-nothings devastate the earth by taking from it without giving an equivalent; they impoverish and ravish the Do-alls; they smite the hand that feeds them. Justice demands service—Duty. The Do-alls render service and measure up to her demands. The Do-nothings fail in this; they are a burden on the heart and a stone in the hand of the industrious. Consumption involves reproduction—or the race ends; the Do-alls consume less than is rightfully theirs and reproduce for all. Manipulating stock is not useful service; wrecking railroads is not useful service; living on per cents, "wrung from the hard hands of peasants," is not useful service; yet all who live on per cents, wreck railroads and conjure with stocks, are wearing clothes, eating food and living in houses, and their food, raiment and shelter is obtained at the expense of the Do-alls who sacrifice and suffer and do the work.

SOCIALISM AND NATIONALITIES

The amazing muddle which the war has raised in the minds of the public finds nowhere a better illustration than in the arguments with which some naive fellows in our ranks try to justify their indifferent or pro-British attitude at the present juncture. What, they ask, do we Socialists care about the war? What concern is it of ours that a couple of small peasant republics are being wiped off the face of the earth? Are we not internationalists? Does not Socialism strive after the abolition of frontiers and the welding together of all peoples into one common human family.

The argument is a striking illustration of the hold which formulas sometimes get over our minds. With our national aptitude for thinking in schemes, we often express an entire complex relationship of phenomena in a simple and handy formula which through frequent use soon loses its conventional representative value and becomes in our eyes the exact equivalent of the relationship itself. It thus becomes, so to say, petrified. Like the proverbial man who cannot see the wood for trees, so we cannot see for our formula the living thing it represents, and we turn it into a fetish devoid of any tangible reality, but none the less revered.

The good honest souls who use the above argument are fetishists of this kind. They approach the idea of Socialism as a negation of nationalism in the same spirit in which devout Catholics approach their crucifix. They see in it not a mere symbol of a thing, but the thing itself, and handle it about divested of all its concrete meaning and contents. For did they not act in this fetishistic spirit, they would have noticed that the socialistic principle of "no frontiers," etc., cannot possibly mean the extinction of nationalities pure and simple, that is, as a matter of duty or as a condition of existence. They would have noticed, on the contrary, that Socialism, being primarily an acknowledgment of the fullest possible right of every human being to his personality, cannot in the same breath refuse that right to a nation, which is but a group composed of human beings. A man, be he a fair Englishman or a black Kaffir, has a complete right to his speech, thought, feelings, habits, and even prejudices; how can we refuse or suppress it in a group of them called a "nation"?—Th. Rothstein in London Justice.

Workingmen who carry the hod, lay brick, make shoes, run a lathe, rivet a boiler, print a book, or do anything useful, think they are working for themselves. So they are for about two or two and a half hours a day; the balance of the time they are working solely for a master.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATS STAND PAT! REVIEW OUR SPLENDID PROGRESS

By Eugene V. Debs

The unprecedented growth of the Social Democratic party during the last few months is a vindication of the past and a guaranty of the future. The showing is most remarkable; it is extraordinary and must extort exclamations of surprise and delight from the most pessimistic.

Since Jan. 1, 144 new branches have been organized—an average of twenty-four per month. Since the first day of the present month twenty-nine branches have been instituted—the largest number in the same space of time in the history of the party.

In view of these facts it is evident that the "manifesto," the referendum, vote thereon and the comment and controversy that followed, have not checked the growth of the party. Indeed, it is more rapid at this hour than ever before, and will continue at an accelerating rate, all predictions to the contrary notwithstanding.

The plain meaning of this progress in the face of all kinds of opposition, from within as well as without, is approval of the policy and tactics of the party and indorsement of the administration of its affairs.

Through all these weeks of controversy, at times violent and acrimonious, the party has expanded with undiminished vigor, and promises even better for the future. There is, therefore, all reason for Social Democrats to be serene, hopeful and confident—not the slightest for despondency or despair. The storm has been weathered—the gale has spent its force, the waves are receding and the skies are brightening.

Comrades, stand pat!

The Socialist movement is having its trials. This is to be expected. The transition from capitalism to Socialism will be tempestuous at times. It were folly to even hope for all smooth sailing. The storm is as necessary as the calm. It is a part, an essential part, of the development.

Let no comrade despair of the future. Above all the quibbles and quarrels of individuals the movement sweeps on.

The Social Democratic party has struck root in American soil. Its general course has appealed to the American people and its propaganda has quickened the heart-pulse of the American proletariat. It has made mistakes enough to demonstrate that it is a human institution.

The cry of "bossism" heard in certain quarters can safely be ignored. The work accomplished, the results achieved, the progress made, which none can dispute, proclaim the truth and defy denial.

Karl Marx and Ferdinand Lassalle were violently denounced as dictators and usurpers by their own followers. The "bosses" are sometimes those who

in wind and wave hold the party true to its destined course.

It is the storm that makes the sailor, the battle that makes the soldier, and it takes them both to make a Socialist.

Comrades, stand pat!

The question of "union" need worry us no more. Let those of our comrades who desire to join with the S. L. P. do so. That is their unquestioned privilege. Let the rest remain where they are. That is their absolute right. A united party is "a consummation devoutly to be wished," but it is a matter of growth and not compulsion. When conditions favor a united party, no power can prevent it. As long as cause exists for separate parties, no power can unite them. The matter will in time automatically adjust itself, and all the sooner if wrangling ceases and sense has sway.

Others may act as they choose, but I do not propose to be a party to an attempt to force men out of a party that suits them into a party that does not.

Whether we have one Socialist party or a dozen, we can fight capitalism, the common enemy, as one, if we only will, and he who seeks to prevent this is the real enemy of Socialism. Union of parties is of small consequence compared with union of action; and those who imagine that compulsory union would insure united action have something yet to learn about human nature.

Political co-operation has gone forward splendidly thus far without organic union. What has been done in some states can be done in all states. The question of party allegiance need not interfere with harmonious co-operation and vigorous action. Besides, only an insignificant part of the Socialists are members of any party. They are not interested in our imbroglio; they are only disgusted with our kindergarten contentions.

Let us rise above the level of bickering and strife and vituperation. The columns and pages of accusations, insinuation, denial and counter-charges alter nothing. I can better afford to permit a hundred falsehoods to go unchallenged than descend to the plane where they have their origin.

For the national and state campaigns each state can act for itself. The national candidates are already nominated. In each state a united ticket can be placed in the field by joint convention or otherwise, and this is the supreme demand at this time. The question of organic union is settled as far as it can be for the present.

This is the sane, sensible course to pursue, and will lead up to the highlands. We can then appeal to the hundreds of thousands of American Socialists and multiply them into a million or more at the ballot box in November.

Comrades, once again, stand pat!

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

The municipal council of Zurich has decided to institute municipal insurance for all its employees. The insurance will be against accident, sickness and old age.

Some of the results of the Italian elections are known and so far the Socialists have more than held their own; at Milan especially, where there has been a great deal of petty persecution, they have gained several seats.

From reports from Bombay, British India, the condition beggars description. The starving people are afflicted with both cholera and smallpox. Thousands of dead are left unburied and are food for the dogs and vultures.

On a recent Sunday no less than 700,000 leaflets explaining Socialist principles were distributed in Berlin and its suburbs. The distribution was effected by thousands of voluntary distributors, and it is hoped in that way to bring knowledge of Socialism to many people, and to sow the seed for a rich harvest at the next election.

It is twenty-five years ago (May 26, 1875) that a union was effected at Gotha between the Eisenach and Lassalle parties. The party then took the name of the Socialistic Working Men's Party. Since then in spite of much persecution the Socialists have increased in power, and no better testimony to their might could be given than the fact that by their action they have practically defeated the Heinze bill.

The result of the elections is now known. The Clericals were formerly 112 and are now only 85 in number. Though some Socialists have lost their seats there is a net gain of five. If we turn to the number of votes cast we find that no less than 464,813 votes were

given for the Socialists, an increase of over 140,000 votes since 1894. The system of proportional representation has worked fairly well, for if in some places the Socialists have not carried so many candidates as they would have done under the old system as at Brussels, they have in other places, as at Louvain, Namur, Dinant and Antwerp, got seats which they would not have had.

The official count of the election in Paris disposes of the claim that the reactionary Nationalists are in a majority, though they apparently control the municipal council. The vote polled by the various parties was as follows: Socialists, 142,772; Radicals, 59,473; Republican, 22,717; Independent Republican (Loyal League), 26,795; Monarchists, 20,220; Nationalists, 122,650. In other words, 224,962 votes were cast for the republican form of government against 169,665 for reaction.

Private advices received by prominent Socialist leaders in London from St. Petersburg and Moscow indicate that the Russian government has entered on another vigorous campaign to prevent the spread of Socialism among the students of the universities. This is shown by the sentences passed on the 146 students who recently were arrested for participation in last year's disturbances. One student who owned a secret printing press has been sentenced to six years' incarceration in a fortress. Others have been sent to prison for shorter periods and prohibited from appearing in any university town for periods varying from one to three years. The rest have been ordered to spend the next three years in the eastern provinces of the empire on pain of a severer punishment in case they refuse to comply.

Social Democratic Herald

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board
JESSE COX, Chairman
SEYMOUR STEEDMAN, Secretary
EUGENE V. DEBS, VICTOR L. BERGER
FREDERIC HEATH

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, 50 cents. Six months, 25 cents. No papers sent to any one on credit. If, without having subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and no bill will follow. Foreign subscriptions \$1.00.

Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

A. S. EDWARDS, Editor
THEODORE DEBS, National Sec'y-Treas.
126 Washington St., Chicago.

104 is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 105, your subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, JUNE 30, 1900.

ENGLISH CO-OPERATORS DISAPPOINTED

The ideals of the founders of the English co-operative movement have not been realized. Starting with much hope and promise and advocated strenuously as the lever for the social emancipation of the people by men of great ability like Geo. Jacob Holyoke, it has for years degenerated until, in these present days of triumphant commercialism, it is regarded as little more than a mere joint-stock, profit-sharing, shop-keeping affair. The hope long entertained that it might become a great influence for social regeneration is practically abandoned, a result quite natural and in line with the narrow views of the practical managers.

At the recent congress of co-operators at Bristol the chairman delivered an address which showed how completely they have failed in their mission. He pointed out the need for political action, indicating that the co-operators are beginning to discern the futility of their methods so far as any general social advance is concerned. The success of co-operation as a business enterprise in England has been accompanied with a loss of the founders' ideals.

PRODUCTION AND WAGES

Socialism would abolish money, as we know it. This would be accomplished by the socialization of the means of production, the abolition of private capital. To the capitalist system of industry money is essential; it is an instrument of robbery. The skilled workman and producer of wealth is deceived by the wages system, which is well adapted to blind him to the manner in which he is wronged. He may be paid as high wages as he demands, but he is never paid more than the value of his services regulated by the supply of other skilled workmen in his craft. Of the value of his product in use the workman knows nothing, and it is this—the amount which the consumer must pay for the product—that the employer receives for the workman's services. Under the wages system, the workman creates so much value that the employer grows rich, but the workman himself remains poor. This is because wages are estimated and paid in money. The employer is enabled to appropriate the surplus value created by the workman. The wages system deals with human beings as one sucks an orange, casting away the skin when the juice is extracted.

Money which can be hidden away and hoarded, is not a true medium for the exchange of commodities; but that is the kind of money which the capitalist system requires, the kind that breeds and enslaves the human race. Socialism, by abolishing the wages system, would also abolish speculation in human life. It would secure equitable distribution of products upon the basis of labor time, and that every thinking man must see, if his mind is not perverted, is the primary measure of all value. With a system of labor time certificates, representing certain amounts of crystallized labor time which the laborer can carry conveniently in his pockets and exchange conveniently for crystallized labor time in goods, the workman in every branch of social exertion, manual, mental and moral, will receive all that he earns, gratify every want, live in the sunshine instead of the shadow, and be forever free from the refined cruelties of metal money and the wages system.

THE NEW YORK OUTRAGE

The comrades of the Social Democratic party have a right to know what is going on among those who, in spite of the referendum vote deciding against organic union, have defied that vote and resorted to the most irregular and discreditable methods to force us to accept their terms. These methods have reached a fitting (and ridiculous) climax in New York state, where, in advance of any report on their own referendum, before the votes were all in and recorded, and, therefore, before the will of the members who choose to pay any attention to them could be known, the Socialist Labor party faction, with the aid and connivance of half a dozen Social Democrats, have had the temerity to declare that union had been perfected in that state. Having declared weeks

ago that the vote on the "manifesto" was "spurious," "illegal," "padded" and "dishonest," they went into a "joint" state convention on June 16 and solemnly declared by resolution that upon the alleged "illegal" and "padded" vote "the union of both parties in this state is definitely accomplished."

Now look at the facts concerning the "joint" convention which resorted to this culminating trick; first, however, remembering that the vote on their unity report was called for Tuesday, June 26, and that the state convention which declares the union of the parties "definitely accomplished," without waiting for the vote on the national issue, was held June 16, ten days before. Now the facts concerning this boastful state union convention are briefly these: It was made up of sixty delegates, as follows: Fifty-three S. L. P. and seven S. D. P. Of the latter two represented branches long since defunct or moribund, and one individual delegate resigned from the S. D. P. months ago. The fact is that not more than four branches of the S. D. P. in New York state were represented in this convention, while all the rest, with a great majority of the individual members, entirely disapprove of the course pursued by four or five fusion promoters and protest against so foul an outrage in the name and under the guise of unity.

REPUBLICAN PROSPERITY ROT

The Chicago Tribune says that Senator Lodge in his speech before the republican convention "touched the heart of the matter" and "put the issue in a nutshell." And what did this Bay state statesman say? Among other things that McKinleyism has carried the country to the heights of prosperity, that wages are high, that good times everywhere prevail, that employment is abundant and that business men are forging ahead over calm waters. All of which is in beautiful republican accord with the sentiments of the statesmen of the Hanna and McKinley stripe, but entirely at variance with facts of common, every-day observation. Senator Wolcott, in his attempt to juggle with the truth, followed the same line of misrepresentation and repeated the old McKinley chestnut that there is employment for every man who wants it.

The matter to be most lamented in this tiresome reiteration of notorious falsehood is that it passes current with great masses of workingmen, even the fellow with patches on the broadest part of his pants, and children hungry at home, while he roams the streets with no job and no prospect of one, accepting the assurances of capitalist statesmen that he is prosperous. These flabby partisans in patches never pause to inquire why it is if business men are having such smooth sailing the month of May broke all records in the number of that class who were compelled to surrender and become bankrupts. They are unable to see that wages paid to labor in 1900 have less purchasing power than wages paid ten or twenty years ago, or that if wages in some industries have been increased 10 per cent over the prevailing rate five or ten years back, the prices of all essential commodities that laborers must buy have been raised from 10 to 30 and even 50 per cent. Their idea of prosperity has been soaked into them by republican statesmen; it is a paltry rise in wages accompanied by an exorbitant rise in the level of prices. Then as to steady employment, there is absolutely no substantial ground for the claims made. On the contrary, employment is precarious and thousands of men in every large city and manufacturing district are without work and destitute. In Senator Lodge's own state only a few days ago over 200 men were discharged from a single mill at Worcester, and it is notorious that thousands of workers who are seeking employment in Massachusetts are not able to find it. In Connecticut the testimony of the secretary of a large manufactory is that every day men come there begging for work, and a visit to the factory doors in any city in the country will convince anybody save a republican politician or his duped and prosperity-doped followers that the claims of good times are false.

It is well that workingmen remember that not only are the blustering claims of republicans plainly and undeniably contradicted by actual facts and conditions, but that the expenditure of millions of public treasure with the avowed and much vaunted object of expanding trade and commerce and, quite incidentally, of course, providing more jobs for them, has so far counted for naught in their favor. The policy of imperialism has not benefited the average American workman one farthing's worth. It has neither added to his pleasures nor taken from his burdens. For him there is no better condition in store under capitalist "liberty."

At Copenhagen the First National Congress of Danish trade unions has been sitting. Over seventy trade unions, representing 83,110 adherents, were represented by delegates. Delegates were also present from Sweden and Norway. Resolutions were passed asking that help be given to workmen out of work, and it was determined to found a workmen's bank and to establish co-operative stores.

PLAIN TRUTH TERSELY TOLD

What is the use value of gold and gold standard laws to famishing men? Neither will now, nor ever did, produce a bushel of wheat or a peck of potatoes. Neither gold metal nor gold money can supply those things which are essential to sustain human life. Law and legality never yet fed the hungry or clothed the naked. Law and legality, impressed on a gold disc, never yet relieved human anguish or satisfied human needs. The needs of humanity can only be met by equitable distribution of the products of labor, and labor, though dragged in the dust and trodden under foot, is king—not law, not legality, not courts nor congresses.

The predatory rich proceed with their devastations on the assumption that they have a right to rule. By legal and illegal methods they have come into possession of the surplus values of labor. By making laws and breaking laws they have come into possession of government. There are humane and progressive rich people, but the predatory ruling rich of this "free" land are inhuman and retrogressive, and the sooner the people realize it and become their own rulers the better for them and for freedom.

You think that capital produces value and wonder how we could get along without capital. But have you ever known capital to produce anything? Did you ever see a plow that capital forged, or a locomotive that capital built, or a yard of cloth that capital produced? That watch in your pocket, or the shoes on your feet—did capital make them? This pen we write with, or this paper we write on, did capital make either? The source of all value is labor. Labor is also the source of all capital.

If there are men in your community who live without work, isn't it perfectly clear to you that some other men are producing what they consume? Does food grow and get itself prepared without labor? Does clothing weave, cut, fit and sew itself without labor? Do houses spring up without sacrifice of human energy? How do the men who build the houses, weave the cloth, make the clothing and raise the food live, compared with the men who live without work?

Did you ever think what heroic lives the rich live? They abstain from work, so the poor will not be deprived of a job; they steal the wealth of a man who works, so that he may not be burdened with taking care of it; they own and operate the government, so that the poor will not lose any time. O, the rich are very heroic, and it is hard to see how the country would get along without them. Then what a calamity it would be for the poor to have no rich.

The exploiting rich sometimes build hospitals for the poor; but they make the poor to occupy them.

They sometimes give charity to the poor; but they often withhold from the poor what belongs to them and would make charity unnecessary.

They sometimes build churches and pay preachers to tell the poor about the glories of the world to come; but they also infringe upon the rights of the poor in the world that now is.

Without laborers capitalists could not operate their capitalistic properties.

Without laborers capitalists could not accumulate fortunes from the land.

Without laborers capitalists would have no food to eat or clothes to wear.

Without laborers capitalists would be naked and hungry savages.

The laborer makes the capitalist and supports him when made.

The legality of the methods of the rich is beyond question. Having seized upon government and the law-making power, they have had the opportunity to legalize robbery, and it would be wholly their own fault if their methods were illegal. The justice of their methods is another matter. Legality has usurped justice.

Under wage-slavery the reward of the slave diminishes in proportion as his productiveness increases. With the aid of machinery the slave bestows on the wealthy an increasing amount of wealth and comfort, and on himself an increasing amount of wretchedness and want.

Individuals and corporations are able to procure the passage of laws because they are the lawmakers, masters and masters of the economic power of the country. They are able to practice extortion on the people because the people are economically powerless.

The rich are indebted to labor for the houses they live in, the clothes they wear and the food they eat. Labor is indebted to the rich for nothing. The rich would be unknown and capital unthinkable without labor.

No man goes without his dinner after he has earned it in order that another, who has not earned it, may eat, except the workingman.

The poor are equally entitled to the protection of law with the rich, but the rich make the laws, and laws that the rich make never protected the poor. To have a title to protection and be continually subject to plunder is to be a slave to a delusion.

In a true democracy, administered to secure to all social needs and comforts, the indispensable resources and utilities of the nation should be owned and controlled by the people collectively, and not by a class hostile to the public welfare.

There is only one landlord by divine right—mankind; only one land question—how can it be used to the best advantage?

NOTES AND COMMENT

The model American college president is a promoter with a pull on the surplus values of labor appropriated by the capitalist class.

Gallifet, the butcher of the Paris communards, is out of the French cabinet; but Millerand, the Socialist, remains. And the latter, by the way, is the chief orator in the functions connected with the great exposition.

The Northwestern university is to be commercialized, to keep pace with the "pillared pile of plunder" in South Chicago. But Harper, with Rockefeller's backing, has a long lead and the Northwestern's promoter must be up in the morning early to catch up.

The Baltimore Herald says that "Socialistic tendencies are far more prevalent in higher educational institutions than is generally supposed." Yes, and you're going to discover within six months that Socialist principles are far more prevalent in American homes than you suppose.

Chairman Hernly of the republican state committee of Indiana comes to the front with the very timely and very truthful statement that the trust question will really cut no figure in the campaign, for the very good reason that democrats are as much interested in the trusts as individuals as republicans.

Twenty-four hours after the promulgation of the Republican platform, every thinking, honest man realized that the country had been given a compound of deliberate misstatements, false claims and partisan buncombe, quite in keeping with the record of the party and fully up to its usual standard of hypocrisy.

The discovery has been made that a fellow employed as a detective by the St. Louis Transit company planted dynamite under one of the company's bridges. He is under arrest. He has been an office holder and is the son of the clerk of the Appellate court of the Fourth district of Illinois. It is hard to understand why this man, Havill by name, should be arrested for doing what the Transit company wanted done, while members of the posse comitatus who have killed striking workmen, also for the Transit company, go free.

The trend of the financial institutions of Chicago is strongly toward consolidation, although the two parties to which the financiers belong are professedly opposed to their schemes. The latest combine announced is that of the Lincoln National and Bankers' National banks. The first named, being the smaller, goes out of existence. Absorption is not the only process that is going on, for within four years six banks have failed. But the fellows with the biggest capital survive, and so prosperity is kept up.

Lord Roberts has invited the "Outlander Committee" to send thirty representatives of commercial houses of the Rand to Johannesburg to "assist the military authorities in the work of pacifying the mining districts." So this is the British idea of equal rights for all white men; to destroy the government of the native-born Boers and place the nondescript gold-hunting aliens in authority over them. And yet there are those who deny that this war has been instigated by and carried through in the interests of the capitalists!

It soaks into the apologists for capitalism very slowly that Socialism is spreading at an "alarming" rate in the United States. But we know of no country where it is needed more. Somebody named Thompson, hailing from Huntsville, Ala., has been making an egregious ass of himself, and giving another exhibition of the invincible hatred of the American capitalist class for freedom, by denouncing Socialists and labor leaders as "traitors." And as we read his class-conscious howl we expected him to wind up by advocating the thumb-screw and the rack for the intelligent workman who has mind enough to understand the class struggle and courage enough to cry "Down with the capitalist system of production, which makes the struggle necessary!"

Subscribe for the Herald.

OFFICIAL ANNOUNCEMENT

At a meeting of the national executive board held at Chicago, Friday, June 22, the following resolution was adopted:

"Resolved, That a national campaign committee of fifteen be chosen from Chicago and vicinity, and that the chairman of each state committee become ex-officio a member of said national committee, the respective states to select as many members of their committees as they deem advisable."

In accordance with the foregoing resolution the following comrades were named to constitute the committee of fifteen:

John Doerfler, Robert Meister, Edward Zeigler, Gust Richter, August Mohr, Eugene Rooney, James Beattie, Joseph Finn, Philip Brown, W. C. Horgan, J. H. Greer, James Wright, Frank Kozak, Jacob Winnen, E. D. Wheelock.

This committee is chosen for the purpose of taking charge of work connected with the campaign and requiring immediate attention, and stands as the recommendation of the board unless otherwise ordered by the membership.

The attention of members is called to the fact that with the adoption of the constitution the tenure of office of the present executive board expires and the election of a new board of nine members becomes necessary. The clause of the constitution relating to the executive board reads as follows:

"A national executive board of nine members, five of whom shall be chosen from territory convenient to the national headquarters, and shall be called 'resident members,' and the remaining four shall be chosen; so far as possible, from other parts of the country. All members of the executive board shall have equal rights and powers; but the resident members shall have power to act, and a majority of said resident members shall constitute a quorum. The non-resident members shall not be required to be present at all meetings of the board, but shall be kept advised of all proceedings of the board."

The constitution also provides that the board "shall be elected by the national convention." But the interests of the party, to say nothing of any other consideration, require that the constitutional provision for nine members be complied with and a new board chosen immediately. Suggestions are, therefore, in order as to the best method of procedure to facilitate the election of a new board in accordance with the provisions of the constitution above quoted.

EDITOR'S LETTER BOX

Comrade J. M. Reynolds of California sends the following question and asks for an answer through the columns of The Herald:

"Did the vote against the uniting of the Socialist Labor party and the Social Democratic party organizations mean that Comrade Job Harriman should be taken off the national ticket?"

The "manifesto" was directed solely against organic union with the anti-DeLeon faction of the Socialist Labor party. A majority of the members of the Social Democratic party voting on the question declared for no union, and subsequent developments have justified both the "manifesto" and the vote. That decision has been accepted by all loyal members of the party. The "manifesto" contained no proposition, or even a suggestion, to remove Job Harriman from the national ticket. He was nominated by the Social Democratic party convention at Indianapolis, and is today the nominee of the party for vice-president. The question as to whether he will continue in that relation or not rests entirely with him. Although the matter of organic union with the organization to which Job Harriman belongs was decided emphatically in the negative by our members through a referendum regularly instituted, the Social Democratic party, by its representatives, has repeatedly declared for political co-operation. This was rejected by those who favored organic union at any cost and under any conditions, and the expressed will of the majority voting on the question was repudiated and defied.

Notwithstanding this surprising and unsocialistic turn of affairs, the members of the Social Democratic party, including all who are temporarily in charge of its affairs, stand, as they always have stood, for political co-operation in the approaching campaign. Organic union was not perfected at Indianapolis, but political co-operation was made possible.

S. K.—What's the use? Such intellectual flubdub, while it may suit a large but certainly diminishing section of the flabby multitude, disturbs nobody and will get no "reply" from us. Let 'em splutter.

The Union Label

on everything you buy is a guarantee that the producers thereof receive a fair rate of wages for its production

Insist on having the label

FACTORY LIFE IN ENGLAND

Hard and gray Lancashire. I have been to the land of the hard-headed weavers; nay, I have done my share in those filthy factories. Know ye not, gentle reader, of the privileges and benefits which accrue from assiduously fulfilling the duties of factory life?

Working over my looms, my custom all day long, upon my secluded moments a thought did steal. I raised my head and looked around for inspiration, for some hope of relieve. Only yesterday I had wandered over breezy moors, had bathed in a clear northern stream, heard the birds twitter, seen the lark soar, and lost myself for hours among trees covered with honeysuckle and ivy. But now I say with Hamlet:

My sinews grow not instant cold,
But bear me stiffly up.

The scene is changed, for, instead of things beautiful, there is a dirty, white-washed wall, black, greasy, rumbling wheels, and myriads of pale faces on every side. It is fearful to realize, as I have many times done, that there is hardly a healthy, happy face to be seen in such a place. Often have strenuous efforts been made to find such faces, but, alas, those thin white dials are alone characteristic. I have noticed boys and girls at the age of ten enter the mills with bonny, cheerful faces, bright eyes, and with smiles that only children can wear. Watch them, and sooner or later the palor, weariness, and headaches have crept into their lives, and the sight of them ceases to gladden your heart.

Is there any wonder when you know that the air of the factory is filled with microscopic and large pieces of china clay, fat, and iron. In addition you have scores of persons breathing their waste products into the same receptacle, and the lavatories of the place are only a few yards from you. I well remember the occasions when I could not partake of my breakfast on account of the stench proceeding from the latter. Twice per week every loom has to be swept, and on those days the filth of perhaps a thousand looms is brushed off the machinery, and after floating in the air finally settles on the floor. The deposition of fine dust often forms layers half an inch in depth on undisturbed parts of the machinery. From this one can judge the amount which must reach the lungs of the weaver, and the subsequent stagnation of the blood is obvious.

This is not all. In winter you commence at 6 a. m., half asleep, tired from yesterday's work, and with very little, if any, hope for the day. You enter the place, the noise from which deafens you, and the hundreds of yellow lights make you almost sick. Bah, I can feel the cold steel even now, and the sad weary monotony of those days, haunts me. There is so little cotton, and so much artificial coating of wax and clay, that the frost snaps the delicate threads, and then your drudgery begins. To prevent this frequent breaking of the threads the law allows the manufacturers to send steam into the mill, and only the experienced know what those steam jets mean. Yes, I have felt my clothes growing damp, I have wiped the condensed water from the surface of the cold steel, and after a few years the indelible seeds of rheumatism have been sown in my body. All this time the noise is as loud and irritating as ever, the air is getting sickly, the lights are consuming the air, and your heart is growing weary.

Can you imagine that such slaves find pleasure in their work? Would you expect to find human beings sanctioning such conditions of life? The truth would shock you. I am just thinking of a group of women—many of them mothers—who got me sacked for opening one of the ventilators on a hot summer's day. These women were absolutely ignorant of the necessity for pure air, their faces were pale and shriveled, and they bore children almost periodically. There was one poor wretch who continued at her work until a month prior to giving birth, and who tried to obtain re-employment a fortnight after the event. It is impossible to exaggerate the horrible influence which such a life must have on the future generations.

I have not mentioned anything about the life in summer. I would rather take you to one of the weaving sheds on some glorious July day and let you smell the place. The weaving sheds stink, and what wonder when the temperature is often 90 degrees F., steam jets are playing over your shoulders, and perspiring bodies are covered with damp, dirty clothes. The law states that from .04 to .06 per cent of carbonic acid gas is the limit for pure air, but I have made quantitative experiments with limewater, and found the quantity to be as much as 2 and 3 per cent. Any scientist knows that this quantity of carbonic acid gas is over fifty times that fixed as the limit by sanitary law, and it means absolute destruction of health to all the unfortunate victims.

I once tried to grow some peas in a flower-pot under my looms. My God, it was a lesson to all biologists. To see that pale, sickly, straggling thing attempting to reach sunlight was pitiful. Not a single specimen ever bore good leaves, never tell of flowers and fruits. The weavers saw these things, and I pointed out what was only too obvious, that the whole organization of the plant

was stunted and diseased and suggested a like fate for ourselves. In consequence, they designated me a crank.

I intended criticising a noted labor man of the north, who stated that factory life had a stimulating effect on the minds of young people. His ideas were based on the fact that a certain young man, once a half-timer at the mill, had been placed at the top of a government scholarship list open to the United Kingdom. Enough, when you learn that this leader kept every one of his children out of the mill.

Meanwhile, the wheel goes round, and our army is preparing the way for extension of such diabolical industries.

LAND VALUE TAXATIONISM

Who is the land monopolist, so far as the working-class dweller in towns is concerned? Surely it is the man who draws rent from him for the place in which he sleeps. In most cases this individual is the leaseholder who pays a ground rent to the freeholder—the land monopolist, from the land-taxer's point of view—but whether he be freeholder or leaseholder, what difference can the taxation of land values make to his tenant, or how can it free the latter from the evils of land monopoly? Generally speaking, a man having a house to let lets it for as much as he can get. Whether he is a leaseholder or a freeholder makes no difference to the tenant as tenant, and whether the total ground rent goes into the pockets of the individual freeholder or a considerable portion goes into the national or municipal exchequer makes no difference either. That it makes a difference to the other direct taxpayers or ratepayers we readily admit; but we are just now considering the matter from the point of view of its effect on the monopoly of land, and it is clear to us that in this respect the taxation of land values can produce no effect whatever. The man who holds land to cultivate it for profit, or to build houses on it for profit, is the real, active monopolist so far as the common people are concerned, and whether he, as freeholder, pockets the whole of the "swag" himself, or, as leaseholder, shares it with another thief in the background, or is made to hand part of it over to the state or the municipality in order to relieve other capitalists of part of their burdens, makes no real difference to his actual monopoly of the soil.

In the main the monopoly of land is pretty much the same as the monopoly of other means of production; the monopoly is held for the purpose of exploiting labor in one way or another. It makes no material difference to the exploited workman whether the employer rents or owns the machine with which he (the workman) is exploited. So with a factory, and so also with the land upon which the factory stands. When a man rents a factory he does not do so for amusement, but for profit. That profit he makes by the exploitation of the "hands" whom he employs. Now, he exploits these hands in precisely the same fashion and to exactly the same extent whether he simply rents the factory or it actually belongs to him. But say he rents it at, say, £50 a year; his rates and taxes would be about another £10 a year. The ground rent—forming part of the £50—would be, say, £10 a year. Now, suppose the £10 a year which the factory holder at present pays in rates and taxes were taken from the ground rent, it would simply increase the balance of the sum total of his exploitation left in the hands of the factory holder. No one supposes for a moment that he would, therefore, reduce the exploitation of his hands in proportion to the amount of taxation of which he was relieved. Thus, at the utmost, the taxation of land values in this instance would simply mean shifting the burden from the shoulders of the capitalist exploiter and putting it on those of the ground landlord.—From Justice, London.

Slavery in Hawaii

Mr. Sewall, special agent of the United States in Hawaii, has just submitted a report on labor conditions in the islands. It is so sugar-coated that the average reader might imagine it a seventh heaven of bliss to be permitted to labor under contract in the islands. It reads like those special pleas which used to be made to show what a beneficent institution slavery is. The few cold facts which cannot be concealed in the document are what the working people of this country want to know. They are:

1. Contract labor exists in the islands. 2. Agents of the United States scour Europe and bring laborers to Hawaii under contract. 3. The terms of the contract are such that the laborers are practically slaves for many years, if not for all time. 4. Whipping, fining, and all the barbarous adjuncts of such compulsory labor are in full force. Many men desert and face starvation rather than stay in contract labor slavery.

The people of this country have made their fight against the horrors of contract labor. It is in some respects even worse than slavery. It is now permitted and excused, even commended, in Hawaii, one of our possessions, and, presumably, an integral part of the United States. What will be the next step?—Washington Correspondent

ORGANIZATION WANTED IN EVERY STATE OF THE UNION

California Socialists

Socialists resident in California and not members of the Social Democratic party are requested to communicate with John Carter, 929 Twenty-second street, San Francisco.

Oregon Socialists, Attention

You are requested to communicate with J. D. Stevens, Box 204, Portland, organizer for the S. D. P., with a view to instituting branches of the party in your community. The future belongs to Socialism. Lend a hand and get your state thoroughly organized.

Iowa Socialists

All reformers living in Iowa who are interested in the Social Democracy are requested to communicate with the undersigned. By unanimous vote of the S. D. P. branches of the state I have been made the party organizer for the state. I desire the name of every Socialist in Iowa. A. W. Ricker, Lone Tree, Iowa.

Arizona Socialists

In every community should correspond with M. J. Casper, Box 178, Globe, Tucson, Ariz. We have plans for keeping organizers in the field to organize branches in every town in Arizona before November; 500 Socialists pledging 25 cents per month each will do it. Don't miss it—write at once.

North Dakota Socialists

Socialists residing in North Dakota and desiring to organize for effective propaganda work in that state are requested to correspond with Math. Eldness, Towner, N. D.

Michigan Socialists

All Social Democrats and all unattached Socialists residing in Michigan are requested to write at once to Henry Ramsey, 84 Railroad street, Battle Creek, Mich., and thus aid in placing a Social Democratic state ticket in the field this fall.

Southern California, Attention

All Socialists in the seven southern counties of Southern California should now get to work and so far as possible form branches in every voting precinct. To further this end communicate at once with James T. Van Rensselaer, 1618 Toberman street, Los Angeles, Cal.

Attention, Nebraska

Persons living in Nebraska and accepting the principles of Socialism are requested to communicate with T. A. Edwards, 3220 California street, Omaha, with a view to the organization of branches of the Social Democratic party.

Montana Socialists

All unattached Socialists in Montana please communicate with J. F. Fox, 71 E. Park street, Butte, for the purpose of furthering Social Democratic propaganda.

To Texas Socialists

For purpose of state organization, the Bonham Social Democratic branch requests that every Socialist in Texas who reads this notice, will please send name and address to the undersigned. Please attend to this at once. W. E. Farmer, Bonham, Texas.

AMONG THE TOILERS

The strike of the journeymen horse-shoers in Buffalo has been settled.

The Massachusetts legislature is considering a bill for the establishment of a state printing office.

The United Brewery Workers of America will hold their twelfth national convention at Detroit on Sept. 9.

General housework girls of Decatur, Ill., are holding meetings for the purpose of bettering the condition of this class of workers. It is stated that a union will be organized.

The Buffalo Trades and Labor council and the directors of the Pan-American Fair have reached an agreement that guarantees union wages and citizen labor in the construction of the exposition buildings.

The Building Trades council of Minneapolis, Minn., has issued a circular to the architects and contractors, stating that hereafter no mill work, bars or bar fixtures will be set up or put in a place unless they bear the label of the Amalgamated Woodworkers' union.

Business Agent W. J. O'Brien of the New York branch of the National Granite Cutters' union, states that after a strike of fourteen weeks the eight-hour day has been granted in all of the 103 cities of the United States under the jurisdiction of the union.

A late accounting by the Tobacco Workers' union shows that seventy-nine manufacturing concerns are now using the organization's blue label, and list and patronage are both growing rapidly. With the foregoing fact in view there is no occasion for unionists to claim that there is no union label tobacco on the market.

Gen. Gallifet resigned nominally on the ground of ill-health, but it is said that he disapproved of the way in which Waldeck-Rousseau referred to the officer who communicated some official documents to a Nationalist deputy. Now the reactionary newspapers are praising the general, but they are very disappointed in another minister of war having been appointed. No one can like Gallifet, remembering the part he played in the suppression of the Commune, but he undoubtedly helped the republic by taking office last year.

Subscribe for "The Herald"

SPLENDID LIFE-LIKE

PORTRAIT

EUGENE V. DEBS

CANDIDATE OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY FOR

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

SIZE—21 X 28 INCHES, ON GOOD PAPER

Price, 10 Cents, Single Copy

Sent by mail, securely enclosed in tube to insure safe transmission, on receipt of price.

Address,

CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY,
126 Washington St., Chicago

THE PLATFORM

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness depend upon equal political and economic rights.

In our economic development an industrial revolution has taken place, the individual tool of former years having become the social tool of the present. The individual tool was owned by the worker who employed himself and was master of his product. The social tool, the machine, is owned by the capitalist and the worker is dependent upon him for employment. The capitalist thus becomes the master of the worker and is able to appropriate to himself a large share of the product of his labor.

Capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people; but the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system will necessitate the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare.

The present system of social production and private ownership is rapidly converting society into two antagonistic classes—i. e., the capitalist class and the propertyless class. The middle class, once the most powerful of this great nation, is disappearing in the mill of competition. The issue is now between the two classes: first named. Our political liberty is now of little value to the masses unless used to acquire economic liberty.

Independent political action and the trade union movement are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its political, the other its economic wing, and both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system.

Therefore the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be:

First—The organization of the working class into a political party to conquer the public powers now controlled by capitalists.

Second—The abolition of wage-slavery by the establishment of a national system of co-operative industry, based upon the social or common ownership of the means of production and distribution, to be administered by society in the common interest of all its members, and the complete emancipation of the socially useful classes from the domination of capitalism.

The working class and all those in sympathy with their historic mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America.

The control of political power by the Social Democratic party will be tantamount to the abolition of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting the millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international Socialism, the brotherhood of man.

As steps in that direction, we make the following demands:

First—Revision of our federal constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to complete control of government by the people irrespective of sex.

Second—The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

Third—The public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones; all means of transportation, and communication; all water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

Fourth—The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal, and other mines, and all oil and gas wells.

Fifth—The reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

Sixth—The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

Seventh—Useful inventions to be free, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

Eighth—Labor legislation to be national, instead of local, and international when possible.

Ninth—National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.

Tenth—Equal civil and political rights, for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

Eleventh—The adoption of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

Twelfth—Abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

The Social Democratic

Red Book

ORDER IT

PRICE 15 CENTS

Sent postpaid on receipt of price

DEBS PUBLISHING CO.

TERRE HAUTE, IND.

SOCIALIST

4TH OF JULY OUTING

Second Annual Picnic

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Of Chicago

JULY FOURTH, 1900

At Bergmann's Grove
On Desplaines River

Watch The Herald for full particulars. A large attendance of Social Democrats with their families and friends is expected.

Make no other engagement for the Fourth. Help the sale of Tickets, 10 cents each.

Pocket Library of Socialism

1. Woman and the Social Problem. By MAY WOOD BROWN. Shows that the emancipation of woman will only come with the emancipation of man through socialism.
2. The Evolution of the Class Struggle. By WILLIAM H. NILES. A historical study showing how socialism is coming.
3. Imprudent Marriages. By ROBERT BLATNEY. A masterly answer to the argument that "pre-arranged" would be the best of labor.
4. Peckington. By A. M. SIMONS. A study of the Union Stock Yards, Chicago; how nature and man are alike scientifically exploited.
5. Socialism in Literature and Art. By CHARLES H. DARBOW. Shows how the workers of modern art and literature are helping on the new social order.
6. Single Tax vs. Socialism. By A. M. SIMONS. Shows the inadequacy of the Single Tax as a remedy for the evils pointed out by Henry George.
7. Wage-Labor and Capital. By KARL MARX. The essence of the great philosopher's theory, in his own words.
8. The Man Under the Machine. By A. M. SIMONS. Tells how wage slavery began, what it is today and how the workers are going to free themselves.
9. The Mission of the Working Class. By RY. CHARLES H. VALL, author of "Modern Socialism," etc.
10. Morals and Socialism. By CHARLES H. KRA. Shows how popular ideas of morals are manipulated in the interest of the capitalist class.
11. Socialist Songs. Sixteen good ones, 5¢ each.
12. After Capitalism What? By REV. WILLIAM T. BROWN. A logical historical study showing that socialism must come as the result of forces now at work.
13. A Political Quack Doctor. By W. A. CORRY. A socialist view of the "Prohibition" movement.

Daintily printed, five cents each, post-paid.

SPECIAL OFFER—For one dollar we will mail forty copies of the Pocket Library, all of one kind, as asserted as preferred.

SEND ORDERS TO

THEODORE DEBS
126 Washington St., CHICAGO

The Book You Need

PRINCIPLES OF

Scientific Socialism

By Rev. Charles H. Vall

Author of "Modern Socialism" and "National Ownership of Railways."

CONTENTS:

The Industrial Revolution. The Analysis of Value. The Origin of Surplus Value. The Advantages of Socialism: Production, Distribution, Elimination of Unnecessary Expenses, Prevention of Waste, Elevation of Women, Proper Care and Training of Children, Efficient Direction, Solution of the Monetary Question, Abolition of Taxation, Simplification of Government, Benefits to Capitalists, Benefits to Laborers. The Evidence of the Moral Strength of Socialism: Its Spirit and Aim: Abolition of Business Dishonesty; Restriction of Divorce; Prevention of Prostitution; Elimination of Crime; Prevention of Intemperance, Insanity, etc. Poverty—Its Cause and Cure. Wage Slavery vs. Chattel Slavery. Rent and Interest. The Law of Wages. The Law of Progress. Industrial Depression and Commercial Crises. The Problem of Labor-saving Machinery. Popular Economic Errors: That Value is Determined by Capitalist Cost of Production; that the Interests of Laborers and Capitalists are identical; that Labor is Better Off Today Than Ever Before; that Cheap Prices are Beneficial to Labor; that Foreign Markets are Beneficial to Labor; that Luxury is Beneficial to Labor; that Land Nationalization Would Solve the Social Question; that Extravagance is the Chief Cause of Economic Want; that Socialism Would Thwart Inventions and Improvements; that Socialism Would Destroy Individuality. Conclusion and Index. 12mo, 236 Pages; Paper, 50c; Cloth, \$1.00.

SEND ORDERS TO

THEODORE DEBS, 126 Washington St.
CHICAGO

NATIONAL FUND

The following is a list of comrades who have agreed, in response to the appeal of the National Executive Board, to contribute monthly for one year to the national fund. Other names will be added as they are received

CONNECTICUT	NEW YORK
Finesilver, N. H. Hartford	Fales, L. C. Beacon
Holman, B. Hartford	Abbott, L. D. New York
ILLINOIS	Butcher, W. C. Brooklyn
Stedman, S. Chicago	Thomas, E. H. New York
James Cox, Chicago	Kahn, Arthur. New York
P. P. Ayer, Chicago	Hels, F. W. New York
"A Friend" Chicago	Loupeloir, Jas. New York
Dr. J. H. Greer, Chicago	Mark, J. New York
Mrs. C. Brown, Chicago	Wesell, Chas. New York
"Friend" Chicago	Mark Raphael, New York
James Wright, Chicago	Arnold, N. S. New York
INDIANA	Phillip Gruber, New York
E. V. Debs, Terre Haute	Sanger, Wm. New York
MASSACHUSETTS	Meade, T. F. Brooklyn
Flanders, P. B. Haverhill	NEW JERSEY
Cohen, A. Boston	Pankoff, Carl. Jersey City
Parker, Levi, W. Newton	Karl Lindner, Paterson
Munette, G. T. Brockton	"Comrade" Newark
Bowditch, W. P. Brockton	OHIO
Tate, Peter. Everett	Boever, Jos. Cleveland
Hitchcock, D. G. Warren	Zorn, Julius. Cincinnati
Goldman, S. Haverhill	Braun, F. Cincinnati
Hough, E. W. Newton	Altendrecht, C. Cleveland
Chase, J. C. Haverhill	PENNSYLVANIA
Grove, J. W. Tewksbury	Lewis, J. H. Pittsburgh
Griener, C. B. Amesbury	F. W. Hirt. Erie
Allison, Helen N. Lynn	NEW ENGLAND
Scow, Dr. J. A. Lynn	Enloe, Dr. B. E. Nashua
Cary, Jas. F. Haverhill	Hamilton, W. A. Nashua
MICHIGAN	Madison, Wm. Nashua
Kaliber, S. Grand Rapids	TEXAS
MINNESOTA	Fries, R. S. Houston
Geswein, F. Red Lake Falls	WISCONSIN
MISSOURI	Berger, V. L. Milwaukee
Fischer, Wm. St. Louis	Rooney, E. H. Milwaukee
Feller, Henry. St. Louis	Ziegler, E. Milwaukee
Enosche, Wm. St. Louis	Duerber, John. Milwaukee
MARYLAND	Borman, G. Milwaukee
Jacobson, E. Baltimore	Arnold, L. Milwaukee
NEW HAMPSHIRE	Meister, E. Milwaukee
Gordon, F. G. Manchester	Tuttle, H. Milwaukee
Howie, Geo. Manchester	Smith, W. Milwaukee
Mallen, C. H. Somersworth	Branch, A. Milwaukee
Somersworth Branch	

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

THIRD YEAR. No. 3.

CHICAGO, ILL., U. S. A., SATURDAY, JULY 7, 1900.

Whole No. 105.

SOCIAL DEMOCRAT'S LETTER TO THE CAPITALIST CLASS

The Position of the Uninventive and Useless Owners of Capital in Society Clearly Defined.—Story of the Ungrateful Donkey

By Hon. Atterbury

I would like to have a straight talk with you, Mr. Capitalist. The business of life and the struggle to live is very serious business to most men. To you living consists chiefly of a round of pleasures. No wish the gratification of which money can buy, provided your health is good, is denied you. I do not, of course, mean to be understood as saying that all very rich men enjoy life. Far from that. There are those among you who think too much of a dollar to enjoy the beauties of anything of anything but compound interest. They have little bits of weazeny souls that sometimes cast very serious reflections upon many Biblical statements I might quote, were it not for the misery of being misunderstood. I might, with equal chances of making an impression, go and talk to a state legislature, filled with pot-house politicians, about the rights of man—as a man—and not as a party man. And you can readily imagine how hopeless an undertaking that would be. This is an assumption on my part; it may be, however, that many of you never thought of it. It is, then, to those of your number who really enjoy life and have the power, under the law and over the law, to add to your present vast accumulations of wealth by monopolizing land and capital—the resources of nature, and the means of transforming these resources into things necessary to the sustenance and the comfort of human beings.

And the first thing I have to say to you is a word about land. You cannot successfully combat the proposition that the present distribution, use and disse of the bounty of nature denies to millions of men, quite as worthy and intelligent as yourself, access to opportunities of gaining a livelihood. You cannot, I think, deny that in nature, independent of law, there is nowhere to be found any sanction for your class to distribute land with so little reference to justice and the absolute necessities of the human race as to make the earth for millions a living tomb, instead of a glorious habitation. You will not dare, I venture to say, to supplement your last donation to the fund for saving the heathen in foreign countries, with the contention that while the earth and all its fullness may have originally been the Lord's, some Yankee or British syndicate has, by discovering a defect in the title, come into undisputed and perpetual proprietorship. There is no defect in the title of the human race, gentlemen! That is superior to your title, superior to any individual right, though the latter has the sanction and seal of all the governments that ever existed. Your titles to the land were mostly obtained by force and are maintained by fraud. While your class holds land out of use, owns, as you say, millions of acres of the fertile lands of the world that you cannot use, your selfishness, and cruelty, and greed, is accomplishing the degradation and ruin of the human race. Like the great thieves of Rome, who gradually stole the common lands of the people, you are slowly, surely driving the people from nature's bounties and have sanctified your larcenies by forms of law.

The foregoing is fundamental in your scheme of usurpation of common human rights. Yours is a system that could not exist without the protection of governments, and that protection you have obtained by methods of force and corruption. You pride yourselves, no doubt, that you have by legality banished justice from the world, and like Cervantes, who thought he had laughed the last dying breath out of the body of civilization, you imagine the soul of democracy is extinct, and to you has forever fallen the task of writing the laws for seventy millions of people. But as in the history of social and industrial progress we find system after system decay and pass away, so you shall find one day that the people are supreme and that the political sovereignty with which you fool them will not always suffice. Make no mistake, gentlemen, the ghastly mockery and grinning farce you now call freedom will not do; it will rot last, for the fundamental principles of human welfare are planted in the human brain and your fences will go down.

But your monopoly of the land is not yet quite so complete as that of machinery and things which the brain and muscle of ingenious and industrious men have transformed from land into what your class calls its capital. You are the owner of a railroad—which you did not build; the principal work in building a railroad, I understand, is done with pick and shovel, but you

never turned a shovelful of earth on the railroad you own. You may claim that you paid the strong-limbed men who did, but you didn't; that is one of the great mistakes you capitalists make, viz., that you pay the wages of workingmen. All wages are paid by the men who do the work, workingmen pay their own wages. More than that, they pay your income. Your income and their wages came from the same original source—labor applied to natural resources. You neither created the resources nor performed the labor, but the property is yours, yours by a systematic confusion of the moral sense of mankind.

Did you ever think how much work was done for society and the building of railroads before you could own one? Is it any merit of yours that you can fly over the rails in the president's car at sixty miles an hour? How much did you have to do with building a locomotive, or an eighty-pound steel rail, or the hewing of ties, or the bridging of rivers, or the mining of iron? I can't put my finger on any work done by you. You didn't even invent so much as a screw, or a nut, or a bolt, all of which had to be discovered before a locomotive could be built to run on your railroad. All these things required thought and patience and a thousand experiments before you could enjoy the luxury of owning a railroad, and most of your class, I am inclined to believe, never had the power of thought, the patience or the skill to do any of them. If I am wrong in this send me the name of a capitalist who has ever built a railroad, or any part of a railroad, I shall be happy to acknowledge that your class is not as bad as I have believed it to be.

Why should you monopolize the thought, the patience, the experiments and the skill of thousands of men in the past? These things could not belong to you but for one fact, you have been protected in your scheme of monopolization by laws enacted as often as not by governments or legislatures which you have seized and perverted to your own selfish ends. You are a punctual man, I have heard it said. How did you learn to be punctual? By the aid of the watch you carry. But you didn't invent the watch and you couldn't make one. With you "time is money," but you would be as ignorant of the divisions of time as you appear to be of human misery, save for the ingenuity, experiments, patience and thought of the Harries and the Barlows of three centuries ago, and the skill of the Arabians a thousand years before them.

You may take an inventory of what you own and be accounted a very wealthy man; but if you will follow that with another of things you have made, your credit, I imagine, will be exceedingly small. You are much given to deluding yourself and trying to delude other folks with the idea that what you call your capital is your savings. That is a fallacy. If capital is the result of savings, one of your class, John Rockefeller, is the most deserving man in America! Now isn't such a thought preposterous? If Jay Gould was able by disposing of mouse traps made with his own hands to save one dollar a day, that was clearly saving from his own labor; but just as soon as a maker of mouse traps becomes an employer of other men engaged at turning out mouse traps, he becomes, under your system, an appropriator of other men's earnings; he is then able to live better, but he does not live on his own savings. That idea has been in an advanced stage of decay for a long time. So I am unable to see what there is to set down to your credit. You owe everything you have to men now living and working and to other men who worked and died long before you came into this world to preempt its natural wealth, get a cinch on pendants and slaves of human beings who, on the score of merit, outrank you and all your tribe. No one man invented the steam engine or the clock; neither did you, Mr. Monopolist, make your own fortune. Your self-made man is a pure humbug and your talk about thrift man's social inheritance and make de- and saving sheer nonsense.

There is a little fable about a donkey and his master. It is quite suggestive in its way; and, as you may not have heard it, I will venture to recall it:

The master employed the ass to carry upon his back great sacks of oats. One day the patient burden-bearer stopped suddenly in the highway.

"Go on, beast," said the great Man. "I can go no further," brayed the Ass.

"Thou ungrateful beast," said the Man, "do I not give thee work by which thou dost earn thy feed?" "Alas!" said the Ass, "my burdens are so heavy and my feet so light that I am too weak to trudge farther." "If thou dost not go on I shall lose the market for my oats. Go on, or I will goad thee!"

But the patient Ass still refused to go, whereupon the Man began to goad him severely. The Ass resented this by kicking and shaking every sack of grain from his back to the ground, which so frightened the great Man that he called to a Passer-by for help.

There was a kind look in the Stranger's eyes as he said to the great Man: "Thou art rightly served; the Ass can carry the whole load if he has less on his back and more in his stomach!"

Now, Mr. Capitalist, there is a lesson for you—and another for the asses in that fable. I think the asses are learning theirs, and when they have it thoroughly you had better "look a leedle out!" As sure as you are a living glutton, the ass will suddenly stop in the road some day and "dump" you with your stolen property. Study Socialism and begin to do something useful for the human race and the rescue of men, women and children from the pit into which your beastly commercialism is plunging them.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

The bitterly fought municipal election in Vienna resulted in a victory for the anti-Semites, which party is composed of the nobility, capitalists, clericals and other factions that are antagonistic to Jews. The combination, by the most bare-faced frauds and shameful gerrymandering, won 131 seats in the council, while the Progressives secured but 21. For the first time the Socialists are represented, winning two seats. The popular vote shows the infamous manner in which the capitalistic government has gerrymandered the city. The anti-Semites polled only 77,608 for their 131 seats, while the Socialists secured only two seats with 56,306 votes. Thousands of workingmen were also disfranchised, and this farcical condition will cause more fights in parliament.

The third annual meeting of the Trades Union Congress is being held at Vienna. Since 1896 there has been an increase of 40,000 members, but even now there are only 157,773 trade unionists in the whole country. That, undoubtedly, is one of the chief reasons why strikes generally fail; battles cannot be won unless the army is well organized beforehand. The chief subject for debate was the question of organization.

At Kronstadt, in Transylvania, the first congress of the Transylvanian Socialist party has been held. The inhabitants of this part of Austria are nearly all Roumanians, but the congress determined to take no part in the nationalist quarrels, but to agitate for federation and for universal suffrage. Two papers are to be started. They are to appear monthly, one being in Roumanian and one in German.

The West Ham Corporation, England, maintains an artificial-stone factory for supplying flagging stones. The department is making a profit of over £1,500 a year on what is as yet a very small turnover. The West Ham Corporation has also a stable depot and supplies horses to the health department and the highways and park committee.

Paul Iglesias is going on a lecturing tour through the south of Spain. He is to lecture at Malaga, Gibraltar, Sevilla, Cordova and several other places. It is also stated in El Socialista of Madrid that the Socialists in the Argentine Republic will hold their third congress on July 1, and that a Workmen's party is to be formed at San Domingo, in the West Indies.

"Richard Croker, the New York politician, recently purchased a bulldog for which he paid the sum of \$4,000," says the Typographical Journal. "According to a decision of a New York judge, rendered some time ago, a baby is worth \$1, hence one bulldog is worth 4,000 babies. Do you believe?"

The English delegates to establish a labor college in this country arrived in New York, and a big mass meeting will be held July 8 to inaugurate the plan. The Britishers contribute \$20,000 toward the proposed college.

In New York state 910 persons were killed and nearly 40,000 crippled in shops, factories and industrial pursuits in the year 1899. In the war with Spain 280 Americans were killed and 1,557 wounded.

A congress is to be held at Amsterdam to try and form a united Socialist party, so as to secure the co-operation of revolutionary and parliamentary Socialists.

Twenty-six weeks for 20 cents

COMRADE CLEMENS OF KANSAS REPELS A "BAYONET" CHARGE

If a Man Due in California Got Into a Wagon Going to New York, What Would You Think of Him?

From Western Socialist News

Although I have said nothing about it in these columns, it is a fact that I am supposed to be a candidate for governor of Kansas—the nominee of the Social Democratic party. I am not yet nominated, for a referendum is pending and some other man may be "it." For this reason, and a few others, I have not been worrying over my candidacy, and up to this date I have not promised a single job to anybody. I have not even bethought me of the selection of a private secretary. But I am beginning to feel important now, for the fusion press and the fusion fixers and bosses are going after me in a style that seems to indicate they are afraid I may, through the thoughtlessness or carelessness of the stupid masses, actually get some votes! I am going to get a silk tile if this row over me keeps on a while longer. A good fusion paper published at Wichita by a contract-labor editor imported by Jerry Simpson from Washington has just gone after me with a three-column bayonet charge. The kind-hearted, if misguided, editor pays me this handsome compliment:

"Clemens, as simply Citizen Clemens, is no more to me than I am to Clemens; but Candidate Clemens who declares he is running for governor in the interests of the people, but is in reality an assistant Republican, needs some attention."

Hear that? But that is not the only nice thing he says about me. Read: "It is more than a right, it is a duty, to take to task a man who, claiming to be a friend to the people, is giving their enemies his ablest assistance in keeping locked the gate to reform."

That is to say, I am liable to keep locked the gate through which the pure and holy office-seekers, who have fused with not only the Democratic party, Tammany and all, but the railroad companies of Kansas as well, must pass to the enjoyment of the jobs they have agreed among themselves to permit "the people" to give them in the name of "reform." Whatever I can do toward it I shall certainly do to keep "locked the gate to reform" while the "reform" is of the peculiar brand that requires the most disgraceful and most brazen trafficking for mere office ever witnessed on this politics-cursed earth since the days of Walpole. My esteemed contemporary, which, by the way, has not offered to exchange with the News, will please accept the assurance of my distinguished consideration for the unsolicited send-off it has given my humble candidacy. I am everlastingly glad

that the fusionists have at last conceded that as a candidate for governor I "need some attention."

But the particular thing I wish to speak of is the following Bayonet thrust:

"Suppose a man who wanted to go to China was offered a seat in the conveyance of a man who wanted to go only to California, refused the seat with scorn and abuse and started to walk, just because the man who was going to California refused to agree that he would continue on to China, what would you think of him anyway?"

My dear Bayonet, I must confess I must look upon him as a man acting very much like a fool. But suppose a man wishing to journey to California should chance to meet a wagon on its way back to New York, and the driver should say to him: "Brother, we are bound in the same direction. Get into my wagon and you will reach your destination much sooner than on foot." If the man due in California got into that wagon to ride, "What would you think of him; anyway?" As Socialism is the very antithesis of competition, and as Mr. Bryan and his crowd are determined to "restore competition," kindly enlighten me, my dear Bayonet, whether my supposition or yours more truly presents the actual situation. Mr. Bryan does not stand for a single new idea. His entire program is reactionary. His one aim is to get back to the old state of things in every direction. He is the most conservative candidate today running for the presidency. Why free silver? To restore old conditions. Why "smash the trusts"? To restore old conditions. Do everything Mr. Bryan urges and the country will not have taken a single step in advance; it will merely have returned to "the good old times." Socialists do not wish to return to the past. They wish to preserve all the advantages civilization has gained for mankind, including the concentration of industries and all other industrial machinery. Socialism does not propose that mankind shall retreat a single inch toward the past. It wishes to carry over into the new social order, everything of use or of beauty the world possesses today. In short, Socialism's aim is not to destroy anything the world has in it, but to give the enjoyment of all the world possesses to all the people instead of to a class. Socialists are progressive, not reactionary. What good would a ride in Bryan's wagon do us?

SWEET CHARITY AND CAPITAL

Sweet Charity was one day passing down the street dressed in the height of fashion, and showing in every line of her figure and in every feature of her countenance evidences of taste and refinement, when she came upon Industry lying beastly drunk in the gutter just able to drag himself up on his elbow and curse a well-dressed gentleman by the name of Capital, who was passing in a stylish carriage. Sweet Charity and Capital exchanged greetings, agreed that Industry was in a shocking state of demoralization, tossed him a dime to sober up on, and then congratulated one another that their names had been changed by act of legislature so that nobody would ever suspect them of being daughter and son of that loathsome wretch, or that everything they had in the world they received from him.

There is in New York a certain benevolent millionairess whose income is a thousand dollars a day or such a matter. She gives money away liberally and her "benevolences" are widely heralded in the newspapers.

She knows very well that there are a thousand young women in New York whose combined income is less than hers, and yet that each one of those thousand young women renders more useful service to society every day than she does in a month. They work like slaves for their pittance. She merely holds her embroidered apron, and money rains into it faster than she can get rid of it.

Her father accumulated the money from which her income is derived by methods that are little short of diabolical. Thousands of men were ruined through his financial manipulations. She probably has never taken the trouble to look up her father's record, or, if she has, she feels herself powerless to remedy it. Her share of the fortune would not go far in making restitution even to the people she knows about who are in financial straits through her father's

genius for money-making. Her great wish is to make herself honored and loved by the American people as her father is despised. So she is giving dollars in benevolence where her father took thousands by perfidy.—The Straight Edge.

Bryanism and Social Democracy

Social Democracy is not Bryan Democracy. Bryan Democracy is mainly political. Its chief object is to get the presidency and other places of profit and power. It does not propose to change any of the elements of our present economic system out of which have arisen our present economic difficulties. It does not intend to stop the machinery which, to manufacture millionaires, multiplies paupers. It would not crucify labor on a cross of gold, but would leave untouched the old-fashioned cross made of the wage system as a base, with rent, interest and profit as head and arms. It desires to eat the cake of imperialism and keep it at the same time. The Social Democratic party stands for radical remedies. It believes in putting a stop to concentration of the country's wealth in few hands. It believes that private ownership of the sources and instruments of wealth production is the groundwork of wealth concentration. To get rid of the evil public ownership must, through government action, be made to take the place of private ownership of those things.

This is the economic side of Social Democracy. It involves social interests, for all society is interested in an equitable distribution of wealth. It is democratic, for it puts the wealth-making and wealth-distributing power into the hands of all the people. Is this desirable? or is plutocracy better? One or the other seems inevitable. We favor the program of Social Democrats.—Civic and Social Problems.

The Kansas City convention proposes that the asses shall change riders; but a change of riders won't help the asses.

Social Democratic Herald

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board
FREDERIC HEATH, Chairman
SEYMOUR STEEDMAN, Secretary
EUGENE V. DEBS, VICTOR L. BERGERE,
CORINNE S. BROWN

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, 50 cents. Six months, 25 cents. No papers sent to any one on credit. If, without having subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and no bill will follow. Foreign subscriptions \$1.00.

Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

A. S. EDWARDS, Editor
THEODORE DEBS, National Sec'y-Treas.
196 Washington St., Chicago.

105 is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 106 your subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, JULY 7, 1900.

WHAT HAS CAPITAL DONE?

Would there be any clothing without labor, or any houses, or ships, or railroads, or machines without labor? Would there be any food for anybody without labor? Can capital produce pictures, write or print books, raise wheat or corn, make machines, build houses or ships, construct railroads or cut and sew clothing? Has capital anywhere ever done any of these things? Do you know of a single mile of railroad in all the 180,000 miles, that capital has built? Ever seen a pair of socks that capital knitted or a horseshoe that capital forged? Do you think that all the capital in this world could produce this week's paper? If capital can do none of these things, and the doing of them is so essential to human comfort, why should it hog five-sixths of all that labor, joined to capital, produces? The answer is plain, and to understand the answer is to see the hopelessness of the wage slave's condition. Capital, under the present system, must appropriate the lion's share, that is, all the surplus value of labor it can, to preserve itself. Under this system of labor it cannot do otherwise. Hence, Socialists declare for the abolition of the system, because of its monstrous injustice.

FOLLY OF MONEY REFORM

If money reform should be carried to the point of utterly destroying every dollar, pound, franc, florin, shilling and penny on earth, and the whole diabolical vocabulary of money rooted out of every language, the world would be no poorer than now. It is work and not money that increases with wealth. It is the workers and not financiers who maintain progress. And Socialists want work done without reference to price or profit, but with reference to social requirements and the demands of justice. Socialists want productive capital, which includes machinery, socialized and operated, without profit, to supply the needs of society. Money reformers want profit; they want to readjust the "skinning" business, so that in place of a few big "skinners" we will have a whole nation of little ones. But as high tariff, and low tariff, and no tariff, have failed, so will currency reform also fail, for there will be more inventions, more emporiums of trade driving the small merchant to the wall and more monopoly of nature's raw materials. The only way to check the universal concentration of wealth and the consequent universal growth of Socialism, is to abolish human stomachs and deprive the human brain of the power to think, so that men can live without eating and work without inventing.

REPUBLICAN CLAIMS DISPROVED

It was announced in the Republican convention that every man who desired a situation and was willing to work could find a job. The day after, to prove that Republicans always tell the truth, David Ross, a Republican secretary of the Illinois Bureau of Labor Statistics, issued a bulletin giving the result of the three state free employment bureaus during the forty-four weeks ending June 9 that they have been in operation. The number of applications filed were, males 25,565, females 14,432. The number of positions secured, males 14,787, females 14,129. The total number of applications for help were, for males, 18,103, females 17,015. Thus it will be seen that there were 7,000 males who could not possibly be provided with a situation because the applications for help did not come within 7,000 of those applying for situations.

Now, if the statistics of Illinois show men to be out of employment with no jobs awaiting them some bright (?) reader will probably think of the prairies and wonder why those out of work do not pick up their families, with five or six children, and pay from \$100 to \$200 railroad fare and take a vestibule car to the prairies of the West, where lucrative employment awaits "the penniless." Their chances there we see from the Chicago Chronicle of June 22, which contains an article by one who had a similar dream, who went West seeking a fortune as a farmhand. Perhaps he was a bachelor and figured that some heiress would relieve him of his daily

discouragements, but, far from that this conservative Democratic paper says 10,000 applicants for work are stranded in Kansas and a few who are lucky enough to be working are getting 50 cents a day and of the 10,000 tramping the state about 3,000 went from Chicago. The glowing accounts of prosperity sent out by Kansas promoters reaped a harvest of tramps.

It further states "how penury has attacked the visitors to such an extent that thievery has been resorted to and farmers have sought police protection." "Their chicken coops have been looted and their storehouses raided." It is a daily occurrence for one to be pushed off a train while in motion by the brakeman or conductor, and in Kansas large groups are complaining of their ill fortune, and bonfires at night may be seen in many places around which the unfortunate job hunters are gathered. This gold standard sound money paper tells this freely, without suggesting a remedy, and thus we find in the country and in the cities the dismal song of the stranded and unemployed; but never mind, we are raising money to assist the starving people of India, and charity balls will soon give joy to those who have neither the manhood to protest against complete subjection nor the intellect to observe and see that which will bring the blessedness to be.

It is proper here to observe that if there were no unemployed the capitalist system would immediately fall. If every man had a situation he would demand the full product of his labor, which would leave no surplus value for the capitalist. The reason that they do not today receive the full product of their labor is because the reserve army of the unemployed stand ready to take their positions at a far lower salary or wage than that which the full product of labor amounts to. If there were none out of employment to step in and take the positions and compete with the wage worker they would take nothing else than the full product created by them, because when they ceased to work, industry would stop; but the unemployed today step in and take their places and continue production; therefore the unemployed are necessary and the salvation of the capitalist system.

LOOKING FOR JOBS AND NOT RIGHTS

Everything that ever was essential to be done for the perpetuation of the human species and the comfort of human life on the planet has been done by labor. The achievements of labor almost exceed the comprehension of man—they surpass the understanding of the average laborer to-day. The toilers of the world have been so busy doing the world's work that they have had no time to think about rights, and with only the dull and monotonous round of labor, multitudes of them are to-day totally ignorant of all questions touching human rights. Even where the masses have political liberty, they fear to exercise it in a manly and independent way, and life to them has become a condition of leaning on and cringing to the private capitalist who sometimes has the power to give them a job, and at all times has the power to deny them a job. The workers have been too much engrossed with looking for jobs then, to look for their rights and security. So that to-day, while they are "political freemen," they are economic slaves. And they have been made slaves by work—blind, unintelligent, almost hopeless work; work that has bound all the nations of the earth together in a net-work of related interests; work that has mined and molded the resources of nature into forms of beauty and utility and created wealth beyond the dreams of avarice, but work that is without meaning to the workers.

His Eyes Opened At Last

S. Christensen of Berwick, a hard-working, honest Dane, and formerly an employee of the Monmouth potteries, gave me this account of his experience there: "After wheeling those heavy trucks and performing other heavy labor for ten hours I would feel more dead than alive. I would sometimes be too tired to eat my supper, so like a jaded ox I would drop asleep. I was in no condition for thinking or reading; as Markham has said, I was in fact a partner of the ox—and all for a dollar and a quarter a day. I found after a few weeks that the work was undermining my health, and at best I was simply working for a poor living with no margin. So I quit. Had I worked there ten years I would have been no better off, and doubtless broken in health. My experience is only that of thousands of workmen over the country, and this we call 'prosperity.' At last I have my eyes open, and I intend to vote for Debs this fall if I live."—Galesburg Labor News.

Farmers' Review: The present commercial system makes poverty for the many and riches for the few. Therefore, the man who defends the present system stands on the side of the capitalist class, and when you vote the Democratic or Republican ticket you vote for poverty for the many and wealth for the few. This is a class-conscious struggle, and you must either vote for the wealthy few or the poverty masses. Bryan and McKinley stand for the capitalist class and Debs for the working class. Which side are you on?

SOCIALIST FLASHLIGHT TURNED ON CURRENT IDEAS AND EVENTS

From blowing hot on the subject of union and making its columns the vehicle for all the misrepresentation, slander and vilification that the unionists could pour into them, the Coming Nation (which was "for union, too") has again found its normal level, and in its last issue says that Socialists can "vote for the Democratic party if it gives us a good, sound, direct legislation plank" and be "perfectly consistent, honest and patriotic." It also sees that the "way has been left open" by the Republicans "for the Democrats to win the greatest victory that ever graced the laurels of any party" and hopes the Kansas City convention will "rise to the hour"! At the same time its sapient editor is opposed to Socialist parties (although he meddled in a quite ineffectual way in their affairs) and avers that while the paper hopes "to get direct legislation this year from the Democratic party," its interest in the cause of Socialism "has not declined"! Only a little vague and wobbly, perhaps?

The common people of the world who do useful work, love freedom and despise conventional patriotism with its attendant shams and hypocrisy, may take heart and courage from the fact that modern capitalist England had to employ 250,000 men, exclusive of camp followers, doctors and nurses, to thrash less than 40,000 farmers. And, although the job was begun more than eight months ago, it is not yet completed. The English have their hospitals everywhere filled, and the total loss—dead, wounded and sick—numbers at least 50,000 men, or fully 10,000 more than the entire Boer army. The war still drags and there is no gala spirit in England.

The economic power in the State of the Standard Oil Company is measured by two hundred million dollars, and only the working people of the nation, united at the polls to gain control of the government, will ever be able to destroy that power. It will never be done by a "licensing board" administered by democratic politicians from the prairies of Nebraska and the political jungles of New York.

The difference between a "new democracy"—of the Bryan order—and Social Democracy, is the difference between wealth makers with no wealth and wealth makers with all the wealth. A Social Democracy is of necessity a state of economic freedom. Bryanism wants you to be satisfied with "individual liberty"—to steal or commit suicide.

Socialism would, by abolishing production for individual profit, create those social conditions that would contribute to the improvement of the race. It believes in the regeneration of mankind through right generation. It seeks to correct heredity by improving environment. Therefore, it encompasses the welfare of man in all its aspects.

The people might just as well vote for McKinley, imperialism and the Philadelphia splutter of words, as to be hoodwinked by Bryan and the retrogressive democracy which proposes to preserve the present capitalist system of industry—if they can't get sense enough to vote for Debs and a national advance in the direction of freedom.

Socialism would abolish the private ownership of capital (the control of machines which have developed from individual tools by the skill and ingenuity of workmen) and make its use and control in production a social function. All the means of production (which are a social growth) should be socially administered.

Ever thought of the difference between the capitalist and his slave, the workingman? The workingman gives all he can make and takes as little as the capitalist will allow him. The capitalist takes all he can get and gives as little as he must to maintain the slave market.

Stupidity at the bottom has always been as much of a hindrance to progress as selfishness at the "top"—perhaps more. The people will this year have an opportunity to show whether experience with hypocritical political parties controlled by the capitalist class has taught them anything.

The Republican platform declares against foreign immigration. So it does. But Gage, a Republican secretary of the treasury, is arranging to admit thousands of foreign contract laborers over the protest of the immigration commissioners—for the convenience of railroad corporations.

The rich, like the politicians who serve in a servile way the present system because it gives them jobs, thrive on the people's superstitions, and the hoary superstition that the rich must have all the wealth so that they can have all the power has surfeited one man and stripped a million.

The poor are not "blessed," and lack of employment is not a "means of grace."

Unity among the workers, not for domination in a political organization, but for the common ownership of the tools of production (which is a human right), means the triumph of Social Democracy, and that is the goal of the labor movement.

Three sorts of men in every community are commonly opposed to Socialism: Men who skin for a living, men who preach for a living and then who work for a living. The skinners prey, the preachers pray and the workers pay.

The possibility and the necessity of Socialism are demonstrated by the concentration of wealth and the means of production in the hands of a class. It is a condition that is not final and can not endure.

There is nothing under the stars that is not amenable to change, except perhaps the poor, ignorant, deluded Republican workingman who thinks that a Republican platform which is half buncomb and half lies is to be taken seriously.

The Republican platform says "the American government must protect the person and property of every citizen wherever they are wrongfully violated or placed in peril." Just as it did, for example, in the Idaho outrage.

In a society where capitalist and workman merged in the same individual and no single individual had economic power or control over another, Social Democracy would prevail.

Wealth was never produced except by the association of labor with the resources of nature. No combination of mere capitalists has ever produced wealth anywhere.

Capital controlled by society at large would be a means of supplying every human need; in the hands of private owners it is a means of increasing human misery.

What will become of the trusts under Bryan—suppose he were elected? Well, what became of them under Cleveland? Went right on multiplying and expanding, didn't they?

The capitalist ideal is the dominance in the state of those who possess property; the Social Democratic ideal is the dominance of those who create property.

Social Democracy would be an order of the affairs of men administered not by state's men, but by mine's men, farm's men, shop's men—and women.

A commodity is worth the labor cost of producing it. Labor should form the basis of the measure of value, because it is the source of value.

What is the difference between John D. Rockefeller buying you a meal and paying for your education? It's up to you, John Smith.

When you tell us of the humble beginning of the rich, tell the means of their ascension.

A workingman ought to live on a dollar a week—provided he don't care to live long.

The best laws are those that have been outgrown, that society has learned to ignore.

WHAT EDITORS ARE SAYING

The Farmers' Review: The labor unions are discussing the economic question, and the more they discuss the question the faster they travel toward Socialism. The unions of this country must ultimately sustain the same relation to the Socialist movement that they do in Europe. In Germany a large part of the 2,000,000 Socialist votes comes from the trades unions. There is no place the union workers can consistently go politically but to the Socialists.

Galesburg Labor News: Thomas I. Kidd, one of the brightest workers in the trade union movement, said to me a few weeks ago: "I wouldn't remain in this movement twenty-four hours if it were not for its educational work. Trade unionism is at best only a means to an end. The wage system must be abolished. Under any president of any capitalist party so long as the wage system remains labor will receive practically but a subsistence wage; it should and must have all it produces."

Lancaster (Pa.) Tribune: On every hand, when we pick up a leading party paper, we are informed that the great campaign issue is to be the trust. Down with the trust. Our Republican friends tell us that their party is down on the trust. That it has had introduced into congress an amendment to the constitution as the means of dealing with the evil. Yes, and we remember when that same party a few years ago introduced a bill which was passed and is now known as the Sherman anti-trust law. But it did not do any suppressing, and the same party that introduced that, now, by the introduction of the present constitutional amendment, admits that it was a fraud.

THE POOR MAN A SLAVE

A Man in Want or the Dread of Want is Not Free

What chance has the poor man today? Has his condition improved? These are questions not hard to answer.

No man has a chance who hasn't got a job. The circumstances surrounding the poor man have improved, but the conditions are the same.

The conditions are no different today from what they were in the ancient days of white slavery in Greece and Rome. This is indeed a beautiful, a grand country in many ways. It is rich with the spirit of progress and invention, rich by nature, but the poor man's condition is no better than if he were a slave.

All this country has done for him has been to give him a little more elbow room. He has a great, beautiful country to roam over, but he is no better off than—in fact, not as well off as—the slaves of old.

We used fondly to figure the American who earned his bread in the sweat of his brow and voted with his party as a sovereign, and we invited him to regard himself in that light.

Really, however, without the means of livelihood in his own hands, but in the hands of another, he is scarcely the regal shape we figured him. The workingman out of a job can have little joy of his vote, and if he is very poor, if he is not making both ends meet, he can hardly will good to others, the sovereign act of the freeman, because he has none to will.

It is true that he may rebel, that he may renounce his employment when he has one and does not think himself justly paid, but without the means of livelihood he has no chance except to seek some other employment, and this choice is scarcely freedom. He may, of course, become a tramp, and in the loose play of our circumstances he may not suffer more than many others who remain patiently at work.

But, then, it is our circumstances that befriend him, and not our conditions; these are the same for him as the workingman's conditions everywhere.

The only moment of sensible positive political sovereignty for him is that of voting, but in that moment he parts with his sovereignty for a term of months or years, without respect to the men who shall make his laws, judge them and execute them.

He chooses, he elects, he gives, and "the gods themselves cannot resume their gifts," much less a poor devil who has voted with his party and has nothing to eat.

For such a citizen of the freer state liberty can scarcely be said to exist in the sense that it exists for the more fortunate. He cannot choose, he cannot sacrifice himself for others, for he is already sacrificed. He can impart no advantages, for he has none, and he can have none until he has bettered his fortunes. He remains in the savage necessity of self assertion, in the warfare which manifests itself in strikes, riots, mutinies, murders. The poor man knows, if the rich man does not know, that the poorer man has always less liberty than the richer man, just as certainly as that he has less money. If he has not the means of livelihood in his own hands, he cannot come and go when he will, he cannot command his time, he cannot choose the kind of work he will do, as the richer man measurably can. He is often enslaved to hateful and loathsome services for others, such as each should do for himself. Until a man is independent he is not free. As long as he must look to the pleasure or the profit of another man for his living he is not independent. His employer may not mean to oppress him. He may be his oppressor unwillingly, as when his own adversity obliges him to cut down his hiring's wages, but he oppresses him then, however unwillingly, and he oppresses him when he casts him off to seek some other support, not knowing whether he can find it or not. This fact often comes home to the humane employer, especially in the case of hirelings who have served him long and well, and more than any other it tells with the conscience against the whole relation of "hiring and him that hires."

The hiring man may have all those rights which we vainly suppose are the proofs of liberty. He may have the right to speak freely, print freely, pray freely, vote freely; but he cannot manfully use his right, though warranted in it by the constitutions and the statutes of all states, if he is afraid another man may take away his means of livelihood. It is needless to say that the personal equation will have much to do with the character of the event. Many—perhaps most—employers are of a make so noble and of a self-respect so fine that they would abhor to interfere with the constitutional rights of their hirelings, and there are hirelings so brave that they would starve and see their wives and little ones starve before they yielded their rights. But slavery was none the less an evil because most slaveholders were kind and good people or because there was now and then a heroic slave. The man who is in danger of want or even in dread of want is not a free man, and the country which does not guard him against this danger and this dread, or does not assure him the means of livelihood is not a free country, though it may be the freest of all the freer countries.—William Dean Howells.

NOTES FROM THE FIELD

Although a new branch, Dedham has gone to work, as all new branches should. An open-air meeting was held there in Stone Park on the 24th. Comrade MacCartney gave an interesting address, literature was distributed and the meeting was a complete success.

Representative MacCartney addressed the Rosindale branch on the 26th. Five new members joined the branch at the close of the meeting.

The Social Democratic party of Calhoun County and State of Michigan will hold a mass convention at Battle Creek July 9, 1900, at International Congress Hall for the purpose of organizing the County and electing a county committee. All persons who have or will affiliate this fall with the S. D. P. are cordially invited to attend. Committee.

A good list of new subscribers has been received on the special offer of twenty-six weeks for 20 cents. The offer is still good and as the period will cover the campaign, the comrades are urged to do their level best to increase The Herald's circulation during the next thirty days.

Officers of branches when communicating with headquarters are requested not to omit their street address and branch number. This is necessary owing to the increased correspondence due to new branches and to insure prompt reply from the national secretary.

Thirty loyal branches are now in line in Massachusetts—thirty that take a definite stand against organic unity and are resolved to stand by the result of the referendum. The old Bay State is all right, comrades. She stands pat!

The National Christian Citizenship League has severed relations with the Social Reform Union and is now located in room 64, Metropolitan building, 163 Randolph street, Chicago.

Comrade Eugene Dietzgen, who is now at Falkenstein, Germany, writes us that his health is much improved and is slowly regaining strength. Mrs. Dietzgen has several relations with the S. L. P. and joined the S. D. P.

Nominating petitions for the state and national candidates of the Social Democratic party of Illinois were filed at Springfield last Wednesday, June 27.

W. H. Mills is conducting an interesting and instructive department of Social Democracy in Common Sense, published at Dallas, Texas.

A WORD FROM GERMANY

Editor S. D. Herald: As in November last, I am still against the union proposed by our S. L. P. friends, and now, of course, more than ever.

In the interest of desirable and true union I am opposed to a union that stands for continued discord and disruption. For fear of hurting the successful development of our party, we cannot unite with the members of the S. L. P., whether of the De Leonite or of the anti-De Leonite faction, as long as they give us not the best assurance of having discarded their mischievous tactics, inspired by personal animosity, fanaticism and ignorance of American conditions.

The entire history of the S. L. P., dating back about 25 years, is a continued record of discord and disruption of the pettiest kind; a veritable storm in a teapot, ridiculous and shameful at the same time. But still both factions of the S. L. P. adhere to the same tactics and to the identical spirit of old, of which De Leon is an exceptionally loud representative at present.

I do not question the honesty and sincerity of our S. L. P. comrades, as far as Socialism is concerned, but I condemn their methods as apt rather to delay than to hasten our cause.

Endorsing the action of our N. E. B., I beg to inform you that my wife, Mrs. Anna Dietzgen, has this day severed her connection with the S. L. P. and become a member of the S. D. P.

Yours truly,

Eugene Dietzgen.

Falkenstein i Taunus, June 18, 1900.

PROGRESS IN MONTANA

Comrade P. J. Cooney of Butte, Mont., was among the visitors at headquarters during the week. He is enthusiastic in his predictions for the future of the party and as to the outlook in his own state, he said:

"The movement in Montana is meeting with gratifying success. The Anaconda or Amalgamated Company is in full control of the Republican machine, while the Democratic party is torn asunder. There are now two Democratic state conventions, one owned by Clark, the other by Daly, manager of the Anaconda Company. The shrewd politicians claim that Daly's fight in the Democratic party is only a bluff and that he intends to win through the Republican party. The Populist party is looking forward to what they call a union of the reform forces. They are praying and hoping for the financial support of Hinz, to whom they will give the judicial candidates. Amid all this, the Social Democrats are pursuing the even tenor of their way. As far as they are concerned there will be no 'union of reform forces,' and the labor men who are Social Democrats will not be used as a tail to the Populist kite. This week the branch at Butte is sending out a state organizer who will re-

main in the field until the close of the campaign. A state convention will be called, presidential electors and a full state ticket nominated. We hope by that time to have an organization in every county in the state. To the comrades outside of Butte we would say that no effort will be spared in pushing the work. Let each branch do all it can towards assisting the organizer in every possible way, and this fall we will poll a vote that will be a paralyzer."

OREGON STATE CONVENTION

The election just held in Oregon has shown the Socialists of the state the hopelessness of political reforms emanating from either the Republican, Democratic or fusion parties. Our only hope is in ourselves and an earnest effort to bring about the necessary reforms through the ballot box. For this purpose the Social Democratic party of Oregon will hold a convention in Portland, Ore., on Thursday, July 12, at 7:30 p. m., at the Washington Hotel. Third and Flanders streets, to nominate four presidential electors to be voted for on Tuesday, Nov. 6, 1900. Every branch in the state should send its representative or proxy, and we would respectfully recommend that the four representatives be taken from the four different parts of the state, so that equal representation in area and population be accorded. We urge the immediate formation of branches, so that as large a Socialist representation as possible shall be had.

It is also essential that a state union of the Social Democrats of America be formed and a state executive committee be elected to more effectively advance the cause of Socialism and to transact any business that may properly come before the convention. An early answer is requested. By order of Branch No. 1, S. D. P. A., Portland, Ore.

J. D. Stevens, Chairman.
T. C. Wendland, Organizer.

SOCIALISM IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

The recent elections in British Columbia were prolific in many surprises, none, however, created so much consternation in the minds of the old party politicians as the enormous Socialist vote as evidenced by the poll in Vancouver.

For the four seats in Vancouver three labor candidates were nominated, two by the Trades Council and one by the United Socialist Labor Party of British Columbia.

The vote of our comrades was as follows: Joseph Dixon (ind. lab.), 856; E. Williams (ind. lab.), 728; Will McClain (Socialist), 684, as against an average of 1,600 votes polled for the successful candidates. Roughly we polled twenty per cent of the vote cast. If we could have contested all four seats our vote would have been easily twenty-five per cent of total. This is the first time that candidates have been run on a Socialist platform in British Columbia, and if such a showing can be made on the first attempt success is surely near at hand.

Vancouver. Ernest Burns.

In the City Streets

A Chicago daily gives the following account of the eviction of an old woman who has grandsons in the Philippines fighting to maintain the honor of the "land of the free and the home of the brave":

"Mrs. Sarah Elliott, a woman who has lived for more than a century, was found by the police shivering under a tattered blanket in an alley back of Princeton avenue, near Thirty-Seventh street. Born in a peasant hut in Northern Ireland in 1799, the old woman finds herself, after more than 100 years of hardship, a charge of the county at Dunning. Over forty years ago she came to America to escape the fate which overtook her a few days ago at the hands of a Chicago landlord.

"For some time she had lived in a bare room near where she was picked up by the night patrolman. Her daughter, now an old woman, is sick in the county hospital. Her grandsons are soldiers in the regular army fighting in the Philippines. She could not pay her rent and was evicted.

"Despite her age and the recent exposure she has passed through, Mrs. Elliott is surprisingly active and possesses all her faculties. She had been without food or shelter for twenty-four hours when the officer stumbled over her in the alley at the rear of 3722 Princeton avenue. Unable to write to her grandsons of their mother's illness, Mrs. Elliott found her little fund exhausted. She was too proud to beg, and in her helplessness lay down in the alley to suffer. She says her grandsons would send her money to keep her and their mother comfortably if they but knew of their needs. She was taken to the poorhouse yesterday morning."

NEW BRANCHES

Saginaw, Michigan.
Ralston, Oklahoma.
Ottumwa, Iowa.

There's prosperity enough—among the receivers of dividends.

Subscribe for the Herald.

ILLINOIS STATE TICKET

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

For Governor:
HERMAN C. PERRY
Spring Valley

For Lieutenant Governor:
AZEL PIERSON
Jacksonville

For Secretary of State:
THOMAS G. KERWIN
Chicago

For State Treasurer:
JACOB WINNEN
Chicago

For Auditor of Public Works:
JAMES WRIGHT
Chicago

For Attorney General:
CHARLES H. SOELKE
Chicago

For Trustees of State University:
MRS. IRENE STEDMAN
MISS ELLEN EDWARDS
F. J. HLAVACEK

Vote on Constitution.

The following is the vote received on the New Constitution. Those voting "yes" favor its adoption, and the Constitution is adopted.

Branch	Yes	No
Arkansas		
1	7	
California		
3	11	
8	6	
9	12	
Connecticut		
3	2	6
5		8
6	15	
Illinois		
1	11	
2		9
3	10	
4	20	
7	12	
8	23	
12	20	
17	7	2
Indiana		
5	12	
8	8	
Iowa		
1	28	
Kentucky		
1	12	
5	5	
Kansas		
7	9	
Massachusetts		
6	10	
9	33	
11	17	
21	9	
28	5	
29	8	
30	6	
41	7	
44	9	
46	5	
48	5	
49	7	
50	7	
57	11	
58	11	
Minnesota		
3	20	
Montana		
1	13	
2	4	
Missouri		
14	11	
17	9	
New Jersey		
6	12	
New York		
1	21	2
2	11	
5	15	
10	16	
14	3	
18	7	
Ohio		
4	23	2
Oregon		
1	23	
3	6	
Pennsylvania		
3	2	
9	8	
Utah		
5	10	
6	8	
Wisconsin		
1	11	
2	35	
4	26	
9	5	5
11	25	
17	37	
20	39	
22	17	
23	14	
Totals	801	50

Branches No. 1, California, and 5, Pennsylvania, voted on Sections and are therefore not included in above report.

CONVENTION CALL

Of the Social Democratic Party of Cook County, Illinois, July 15.

In accordance with the action of the City Central Committee of the Social Democratic party, at its regular meeting, Wednesday, June 27, and the instructions given the undersigned, a county convention of the Social Democratic party of Cook County, Illinois, is hereby called to assemble at Bohemian Turner Hall, 825 So. Ashland, near Eighteenth street, Chicago, at 10 o'clock a. m., on Sunday, July 15, 1900, for the purpose of nominating candidates for the various county offices and the transaction of all other business that may properly come before it.

The representation at said convention will be by delegates chosen as follows:

First. Each branch shall be entitled

LOCAL BRANCHES

Notice of Branch Meetings Inserted for 25 Cents per Month

CALIFORNIA

Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evenings, commencing at 8. Admission free. Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening.

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock at Woodmen's Hall, 1254 Spring St. J. Frano, 700 Dayton Ave., Secretary.

Branch No. 3, Alameda, California, holds free public meetings every 2d and 4th Sunday, 8 p. m. at Foresters' Hall, cor Park St. and Santa Clara Ave. Business and Educational meetings (for members) 1st and 3rd Mondays, 8 p. m. at 2456 Escalante Ave. Allan A. Crockett, Secretary, 1610 Walnut St.

COLORADO

Branch No. 1, Denver, meets every Sunday at 8:30 p. m. at 1115 California Ave. Chas. M. Davis, Secretary, 1623 17th Street.

Branch No. 2, Goldfield, meets every Sunday at 7:30 p. m. at City Hall. Chas. La Camp, Secretary.

CONNECTICUT

The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at Turn Hall, Rockville. L. Schlauf, Secretary.

Branch No. 4, New Haven, meets every Wednesday evening, at 8 p. m. at Aurora Hall, C. Volmer, Secretary.

Branch No. 4, Rockville, Conn., meets first and third Thursdays at Turn Hall meeting room, Village street. Secretary, Richard Niederwieser, Box 760.

ILLINOIS

Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 52 Dearborn St.

Branch No. 1, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening, Thomas Kirwin, Secretary, 2504 Wentworth Ave.

Branch No. 3 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays at 2 p. m. at Nagl's Hall, 55 Blue Island Ave. Vaclav Jelinek, Secretary, 605 Blue Island Ave.

Branch No. 3 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Mondays at 8 p. m. in Dunder's place, 1080 W. 18th place. Joseph Dunder, Secretary.

Branch No. 4, Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays of each month at Andr. Mozik's, 40 N. 17th St. Paul Chlapa, Secretary, 304 Noble St.

Branch No. 5 (German), Chicago, meets every 1st Saturday each month at 8 o'clock at Nagl's Hall, 55 Blue Island Ave. near 18th St. Albin Geisler, Secretary, 728 W. 30th St.

Branch No. 5 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays at 9 a. m. at 5022 Line Street. J. A. Ambros, Secretary, 610 W. Madison St.

Branch No. 9, Chicago, meets at 1148 W. 63rd St. first and third Sundays at 3 p. m. Roswell H. Johnson, Secretary, 652 E. 57th St.

INDIANA

Branch No. 6, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichwein's Hall, corner Market and Noble Sts.

IOWA

Branch No. 2, Hiteama, meets every fourth Friday at the month at opera house. S. B. Jamieson, chairman, J. James Fisher, organist, Joseph Schollicut, secretary.

KENTUCKY

Branch No. 1, Louisville, meets 1st and 3rd Sunday, at 2 p. m. and 2nd and 4th Wednesday at 8 p. m. at 91 Fairfield ave. We will aim to make it interesting for all. Henry Listerman, Sec., 132 Foote ave.

MARYLAND

Branch No. 7, Baltimore, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m. in Carpenter's Hall, 560 E. Baltimore St. Public invited.

Branch No. 2, Baltimore, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at Weasel's Hotel, 228 W. Camden st. Good speeches. Public invited. Levin T. Jones, Secretary, 202 W. Barre st.

MASSACHUSETTS

The Massachusetts State Committee meets the first Saturday of each month at 724 Washington St., Boston. All dues and moneys intended for the State Committee should be sent to the financial secretary, A. McDonald, 194 W. Springfield St., Boston. All other correspondence should be addressed to the Corresponding Secretary, Margaret Hall, 5 Glenwood St., Roxbury.

Branch No. 2, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Mondays of each month at Springfield Turner Hall. Gus Geisler, Organizer, 387 Sumner St.

Branch No. 6, Lynn, permanent headquarters, 71 Monroe St. Business meeting every Monday night at 7:30, open house. Public invited. Harry Göttinger, Sec., 43 Essex St.

Branch No. 8, Brockton, meets Friday nights at 8 p. m. for business at Socialist Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Center Sts. Every comrade is expected to attend one meeting a month. Mrs. Annie Bosworth, Secretary, 31 Prospect St.

Branch No. 15, East Boston, meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 80 Chelsea St. Miss Jenny Segal, Secretary, 93 Chelsea St.

Branch No. 18, Newburyport, meets the second Monday of each month at Lester's Hall, 37 Pleasant St. T. H. Chinissel, Secretary, 16 Collins St. A. J. Bingley, 28 Merrimac St.

Branch No. 20, Roxbury, Mass., meets at 24 Warren st. 2nd and 4th Fridays of every month. Public invited.

Branch No. 31, Chelsea, permanent headquarters, Room 2, Postoffice Building. Open every evening. Business meetings every Thursday at 8 p. m. Public invited.

to as many representatives as there are individual members in good standing, and each representative shall be entitled to one (1) vote for each member whose name is signed to his credential; and provided, further, that no member shall sign his name to more than one credential.

Second. Branches not sending their own representatives may select those of other branches in the county to represent them; provided that in each case the representative shall hold the proper credential with the signature of members attached as herein provided.

Third. No member shall be qualified to serve as representative who has not been a member of the party at least thirty (30) days prior to the opening day of the convention.

Fourth. All signatures of members attached to credentials, as herein provided, shall be certified to by the chairman or secretary of their respective branches.

M. Holsinger,
Charles Tyl,
Jacob Winnen,
Committee.

June 30, 1900.

S. D. P. of Terre Haute, Ind., will hold county convention Monday evening, July 9th, at 8 o'clock p. m., at Central Labor Union Hall, for purpose of nominating candidates for county offices.

Anent the question of organic union, it will interest Social Democrats throughout the country to know that at the present time thirty Massachusetts branches are absolutely opposed to it and stand by the referendum, while only four of twenty New York branches favored it. Significant, isn't it?

BRANCH SUPPLIES

Membership Cards (per 100)..... 1.00
Membership Applications (100)..... .25
Constitutions (each)..... .03

Send orders with cash to Theodore Debs, 126 Washington Street, Chicago. No supplies sent on credit.

MICHIGAN

Branch No. 1, Battle Creek, Mich., meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of each month, at 8 p. m. at 10 W. Main Street, in the International Congress Hall. All are cordially invited. L. C. Rogers, Secretary.

MINNESOTA

Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Gasswein, on Main St. A. Kingsberg, Secretary.

MISSOURI

St. Louis headquarters, Room 7, 22 N. Fourth St. Address all communications to E. Val Futnam, Secretary. For information concerning ward branches, inquire at the above address.

Branch No. 7, Kansas City, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1200 Union Ave. G. J. Stors, Secretary, 1250 W. 9th St.

MONTANA

Branch No. 1, Butte, meets every Thursday, at 8:30 p. m., Engineers' Hall, Owsley Block. G. Frankel, Sec. 71 E. Park Street.

Branch No. 2, meets first and third Sundays of each month at G. W. Wood's home, Chico, Mont.

NEW JERSEY

Branch No. 1, Secretary, Michael W. Schor, 87 Livingston st.

Branch No. 5, Camden, N. J., meets every 3d Sunday of the month. For particulars address Paul Eberding, 1295 Kaighu's Avenue.

Branch No. 3 (German) Newark, meets every third Saturday, at International Hall, 7 Bedford St. Hans Hartwig, Secretary, 7 Bedford St.

Branch No. 6 (German), Paterson, N. J., meets first and third Mondays at 8 p. m. at Heivolia Hall, 34-36 Van Houten St. Karl Linder, Secretary, 245 Edmund St.

NEW YORK

The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York, meets every second Tuesday at 412 Grand street, Windsor Hall. James Allman, Secretary, 32 Suffolk st. care of "Forward."

East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every first and third Thursday at 111 Clinton St. A. Guyer, Secretary, 163 Suffolk St.

Branch No. 2, 54th Assembly District, meets second and fourth Wednesdays of the month at 1059 Second Ave. at the "Central." Henry Lang, Secretary, 324 E. 60th St.

Branch No. 4, West Side Branch, New York, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of every month at headquarters, 189 W. 90th St. Elisabeth H. Thomas, Secretary.

Branch No. 5, Brooklyn, New York, meets every Saturday at 8 p. m. at 56 Moore St. Visitors welcome. Comrades desiring to organize should communicate with Secretary Sol. Freeman, 190 Boerum St.

Branch No. 19, New York, meets every Friday, at 8 p. m. at 202 E. 10th St. Leveins and discussions. Public invited. Organizer, Joseph Williams, 36 Henry St. Secretary, Aaron N. Sadofs, 210 Clinton st.

OHIO

Branch No. 2, Cleveland, meets in Ohlsen's Hall, 65 York St., second and fourth Sundays at 8 p. m. Lectures, discussions, business meetings first and third Thursdays at 8 p. m.

Branch No. 3, Cleveland, meets first and third Sundays in each month at 8 p. m. in Ohlsen's Hall, 65 York St. Lectures and discussions.

Branch No. 4, Cleveland, meets every 2nd and 4th Friday evening, in Hall 27, Central Trades Council Block. Everyone interested in Socialism invited. J. C. Schaw, Chairman, W. Barringer, Secretary, P. O. Box 24.

Branch No. 8, Cincinnati, meets every second and fourth Saturday in Workingmen's Hall, 1215 Walnut St. F. Hamel, Secretary, 1804 Frantz St.

Branch No. 11, German, Cincinnati, Ed Greiner, Secretary, 806 Mohawk St.

PENNSYLVANIA

Branch No. 2, Erie, meets every Sunday, 3 p. m., at K. of L. Hall, 716 State St. Chairman, Joseph Stein, Secretary, J. E. Perry, 119 Sansafras St.

Branch No. 4, Pittsburg, meets every Thursday evening at 7:30 p. m. at Funk Hall, 8 3/4th east corner 4th and Chestnut sts. President, 24 Addison St. J. H. Lewis, Secretary, 218 Jane St.

Branch No. 4, Coudersport, meets every 2nd and 4th Wednesday. Chas. E. Knissel, Chairman; Lew Morse, Secretary.

Branch No. 5, Philadelphia, meets first Friday of each month—Executive meets every Sunday morning—at S. D. P. Club Rooms, at 623 S. Third St. Organizer, M. Gillie, 107 S. Third St.

WASHINGTON

Branch No. 5, Tacoma, meets every Monday evening at 8 p. m., 418 11th Street.

LABOR IN THE AFRICAN MINES

A pamphlet just published in England gives the following account of Cecil Rhodes' relations to the workmen in the diamond mines:

"There is one thing that an employee of De Beers learns very soon—that is, if he wishes to remain in his employment. It is that the interests and wishes of the company are everything and his own individual interests absolutely nothing. There is, he finds, an organization running through the concern from top to bottom, commencing in the personality of Cecil Rhodes and descending to the most casual drudge who, in utter want of a job of any kind, undertakes the thankless office of a convict guard. The colonial government hires out its native convicts to De Beers; the usual work of a convict guard is to sit for twelve hours a day—from six in the morning till six at night—on an empty paraffin tin, in sun or storm, prohibited from the relaxation of a book or a newspaper, and watch a gang of native convicts as they turn over the diamondiferous soil deposited on the 'floors'—the wide-level spaces where this soil is left to dry and disintegrate in the sun. As in all probability the convict guard has his lodging a couple of miles or more from his 'work,' the twelve hours comes out at very much more like fourteen."

"If the servant of De Beers is employed in one of the mines, it is the same arrangement of twelve-hour shifts, lengthened out by the time occupied in getting to or from the mine, accompanied by the underground risks—no light ones—and the risk of pulmonary disorder resulting from the sudden changes from the close and heated atmosphere of the mine to the cold piercing air of the winter evening at 4,000 feet elevation above the sea level. If he is in the shops or in the electrical department, there are the same hours. And, be it observed, in every department the same atmosphere of repression, suspicion and espionage prevails. No man can safely trust another. An insubordinate or complaining word carelessly spoken, and in all probability the next time the utterer goes for his wages he is met with the fatal yellow envelope, the symbol of dismissal. There is no appeal; there is no reason given; still less is there any prospect of a recommendation to another employer. He has sinned against De Beers, and that is enough."

How much like a description of labor conditions in the United States it all reads.

THE CHINESE BOXER CASE

The New York Tribune tells of the abuses practiced by the German and Belgian railroad builders in China, which, it says, are in part accountable for the present Boxer uprising. That paper says:

The portion through which the tracks were being laid was one of the most densely populated in all China, and on the earth, for that matter. The people have a desperate struggle for existence.

Every foot of the land not occupied for sleeping is cultivated. It is a battle for life from one end of the year to the other. Everything is utilized in the fight against starvation. Twigs and particles of vegetation are converted into edibles. The country is divided into little farms, and these are cultivated until one cannot find a bare piece of ground. The subsistence of the families depends upon these efforts. The very life blood of the children and their parents awaits daily the portion which the earth will yield.

In some parts cultivation of foodstuffs is impossible. There are gravel hills and barren places where even a hardy burdock could not live. And there the dead are buried, for the people cannot spare the fresh ground—the good earth—for even the remains of those who have carried on the fight and have died in the midst of their struggling compatriots. But the natives labored on, and each year brought its toll and its crying children, until finally the railway magnates sent their engineers and workmen. It was through this crowded country where an inch of ground is worth a life that the companies began to lay their tracks.

Indifference was shown to the rights of the people. Across the farms the tracks were placed. Where houses interfered with the work the houses had to come down. Even villages were burned, it is said; even crops were destroyed, and the natives stood mute and watched the depredations with their souls slowly swelling to an indignant protest. Supplies were seized that the workmen might be fed and the natives starved; labor was sometimes impressed.

But there came a time when the cord of silent contemplation broke. There were meetings—resentful sessions—and then came the mysterious "Boxers," organized, many say, to resist and revenge the outrages which had been heaped upon them.

THE SITUATION IN ITALY

No elections have ever been more exciting, more important both politically, economically and socially, than those which have just taken place in Italy. Monarchy has received a serious check there. The good and honest citizens have had to struggle with very unequal arms against the sanguinary and wicked band of bankrupts who have not only weakened the nation, and enslaved a

whole people, but have also dishonored and debased them abroad. Socialists, Republicans, Radicals and even some Monarchists who are still honest, have all combined to fight against the stupid brutalities of Pelloux. For the last two years Pelloux has dragged the Italian people, which will one day awaken. Tears have never given bread to a nation, and much less liberty. Nations—the whole of history proves it—have only got prosperity and liberty by fighting, even though at first defeated. The oppressor will not give way to speeches, but he will to force. Force keeps him in power, and by force he must be expelled. Pelloux sought to enslave the Italian people because force alone keeps the monarchy in power. The Revolutionary party and the Extreme Left must act together and then they will triumph, and this is why D'Annunzio joined the Extreme Left. We must be ready sooner or later to fight. Pelloux had 300 deputies on his side out of 500; but he wanted a larger majority, and so he dissolved parliament. He was reckless in breaking the law, in dissolving municipalities and in doing other revolutionary acts. The country answered him by returning Socialists and Republicans in Lombardy, in Piedmont, in Romagna, in Tuscany, in Venetia, in Umbria and at Palermo; at Messina and at Naples opposition candidates were returned. It is the beginning of the end, and Pelloux will have either to submit or to resign, as Gambetta said to Mr. Mahon, "Va fuori d'Italia," or, in English, "Get away." That is the answer of Italy. Who is to succeed him? Is it Crispi, the murderer of the Sicilians? Is it Rudini, the murderer of the Milanese? Is it Sonnino? Is it Zanardelli? Is it Giolitti? It does not matter, for Italy is moving towards a new birth, and this is seen by all, even by our opponents. As she has gained this great victory let her go on valiantly towards the social republic.—Amilcare Cipriani, in La Petite Republique.

JOHN MORLEY AND SOCIALISM

The following interesting item is taken from the I. L. P. News of London:

"The fury which Mr. Morley's attitude towards the South African war has excited in the bulk of the Liberal Capitalist as well as the Tory press, has been perceptibly inflamed by the few words that fell from him concerning Socialism and Socialists in the peroration of his recent address at Oxford. As Mr. Morley is usually very careful in the phrasing of his statements, and as reference to his opinions on Socialism have been frequent in the past and will probably be no less frequent in the future; it may be well to put on record his exact words. After strongly arraigning the Imperialist policy he went on to say:

"The day when the Liberal party forsakes its old principles—I don't call them catchwords or shibboleths—of peace, economy and reform, the Liberal party will have to disband and to disappear. And who will take its place? The Socialists will take its place. My friend here on the left, Dr. Spence Watson, knows that I stood year after year with my back to the wall against the Socialists, not because I did not respect the fervor of the men, but because I did not sympathize to my very heart's core with their pity for the toilers' lot, or with their resolution to make the toiler more intelligent and his home more secure, but because I thought, and think, their means were ill chosen, would do mischief to the character of the individual and would handicap us in the struggle, the vital struggle, for an industrial position, upon which the lot of the toiler depended as much as the lot of the capitalist. [Hear, hear.] But really, if I were unfortunately called upon to choose between the Socialist and the Militarist, with all his random aims, his profusion of the national resources, his disregard for the rights and the feelings of other people, I declare to you that I consider the Socialist's standards are higher and his aims are not any more wild. [Cheers.] The Liberal party will not disband. [Cheers.] I for one am enormously encouraged by what I perceive to be the temper of this very important gathering."

"Referring to this part of Mr. Morley's speech the special correspondent of the Manchester Guardian, who was present during its delivery, remarks, 'In a series of very careful phrases Mr. Morley made a curious and rather puzzling offer of reconciliation to the Socialists. It was certainly not very cordial or gracious, especially as he passed rapidly from it and almost instantly ended his speech. But the offer is there, and the rapprochement has a curious analogy across the channel in the alliance between M. Waldeck-Rousseau and M. Millerand. Will it go further here?'"

"We confess we do not discern in Mr. Morley's statement that suggestion of an alliance or rapprochement which so strikingly impressed the correspondent of the Manchester Guardian. The declaration by Mr. Morley is, we believe, a perfectly sincere expression of an intellectual issue in his mind. He would preferably, we have no doubt, as a matter-alike of conviction and inclination, were the choice compelled upon him, range himself on the side of the Socialists rather than on the side of the Commercial and Military Imperialists."

"But either eventually would, it is evi-

dent, be a Hobson's choice to him. Towards neither Socialism nor the new Imperialism would he willingly be drawn, but of the two evils he would prefer Socialism as the lesser one. Even as a matter of compulsory opportunism we doubt if Mr. Morley contemplated for a moment any probable rapprochement with the Socialists."

"Mr. Morley, we regret to think neither looks upon the plight of the Liberal party as sufficiently hopeless, or upon the position of the Socialist party as sufficiently hopeful to feel persuaded that an alliance between the extreme Radicals and the Socialists is either a possible or desirable contingency."

William Morris, Craftsman and Socialist

William Morris, "poet, artist, manufacturer and Socialist," author of "The Earthly Paradise," was proudest, it is said, of the title, "craftsman." His life-work was directed toward the realization of Ruskin's idea that "art is man's expression of his joy in labor." Francis Tiffany writes in The New World: "Through and through he deplored and hated that fatal divorce between the mechanic and the artist, the toiling hand and the creative brain, to which he traced back the source of all our modern woes—a divorce, he insisted, ruinous alike to master and to man, to designer and to his human tool, to art and to all native common joy in it."

"Here, then, lay the root characteristic of the man, and out of it instinctively grew all his theories, esthetic and social, all the herculean toil of his life. A roundly fashioned man all through, his muscles craved their stint of work as consummation as his brain, and palpable sense of the reaction bred of the wrestle with rough-and-ready matter was as needful to his fullest joy as lying off dreaming on any heights of Parnassus. Nothing short of this divine unity of soul and sense meant to him the earthly paradise, the kingdom of heaven on earth, and never till it was restored once again to the modern world would society cease to be a chaos of ugliness, brutality, discord, and hate. Blunt, brutish human tools on the one side, supersensitive esthetic weaklings on the other, this summed up to him the outcome of the modern caste-divisions, of the hideous divorce between brain and hand, of the limitation of art to an emasculating luxury for the idle and too often vicious."

ORGANIZATION WANTED IN EVERY STATE OF THE UNION

California Socialists

Socialists resident in California and not members of the Social Democratic party are requested to communicate with John Carter, 929 Twenty-second street, San Francisco.

Oregon Socialists, Attention

You are requested to communicate with J. D. Stevens, Box 204, Portland, organizer for the S. D. P., with a view to instituting branches of the party in your community. The future belongs to Socialism. Lend a hand and get your state thoroughly organized.

Iowa Socialists

All reformers living in Iowa who are interested in the Social Democracy are requested to communicate with the undersigned. By unanimous vote of the S. D. P. branches of the state I have been made the party organizer for the state. I desire the name of every Socialist in Iowa. A. W. Ricker, Lone Tree, Iowa.

Arizona Socialists

In every community should correspond with M. J. Casper, Box 178, Globe, Tucson, Ariz. We have plans for keeping organizers in the field to organize branches in every town in Arizona before November; 500 Socialists pledging 25 cents per month each will do it. Don't miss it—write at once.

North Dakota Socialists

Socialists residing in North Dakota and desiring to organize for effective propaganda work in that state are requested to correspond with Math. Eldness, Towner, N. D.

Michigan Socialists

All Social Democrats and all unattached Socialists residing in Michigan are requested to write at once to Henry Ramsey, 84 Railroad street, Battle Creek, Mich., and thus aid in placing a Social Democratic state ticket in the field this fall.

Southern California, Attention

All Socialists in the seven southern counties of Southern California should now get to work and so far as possible form branches in every voting precinct. To further this end communicate at once with James T. Van Rensselaer, 1618 Toberman street, Los Angeles, Cal.

Attention, Nebraska

Persons living in Nebraska and accepting the principles of Socialism are requested to communicate with T. A. Edwards, 3220 California street, Omaha, with a view to the organization of branches of the Social Democratic party.

Montana Socialists

All unattached Socialists in Montana please communicate with J. F. Fox, 71 E. Park street, Butte, for the purpose of furthering Social Democratic propaganda.

To Texas Socialists

For purpose of state organization, the Bonham Social Democratic branch requests that every Socialist in Texas who reads this notice, will please send name and address to the undersigned. Please attend to this at once. W. E. Farmer, Bonham, Texas.

Subscribe for "The Herald"

SPLENDID LIFE-LIKE PORTRAIT OF EUGENE V. DEBS

CANDIDATE OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

SIZE—21 X 28 INCHES, ON GOOD PAPER

Price, 10 Cents, Single Copy

Sent by mail, securely enclosed in tube to insure safe transmission, on receipt of price. Address,

CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY, 126 Washington St., Chicago

THE PLATFORM

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness depend upon equal political and economic rights.

In our economic development an industrial revolution has taken place, the individual tool of former years having become the social tool of the present. The individual tool was owned by the worker who employed himself and was master of his product. The social tool, the machine, is owned by the capitalist and the worker is dependent upon him for employment. The capitalist thus becomes the master of the worker and is able to appropriate to himself a large share of the product of his labor.

Capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people; but the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system will necessitate the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare.

The present system of social production and private ownership is rapidly converting society into two antagonistic classes—i. e., the capitalist class and the propertyless class. The middle class, once the most powerful of this great nation, is disappearing in the mill of competition. The issue is now between the two classes first named. Our political liberty is now of little value to the masses unless used to acquire economic liberty.

Independent political action and the trade union movement are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its political, the other its economic wing, and both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system.

Therefore the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be:

First—The organization of the working class into a political party to conquer the public powers now controlled by capitalists.

Second—The abolition of wage-slavery by the establishment of a national system of co-operative industry, based upon the social or common ownership of the means of production and distribution, to be administered by society in the common interest of all its members, and the complete emancipation of the socially useful classes from the domination of capitalism.

The working class and all those in sympathy with their historic mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America.

The control of political power by the Social Democratic party will be tantamount to the abolition of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting the millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international Socialism, the brotherhood of man. As steps in that direction, we make the following demands:

First—Revision of our federal constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to complete control of government by the people irrespective of sex.

Second—The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

Third—The public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones; all means of transportation, and communication; all water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

Fourth—The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal, and other mines, and all oil and gas wells.

Fifth—The reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

Sixth—The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements, for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

Seventh—Useful inventions to be free, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

Eighth—Labor legislation to be national, instead of local, and international when possible.

Ninth—National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.

Tenth—Equal civil and political rights, for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

Eleventh—The adoption of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

Twelfth—Abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

The Social Democratic Red Book

ORDER IT PRICE 15 CENTS

Sent postpaid on receipt of price

DEBS PUBLISHING CO.

TERRE HAUTE, IND.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LIBRARY

Karl Marx, Capital, Cloth.	1.00
F. W. Sprague—Socialism, from Genesis to Revolution. Cloth.	1.00
Grundland—The Co-operative Commonwealth. Paper.	1.00
August Bebel—Woman, Past, Present and Future. Paper.	1.00
Blanchard—Morris England. Paper.	1.00
Edward Bellamy—Looking Backward. Paper.	1.00
Edward Bellamy—Equality. Cloth.	1.00
Henry George—History of the Commune of 1871. Paper.	1.00
Charles Vail—Modern Socialism. Paper.	1.00
Aschplant—Heterodox Economics and Orthodoxy. Paper.	1.00
Henry D. Lloyd—Wealth Against Commonwealth. Paper.	1.00
Volney—The Ruins of Empires. Paper.	1.00
Thomas Paine—The Rights of Man. Paper.	1.00
Henry George—Social Problems. Paper.	1.00
Obasque Ward—The Ancient Lowly. Paper.	1.00
Adams—President John Smith. Paper.	1.00
Richard T. Ely—Socialism and Social Reform. Paper.	1.00
Buchner—Man in the Past, Present and Future. Paper.	1.00
Buchner—A History of the Paris Commune 1871. (cloth 75c, paper cover).	1.00
Chas. H. Vail—Principles of Scientific Socialism. Paper.	1.00
Herron—Between Jesus and Caesar. Paper.	1.00
Roberts—The Principles of Socialism. Paper.	1.00
Rogers—Six Centuries of Work and Wages. Paper.	1.00
Paine—Rights of Man. Paper.	1.00
Donnelly—Caesar's Column. Paper.	1.00

PAMPHLETS

F. G. R. Gordon—Hard Times: Cause and Cure.	1.00
Leonard D. Abbott—The Society of the Future.	1.00
F. Lasalle—What is Capital.	1.00
H. Hyndman—Socialism.	1.00
F. Lasalle—The Workingman's Program.	1.00
Chas. H. Vail—The Industrial Revolution.	1.00

THEODORE DEBS, Secretary Treasurer, 126 Washington Street, Chicago.

Pocket Library of Socialism

1. Woman and the Social Problem. By MAX WOOD SIMONS. Shows that the emancipation of woman will only come with the emancipation of man through socialism.
2. The Evolution of the Class Struggle. By WILLIAM H. NOTES. A historical study showing how socialism is coming.
3. A masterly answer to the argument that "prudence" would help the laborer. By ROBERT BLATCHFORD. Packingtown. By A. M. SIMONS. A study of the Union Stock Yards, Chicago; where nature and man are alike scientifically exploited.
4. Realism in Literature and Art. By CLARENCE B. DAWSON. Shows how the workers of modern art and literature are helping on the new social order.
5. Single Tax vs. Socialism. By A. M. SIMONS. Shows the inadequacy of the Single Tax as a remedy for the evils pointed out by Henry George.
6. Wage-Labor and Capital. By KATIE MARK. The essence of the great philosopher's theory, in his own words.
7. The Man Under the Machine. By A. M. SIMONS. Tells how wage slavery began, what it is today and how the workers are going to free themselves. A condensed handbook of socialism.
8. The Mission of the Working Class. By REV. CHARLES H. VAIL, author of "Modern Socialism," etc.
9. Morals and Socialism. By CHARLES H. KINN. Shows how popular ideas of morals are inseparable in the interest of Socialism.
10. Socialist Songs. Sixteen good ones, fit to sing every one knows.
11. After Capitalism What? By REV. WILLIAM T. HAYWARD. A logical historical study showing that socialism must come as the result of forces now at work.
12. A Political Quack Doctor. By W. A. CORRY. A socialist view of the "Prohibition" movement.

Daintily printed, five cents each, post-paid.

SPECIAL OFFER—For one dollar we will mail forty copies of the Pocket Library, all of one kind as asserted as preferred.

SEND ORDERS TO

THEODORE DEBS 126 Washington St., CHICAGO

The Book You Need

PRINCIPLES OF Scientific Socialism

By Rev. Charles H. Vail Author "Modern Socialism" and "National Ownership of Railways."

CONTENTS:

The Industrial Revolution. The Analysis of Value. The Origin of Surplus Value. The Advantages of Socialism: Production, Distribution, Elimination of Unnecessary Expenses, Prevention of Waste, Elevation of Woman, Proper Care and Training of Children, Efficient Directors, Solution of the Monetary Question, Abolition of Taxation, Simplification of Government, Benefits to Capitalists, Benefits to Laborers. The Evidence of the Moral Strength of Socialism: Its Spirit and Aim; Abolition of Business Dishonesty; Restriction of Divorce; Prevention of Prostitution; Elimination of Crime; Prevention of Intemperance, insanity, etc. Poverty—Its Cause and Cure. Wage Slavery vs. Chattel Slavery. Rent and Interest. The Law of Wages. The Law of the Industrial Depression and Commercial Crises. The Problem of Labor-Saving Machinery. Popular Economic Errors: That Value is Determined by Capitalist Cost of Production; that the Interests of Laborers and Capitalists are identical; that Labor is Better Off Today Than Ever Before; that Cheap Prices are Beneficial to Labor; that Foreign Markets are Beneficial to Labor; that Luxury is Beneficial to Labor; that Labor Nationalization Would Solve the Social Question; that Extravagance is the Chief Cause of Economic Want; that Socialism Would Thwart Inventions and Improvements; that Socialism Would Destroy Liberty, Civilization and Order. 12mo, 326 Pages; Paper, 85c; Cloth, \$1.00.

SEND ORDERS TO

THEODORE DEBS, 126 Washington St. CHICAGO

NATIONAL FUND

The following is a list of comrades who have agreed, in response to the appeal of the National Executive Board, to contribute monthly for one year to the national fund. Other names will be added as they are received.

CONNECTICUT	NEW YORK
Fineas, N.H., Hartford	Fales, L. C., Bensonhurst
Holmes, B., Hartford	Abbott, L. D., New York
Stedman, B., Chicago	Hutcher, Wm., Brooklyn
Johnson, C., Chicago	Kahn, Arthur, New York
P. F. Ayer, Chicago	Hals, F. W., New York
"A Friend", Chicago	Loupouloy, Jas., New York
Dr. J. H. Gross, Chicago	Parsons, J., New York
Mrs. C. Brown, Chicago	Weyell, Chas., New York
"Friend", Chicago	Mark Raphael, New York
James Wright, Chicago	Aaron N. Sodoff, New York
INDIANA	Philip Grover, New York
E. V. Debs, Terre Haute	Sanger, Wm., New York
MASSACHUSETTS	Meads, T. F., Brooklyn
Flanders, P. B., Haverhill	
Cohen, A., Boston	
Parker, Levi, W. Newton	
Monette, G. U., Brockton	
Tate, Peter, Everett	
Glitchcock, D. G., Warren	
Goldman, B., Haverhill	
Hough, E., W. Newton	
Chase, Jno. C., Haverhill	
Brown, J. W., Templeton	
Gleaves, C. B., Amesbury	
Allen, Helen N., Lynn	
Kearns, Dr. J. A., Lynn	
Caray, Jas. F., Haverhill	
MICHIGAN	NEW JERSEY
Kelther, S., Grand Rapids	Pankopf, Carl, Jersey City
	Karl Lidner, Paterson
	"Comrade", Newark
MINNESOTA	OHIO
Geaswein, F., Red Lake Falls	Boyar, Jas., Cleveland
	Zorn, Julius, Cleveland
MISSOURI	BRANFORD
Fischer, Wm., St. Louis	Braun, F., New York
Yallier, Henry, St. Louis	Altenebrendt, C., Cleveland
Beebe, Wm., St. Louis	
MARYLAND	PENNSYLVANIA
Jacobson, E., Baltimore	Lewis, J. H., Pottsville
New Hampshire	W. H. Hirt, Erie
Gordon, F. G. B., Manchester	
Howie, Geo., Manchester	
Mellan, C. H., Somersworth	
"Somersworth Branch"	
NEW HAMPSHIRE	TENNESSEE
Gordon, F. G. B., Manchester	Enloe, Dr. B. B., Nashville
Howie, Geo., Manchester	Hamilton, W. A., Nashville
Mellan, C. H., Somersworth	Macbony, Wm., Nashville
"Somersworth Branch"	
TEXAS	VERMONT
Price, E. B., Boston	Berger, V. L., Milwaukee
	Rooney, E. H., Milwaukee
	Ziegler, E., Milwaukee
	Doerflinger, G., Milwaukee
	Arnold, L., Milwaukee
	Meister, E., Milwaukee
	Heimann, C., Milwaukee
	Tuttle, J., Milwaukee
	Heath, F., Milwaukee
	Branch 6, Milwaukee

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

THIRD YEAR. No. 44

CHICAGO, ILL., U.S.A., SATURDAY, JULY 14, 1900.

Whole No. 105.

THE TORTURES OF HELL IN A STEEL TRUST PLANT

Men Killed by the Heat of a Fiery Furnace and the Foreman
Discharged Because he Showed Mercy

The campaign orators will soon begin to tell you that "Socialism means slavery," and that to "retain your freedom and independence" you must vote the Republican or Democratic ticket and continue to maintain our beautiful competitive system. You voting kings will be told again and again that you are free and unhampered individuals, who cannot be coerced or enslaved and that you have no masters! Read this, ye "freemen"!

The newspapers of Chicago have been printing some stories about a labor difficulty in the Illinois Steel Company's plant at South Chicago. Here is what the Tribune had to say about it this morning:

"The feeling of unrest among the employees of the Illinois Steel Company has now somewhat subsided. The crowd of men who gathered in South Chicago saloons on Thursday night and plotted mischief was not visible during the day, and the police expect no trouble for them. All dynamite owned by the company has been carefully guarded and its whereabouts is kept secret from the excited men. A strong force of private detectives and policemen is on guard at the mills, and the force in blast furnace No. 4, where the trouble on Wednesday night occurred, is under surveillance.

"There appears to be no dissatisfaction visible among the employees of the company who are not connected with the blast furnace, and the force of 300 policemen and detectives is considered well able to cope with the 40 men employed in the blast furnaces. All of these men are not disaffected, however.

"The rumor that several hundred men were imprisoned within the gates of the company for two days proves to be false. The men were kept inside the gates from Wednesday evening until 6 o'clock on Thursday morning without being given food, but they were allowed to leave after they had worked twelve hours."

Other papers tell of the "hot reception" that will be meted out to the "malcontents" in case they "attack the works."

One would think that a bunch of Chinese Boxers were in South Chicago waiting for a chance to burn the steel trust's mill and massacre all peaceful citizens.

Here is the story of the way the "trouble" started. It is the "other side." There is always "another side," but it seldom gets printed.

Listen to the other side:
Jack Roedder is foreman of blast No. 4 at the steel trust's South Chicago plant. Under him was a big gang of men. Their work is the hardest and the hottest in all the great mill. Their wages are of the same generous proportions generally allotted to workmen by trusts.

On Wednesday, the Fourth of July, Independence day, the trust didn't celebrate. Instead it sent its white slaves into the furnace-like rooms and drove them on to toil.

The hot wave was on. The air was stifling. Other people, enjoying a holiday, could barely keep alive. The white slaves of the trust toiled on. Finally one fell to the hot floor, and then a second dropped like an ox in his place.

They were carted away to the trust's hospital, and there they died. They are John Leach of 9142 Mackinaw avenue and Andrew Cushman, 8500 Mackinaw avenue.

The other men in the gang gasped in agony, and finally Roedder could drive them no longer; he would drive them no longer.

"Get out into the air, boys," he cried. "Take a five-minute rest in the yard." Gratefully the men filed out, and then came Superintendent J. W. Maket. He called to Roedder angrily:

"Why aren't your men at work? What are they loafing there for?" Roedder explained that two men had been fatally prostrated and that the others could not stand the strain any longer. They would work overtime and make up the five-minute breathing spells.

"Get 'em to work," was the trust superintendent's answer. "We've got to get this work out, and never mind the men."

Roedder protested and was treated to instant dismissal. "Go to the office and get your time," shouted Maket.

Roedder went to the office; got his pay and made his way to the entrance in the great stockade—the stockade that surrounds the trust's plant and keeps everybody from seeing how the blood of men is coined into gold. Roedder went to the gate, and there he found twenty-four of his "boys" clustered like frightened sheep.

They were defying the trust! The great thing which they hated and feared and which they felt held their lives and the lives of their wives and babes in its cruel hands.

They were defying it, but they must show their love and appreciation for the man who dared to take their part. When Roedder walked out—discharged for being humane—twenty-four men walked out with him.

That was the strike. The detectives, perhaps, were called. Perhaps inside the stockade the cases of Winchester were opened and boxes of cartridges broached. The Tribune says the trust's store of dynamite was double guarded.

What is the trust doing with dynamite? It won't tell.

City police, paid by taxpayers, were called to protect the trust's stockade against the twenty-five men.

The trust feared that the story might spread so, having gotten the twenty-five men out, the stockade gates were swung shut and workmen were made prisoners for twenty-four hours, though, the trust explains, they were only compelled to work twelve hours. The imprisoned men got no food, but that was to teach them what to expect if they should decide to stand by the men who walked out with Roedder.

Within forty-eight hours at least fifteen men were prostrated by the heat in the works. None was allowed to go home or to send word outside the stockade. They were hauled to the trust's hospital.

That is what has happened at South Chicago. There is no strike.

There is something else. The noble and "independent American workman" is not a "wage slave." Oh, no! Only the deluded Socialists refer to him as such. The gifted and highly paid Republican and Democratic orator will give him the same old "jolly" about the "dignity of labor" and the "independence" of the laborer, and the intelligent working mule will forget the above if he reads it, and vote the ticket of his master next November.

Socialism would give the steel works and all other industries to the workers, and they could choose their own superintendent, and fix their own hours of labor, but that would be "slavery," you know! If you really want to be Free Men, vote for Eugene V. Debs and the Social Democratic party. F. R.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

The French Socialists and Trade Unionists have every reason to be gratified with the work performed by M. Millerand, the Socialist minister of commerce and industry, says Fred Brocklehurst in the Clarion. By the law Millerand-Collard of the 30th March last he has reduced the hours of labor to 11 per day in all establishments employing men and women, with the promise of further reduction to 10 per day four years hence. He has pleased the Council of Labor on a democratic basis, and nominated M. Jaures to a seat thereon. In his presidential address to the opening session he informed the members of the council that their duty would be that of furnishing authoritative information to the legislature, and of suggesting the line of progress in labor matters. In a speech delivered in the Chamber of Deputies a few days ago he declared that the dominant idea of his administration was the development of trade union organizations. The work people employed in the postoffice have passed resolutions thanking him for reducing their hours of labor, increasing their salaries and granting them other benefits and reforms. His latest act has been the establishment of baths for the telephonists, with the promise that if the plan succeeds they will be provided for postmen and other minor officials as well. This is a splendid record of service. It has disarmed the criticism of those of Millerand's colleagues in the chamber who originally opposed his acceptance of the portfolio of commerce and industry.

At a meeting of the British Electric Traction company, recently held, the chairman, Sir C. Rivers Wilson, stated that the company was concerned in the development of fifty-seven companies; fifty-three were for tramways and light railways, and probably some were undertaken for the supply of electric light and power. They had one omnibus company, one electric launch company, one company recently formed for developing land in the neighborhood of the electric works, and one electric power company. Of the 53 tramways and light railways 31 were in operation and working at a profit, six were in course of construction, and orders for 15 had been recently granted. The 31 in operation comprised a length of 200 miles. Of these 50% were worked by steam, 73% by horse, 62% by electric traction, and 19% were in process of conversion to electric traction. Six undertakings in course of construction measured over 30 miles, 15 new undertakings authorized would measure 104 miles, and when completed this company would be interested in or control 350 miles of tramway and light railway lines. The number of shareholders was 1,800 and debenture-holders 300.

Owing to the imperial censure upon the Russian press, and the difficulties which surround the spread of information respecting Democratic movements in the empire governed by the knout, we are only just getting to know what happened in Russia on May Day. In St. Petersburg, the workers' committee distributed 5,000 copies of a proclamation addressed to the working men of the city. Sixty persons were imprisoned for taking part in this act. Moscow and Kiev also issued proclamations inviting the workers to celebrate the first of May. The working men of Rostov, on the River Don, printed bills and pasted them on the walls demanding freedom of combination, the liberty of the press, electoral reforms, a universal eight-hours day, suppression of overtime, compulsory insurance, the liability of employers for accidents, etc. In Ekaterinosaw, the authorities prevented the holding of a demonstration by imprisoning a large number of persons. Fifteen thousand workers held a demonstration in Varsovie and came into collision with the troops. Demonstrations took place in other towns and many arrests were made.

Mr. Jaures has carried a resolution in the French Council of Labor in favor of a special study being made of the question of industrial arbitration. The Socialists in the Chamber of Deputies have carried a resolution in favor of compulsory arbitration. M. Jaures in a long article on the subject lays down the proposition that it is possible, even before we have overturned the capitalist regime, to reduce, or almost to reduce to vanishing point, the causes of conflicts between capital and labor. He says that arbitration substitutes the regime of discussion for the arbitrary power of capital.

The following are the professions of the Belgian Socialist deputies: Fifteen are workmen, three are barristers, two are professors, two are shopmen, two are managers of co-operative stores, two are schoolmasters, two are doctors, two are journalists, one is a foreman, and one is a manufacturer.

Subscribe for the Herald.

THE SPREAD OF SOCIALISM AMONG THE MIDDLE CLASS

The Pressure of Capitalist Development Forcing them to See
the Terrible Injustice and Wrong of Present System

By a Chicago Business Man

At the present time ideas favorable to Socialism are rapidly spreading among that class of people which is usually known as the middle class. The cause of this is not far to seek. Keen competition, resulting in the concentration of all business enterprises in the hands of the few, has steadily and rapidly reduced the incomes of the middle class, until multitudes who once considered themselves wealthy and independent now find themselves, even in times of greatest business activity, reduced to a condition in which they are obliged to practice the most rigid economy in order to avoid becoming hopelessly in debt.

The effect of the great department stores upon the small retail business men is so well marked that it no longer excites comment. Miles of streets in the great cities are filled with vacant stores where formerly were prosperous retail dealers. And these stores either stand empty or are rented for purposes which enable the occupants to pay only a trivial rent. Capital is so plentiful, and there is so little advantageous use for it, that only the possessors of large fortunes can live upon the small amount of interest derived from their investments. In Chicago thirty years ago money easily brought 10 per cent per annum, where now it brings but 3 or 4 per cent. Small manufacturers are a thing of the past in all the staple industries, and with a very few exceptions only possessors of large capital can start in a manufacturing business with any hope of financial success.

The destruction wholly or in part of the incomes of the great middle class of business men and small real estate owners and investors disastrously affects professional men, doctors, dentists, preachers and the parasites of the middle class, diminishing their incomes and reducing them to poverty.

The smaller business men, being forced by competition to enter into trusts and other coalitions of capital, soon find themselves frozen out by their larger co-conspirators, and see their property swallowed up by those whose superior "business ability" enables them to do it.

Contemporaneously with this decline of the middle class has arisen the great capitalist, whose display of wealth makes the middle class man feel like a pauper. The palaces, yachts, establishments and unbounded luxury of the great capitalist tend to make the middle class man inquire into the means by which this great wealth was obtained; and it is often found that honest exertion, unaccompanied by fraud or wrongful oppression, was the least factor in its acquisition.

The arbitrary raising of prices on nearly all commodities, making the cost of living higher, has also greatly excited the middle class. The already dwarfed incomes of this class are thus still further lessened by this increase in the cost of living.

Notwithstanding this diminution of income of the middle class, taxation has greatly increased of late years. Ex-

travagance and corruption in government have greatly increased, and greater forces of police and militia have become necessary to preserve order. Useless wars are also being prosecuted, and nations are increasing their armies and navies to prevent each from flying at the throats of others in a struggle for commercial advantages. All this increases taxation.

All these causes have aroused the fears of the middle class; and with the arousal of their fears for their own future comes an aroused conscience. The members of this class now begin to see the terrible injustice and wrong, moral as well as economic, of the present capitalist system, and, casting about for a remedy, have had their attention called to Socialism.

Socialism, long a bugbear to the middle class when that class was prosperous, is now beginning to be looked upon by it as a means of rescuing the smaller bourgeoisie from threatened destitution. The works of Edward Bellamy, "Looking Backward" and "Equality," have been largely instrumental, in connection with changed economic conditions, in working this revolution of ideas among this class, although other books have also had an influence in that direction.

The writer's attention has lately been forcibly called to this spread of Socialist ideas among the middle class by certain experiences in the Eastern states. Riding for a day on a Pullman car, the writer met two gentlemen, one a lawyer and the other a merchant, who, of their own accord, began to advocate Socialism, and upon being informed that the writer had been a Socialist for many years, they expressed their satisfaction. Again, stopping at the house of a friend in a large Eastern city, the writer again encountered two gentlemen occupying responsible positions in large business concerns, both of whom announced themselves Socialists; and one of them stated that one of his employers also was an ardent Socialist. They further said that there were many others of their acquaintance, both men and women, who entertained the same ideas. Again, the writer met and talked to an eminent engineer, drawing a considerable salary, who spoke favorably of Socialism and expressed his hope of its realization. All these persons, except perhaps the one last mentioned, broached the subject without any suggestion from the writer.

The immense power of aggregated wealth threatening to completely control the nation, to abolish the middle class and reduce them to practical slavery seems to have excited almost beyond measure people who are even now well-to-do.

Political demagogues will in the present campaign use this fact to get votes for their respective parties. But neither the Republican nor the Democratic party has any weapons in its political armory which can possibly be used to combat the evils which threaten society from the great aggregations of wealth. Socialism alone has the only weapons which can be used for that purpose.

Socialist Argument Irresistible

P. D. Bingen of Dallas, Texas, writes to the New York Journal on the extravagant rates paid for carrying the mail, and while denying that he is a Socialist, makes a point or two very clear. He says:

"I am not a Socialist; but a believer in individuality in government, the man above the state. Mr. Ingalls' recent article, like everything he writes, is fine in words and contains some argument, but is not above criticism. He cites the excessive rates paid by the government for carrying the mails. Haven't the Socialists the best of this fact? It results because the government does not do the work itself as in the delivery of individual mail, but lets it out on contract, the very act to which the Socialists object."

"The railroads get the extravagant rates by corrupting the government officials, from the lawmakers down. If the government did this work, employing those who do it, as with the carriers, this opportunity would not be presented. And this cause and effect exist everywhere, especially in cities. And it has become what has well been termed 'commercialism.'"

"The opportunity presented to make money out of government contracts is the incentive to bribe-giving. The Socialists say where this incentive does not exist the public official is not debauched nor the public treasury looted. And this is an argument of force, and if the laws do not soon prevent it or public

officials become more honest it will become irresistible."

"The Socialist ranks are being increased now by people who are coming to believe that a government can better employ those who are to serve it than stockholders of a corporation who act for their own interest, and many good people believe that if all those who are in office and in the employ of the government were not allowed to vote, there would be less corruption and better service rendered than seems to result from letting out by contract the performance of public duties."

"All politics is fast becoming intensely 'practical' and business-like, and the good citizen who does not perform his duty on convention and election day casts half his influence and vote for the other side."

San Diego Chieftain: A person who has been "born and raised" an idiot generally takes great pride in being a fool. The years may come and go, conditions may change, war pestilence and poverty may threaten society, but the idiot will continue to be a fool just the same. Environment or changed conditions cannot effect his mind and he is not responsible. We wonder whether some of our old party friends who boast of their political heredity can see any point in this.

The Herald will be sent to any address in the United States 26 weeks for 20 cents.

BUILD AND GO FORWARD

"Blest be the tempest and kind the storm that drives us nearer home."

The differences within the Social Democratic Party arising from the effort to unite with the S. L. P. emphasises the fact that Socialism needs a more compact organization of its working force in America.

What we need is practically a bullet-proof organization, one that can confront any condition, deal with any question, and be its own "Savior." Of course we have comrades on both sides of this question, who feel that it is their divine mission to "save the movement." But those who understand the historic development of the movement and appreciate what is being done for Socialism without as well as within the organization realize that the organization is the important factor; not the number of its members, but the harmony and efficiency of its working force, and the marvelous growth of the party since the convention is evidence of the splendid work they are doing. New branches

are being organized, new members admitted, and on every hand there is evidence of life and progress.

The party is just entering its first real battle; much depends on the showing made for our presidential candidate, and the comrades who are sincere in their efforts to advance Socialism will have no time to croak or inclinations to whine. Let us have united action now—the united party will come without a fight if you are ever ready for it; but now there is work, earnest work to be done, and the comrades should join in one supreme effort to strengthen and build the party.

"The duty of the springs and streams everywhere should be to babble forth the word Forward."

Sylvester Keliher.

Others, I doubt not, if not we, The issue of our toils shall see; Young children gather as their own The harvest that the dead have sown The dead—forgotten and unknown.

—Lewis Morris.

Social Democratic Herald

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board
FREDERIC HEATH, Chairman
SEYMOUR STEEDMAN, Secretary
EUGENE V. DEBS, VICTOR L. BERGER
CORINNE S. BROWN

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, 50 cents. Six months, 25 cents. No papers sent to any one on credit. If, without having subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and no bill will follow. Foreign subscriptions \$1.00.

Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

A. S. EDWARDS, Editor
THEODORE DEBS, National Sec'y-Treas.
126 Washington St., Chicago.

106 is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 107 your subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, JULY 14, 1900.

PROSPERITY ABOVE PERSONS

Very much of the talk now prevalent in defense of property was used as an argument by men who framed the constitution and founded this government. It was asserted that "property is certainly the principle object of society." From the beginning of this republic, so-called property has possessed rights superior to those of persons. And we have evolved up to that point where the property of a thief gets more consideration than the man who creates the property. The constitution of the United States once pledged the federal government to the protection of property in men with a black skin. But we have advanced from that position, and now protect monopolies of those things which men, black and white, must have to sustain life. Under the old policy it was the property-holder's interest to care for his property; under the new his only interest is in the things which cost him nothing and he did not make, but which law guarantees him the full enjoyment of, and punishes the man who protests against the injustice. The new, like the old, is slavery, and the law now, as then, protects the man with property.

ABOUT BRYAN'S PLATFORM

Referring to the Kansas City platform it will be well for workingmen to ask themselves a few questions. For instance:

If Porto Rico were given a government such as the United States has, that is, a government administered by capitalists in the interest of property, how much better off would the working class be in Porto Rico?

If the Filipinos are given the same political liberty we enjoy in the United States and are denied economic freedom, will their condition be improved, and is expansion and the "extension of the republic's influence" under the flag without freedom to work and to live any better than out-and-out imperialism?

If the trusts and corporations should be "protected in all their rights and legitimate [legalized] interests," what more has the republican party ever done and so long as the rights of trusts are respected will not the wrongs of workingmen go unredressed?

If the proposed department of labor were created and a capitalist politician put in charge of it, with a seat in the cabinet along with the others of the same kidney, how would that tend to the elevation of American workingmen under the wage system?

ARE YOU WORKER, BEGGAR OR THIEF?

What are you doing on God's fair earth and task-garden, where whosoever is not working is begging or stealing?—Carlyle.

Socialists combat the orthodox opinion that each one is responsible for his own condition, good or bad, and while recognizing inequalities of individual talents and capacities, contend that the possession of talent and capacity by the individual is something that society bestows.

The individual, of whatever ability or skill, is a debtor to society, not alone for all he has, but for all he is capable of doing. Socialists contend that if all were workers and rendering their best service to society, the workingman would not, could not, be poor.

The poverty and wretchedness of the workingman originate in a system which gives the highest awards to those who are not working. The man who lives on interest is not working. The man who lives on rent is not working. The man who does not do a lick of intellectual or manual labor on a railroad, and yet draws dividends from the road, is not working.

All forms of income that result from no labor on the part of those receiving them are unjust and immoral. By far the larger portion of the "earnings" of business go to those who do not work. Men do not beg for interest, rent and dividends; they do not work for them.

Whosoever is not working (manually or intellectually) is begging or stealing. Stealing is theft. Are you a worker, beggar or thief?

The Socialists in the Italian chamber are going to bring a bill proposing to repeal the duties on corn in Italy.

SOCIALISM THE CIVILIZER

You may go on believing that the democracy of the world, which has destroyed kings and overthrown empires, will go down before porcine aristocrats, oily monopolists and swagbilly politicians, but the people are thinking; they are coming to see, and

Some day, by laws as fixed and fair
As guide the planets in their sweep,
The children of each outcast heir
The harvest-fruits of Time shall reap.

Time will destroy all your speculations of profit in human industry and confirm the "wild and woolly" notions of many a simple Socialist whom you affect to despise. True democracy—political and educational—carries us inevitably forward to the co-operative commonwealth. Time often flies too swiftly to be marked and in its flight shows slight regard for our fictions of opinion. At the beginning of this century human beings were sold with oxen in the streets of St. Petersburg, and buyer and bought thought it was a fixed and permanent order of the universe. Today the press, though secret and hunted by the police, has splintered the auction block, and the czar has to reckon not so much with brute force and dynamite as with the truths and logic of Socialism. Socialism civilizes the world by degrees in advance of its final triumph. It was the seer, Emerson, who said five years before black slavery was abolished that it would not be done in the next generation. When you speculate on what time will do, don't be so sure. Nothing is fixed.

SOCIALIST FLASHLIGHT TURNED ON CURRENT IDEAS AND EVENTS

Admitting for the moment (what is not true) that there is employment for all men who want it, what kind of employment is it? When a man has found work under capitalism, what has he really done? He has simply placed himself in a position where he can procure a small part of what he produces merely to sustain life. But even the opportunity to sustain life involves the transforming of all the energy he acquires from his pittance of a wage into more surplus which the capitalist appropriates. Meanwhile the preacher tells him to love his fellow-men, in the hope of a blessed future beyond the grave—right at the time, too, when his stomach is empty and his employer's is full, and when his torn and tattered coat prevents him attending "divine" service to see his well-groomed master "in the midst of them."

Have you ever thought what a real comfort the machine must be to the capitalist employer who owns it? The machine was never known to join a union, or ask for a day off, or go on a spree or go to sleep, or grow weary, or organize a strike, or babble about its "rights," or be moved by "sympathy." It never "dreams," is always active, industrious and obedient. There is only one drawback, one source of annoyance to the capitalist, and that is that while there are machines, there are also human beings with stomachs to feed, backs to clothe and heads to shelter. What a paradise for capitalists this would be were there no stomachs! Would it?

Did you notice how the Cuban scandal and embezzlement had been smothered by the McKinley administration? Do you know why? The criminals (friends of Hanna), it is said, have been "exposed," and there it ends. "Thou shalt not steal" is understood nowadays to apply to the poor man who is hungry, has no money, can't find work and takes bread to sustain life; it has no application to the rich who take advantage of a system which permits them to separate the laborer from the means of gaining a living and takes from him three-fourths of what he produces, when employed, under an iniquitous wage system. Law is not for the Neelys and Rathbones, who "stand in" with the Hannas and McKinleys.

The taxed man raises corn, the taxing man raises corruption; the taxed man raises wheat, the taxing man raises war; the taxed man raises potatoes, the taxing man raises perquisites; the taxed man raises hogs, the taxing man raises hell; the taxed man raises sheep, the taxing man uses the "sheep"; the taxed man improves the land, the taxing man is ruining the land. Hurrah for McKinley and the "best government on earth!"

Modern capitalism has created an environment for the millions of the world's workers that breeds disease and culminates in death. Its apologetic writers, looking at surface manifestations only, lay the blame of individual failure, mental deformity or immorality upon the suffering victims themselves. They are wholly unmindful of the fact that the capitalist is chiefly responsible for the depravity and misery in the world.

An advertiser in one of the city daily papers wants "clerks for the country," who must be good penmen and "able to endure hard living," at low wages. This is a fascinating opportunity for young college graduates desirous of rising in the world—plenty of work, hard living and small pay—it is under similar conditions that every millionaire laid the foundation of his fortune. So it is!

If the young man with small capital undertakes to invest it for "profit," the chances are as ten to one against him. His own experience, tact, judgment and small resources are not equal to the struggle, and, in spite of his best efforts, his small capital is soon absorbed in the larger one of the capitalist class. This process goes on without intermission, and the people of small means are disappearing wherever the capitalist system holds sway.

Wages are in large degree measured by the necessities of the employing capitalist. If it is necessary for an employing capitalist to maintain his reputation as a philanthropist, he cuts down wages; if necessity obliges him to invest more capital to secure more profits, he cuts down wages. The wants and privations of the workingmen—well, they don't count.

None understand better than Socialists the need of capital to promote human existence and carry on production. And none have as clear a comprehension of the waste of capital under capitalism as Socialists. No Socialist, dead or alive, ever advocated or favored the destruction of capital.

The "union" convention of Pennsylvania, called by the S. L. P. (with the assistance of a paper called Public Ownership) consisted of seventy-one S. L. P.'s and the editor of P. O. Small game that, after the expenditure of so vast an amount of ammunition.

Your power in the state, Mr. Dollaraday, is measured by a single vote. But the power of the Standard Oil company in the state is measured by two hundred million dollars. Not till you throw your vote with the Socialists will your power count against the other.

The poor are equally entitled to the protection of law with the rich; but the rich make the laws, and laws that the rich make never protected the poor. To have a title to protection and be subject to plunder is to be a slave to a delusion.

In his first inaugural address McKinley said: "Legislation helpful to producers is beneficial to all." But in all the legislation enacted since he became president, not a single measure has helped the producers.

Four years ago the wage slaves voted to protect the capitalists; now they are asked to do it again. Every vote cast for a party not opposed to the present system is a vote for capitalists.

The remorseless logic of Karl Marx was directed, not against capital, but against capital privately employed as an instrument to exploit and rule the laborer who creates capital.

Every workingman who would rather build homes for other men to own and get rent for than to build for himself, will vote the Republican or Democratic ticket.

The man who works for wages works for the boss who pays the wages and is a slave; most of the results of the slave's work necessarily goes to the boss.

SELF INTEREST

"Oh, you can't change human nature," is so frequently used in arguments in opposition to socialistic principles. Human nature is as unchangeable as the fixed laws that govern the universe. It is pointed out that human nature has never changed, but that conditions and environments have and are constantly changing; self-interest is the incentive of all action and evolution through which society has and does pass.

History gives us accounts of the warfare of barbarians and the method of treatment of their captives, by being cut up and consumed; following the instinct of self-interest brought out by the struggle for existence, as cannibalism was then highly moral. As these tribes became more numerous and more intelligent and had to depend on the ground for subsistence, they found out that their prisoners could furnish more subsistence by letting them work the land, instead of eating their flesh.

Had human nature changed by doing this? Not at all, the economic system had changed and they were simply following the incentive "self-interest." The prisoners were not asked to consent to this change, but the better condition produced by the captives' labor and produce and so in following their self-interest, cannibalism became immoral, slavery and serfdom highly moral.

Next in line in evolution we come to the feudal lords who claimed the land and every one living on it. Had human nature changed and mankind become more humane? Not at all; the economic system had once more changed, the possessing classes, the feudal lords, acting in self-interest, demanded that production should be carried on in their interest by the people being tied to the land, so that land slavery was highly moral, and the other two immoral.

We now come to the middle ages. A new class began to appear to down the existing class; this was the trading or

commercial class, the forerunner of our capitalistic class. These traders handled the product of the free workers and began to extend the existing markets, established factories on a small scale, inducing the workers to co-operate with them to widen the scale, placed the workers in districts, thereby opening the way to individual production. Soon they began to work for the downfall of feudalism.

Did they feel sorry for the serf and his condition? Not much; the main factor in this change, the serf, was not asked at all, the rising capitalist class was simply following as its predecessors have done, its self-interest. Competition was then looked upon and encouraged as the life of trade, only a free worker would be useful for that purpose, work for the cost of production and not be dependent on its master when production ceases. The only way in which this point could be gained was through the abolition of the feudal system, under which the laborer was attached to the land. Finally capital succeeded in overthrowing this system, and in its place was introduced the last stage of slavery for the working class. The incentive of action, self-interest, must in the final struggle end in the interest of the working class.

Thus has the evolution of society changed in the past, not human nature; morals had nothing to do with it; all advancement was in spite of the then existing morals, but steadfastly clung to its self-interest, and all the progress that has been made up till now is selfish progress. In none of these changes or evolutions of society, those most interested, the captives, slave or serf, have not been asked to consent, but the ruling or exploiting class in each case simply following its self-interest, and this has caused a new organization of society.

Through all these evolutions there has been a hard struggle to rule between the classes. Each system contained within itself the germs of the system which would supersede it or destroy it as soon as the time was ripe.

With the commencement of the capitalistic system, the struggle has been narrowed down to the possessing and exploiting class. It is the final struggle and when finished once will usher in a system that will be just and equitable. The capitalistic or ruling class does not contain the germ of any new exploiting class. Human nature has not yet changed, self-interest is the incentive to usher in the new society.

In the economic field stands the trades unions, not yet intelligent enough in their class interest, but fighting along the line of self-interest, as the strikes in the different lines of employment indicate. Sooner or later this struggle will make them conscious of their interest, and this interest is in the political field of Socialism, following the line of self-interest, doing as their exploiters are now doing, control the political field. The leaders of the old parties fear this new party because it is world wide, the potentates of Europe fear and hate it, as they see their downfall in its ascendancy. The entire laboring world will be forced into the ranks of Socialists, simply through self-interest; when this is accomplished, the present system will be overthrown and the co-operative commonwealth established.

Self-interest of the worker dictates that work can and shall be had if wanted, and to receive the full social value for it; this can not be had now, as the capitalist is the legal owner of the means of production and distribution, his self-interest is opposed to that of the laborer. The next great change or evolution in society will come about simply because human nature does not change, but that its incentive, self-interest, will change the present system. Socialists do not propose to change human nature, they simply point out that conditions and environments have been and can be changed, and that self-interest will and has changed them in the past.

H. H. Meyer.

JACK POTTS' OBSERVATIONS

A Statement of Facts By a Socialist Workingman Which Appeals to His Class.

I insist that you men who work shall read these lines, and read them carefully. Some of the statistics have been printed before in The Herald, but maybe you didn't pay much attention to them.

Whom do you consider your friends—the men and women who give their lives and nearly all they have to the building up of a real brotherhood, or the rapacious, selfish horde who sacrifice you instead of themselves? Read Kropotkin's passionate "Appeal to the Young," and then tell me if you can be a hog or vote for the hogs: And in order to clear your mind read the following figures and see if they mean anything to you:

Suicides—In 1835, 978; in 1895, 5,750.

Murders—In 1885, 1,808; in 1895, 10,500.

Insanity increased 50 per cent faster than the population between 1860 and 1890.

Wealth per capita—In 1850, \$345; in 1890, \$974. This looks good if we go no further. But let us look at it from another view: In 1850 the wealth per capita among the workers was \$239.50; in 1890 it was only \$184—a decrease of

\$55.50! Who gained what you lost? Look: Wealth of non-workers per capita in 1850, \$1,293; in 1890, \$8,085! The non-workers gained \$6,792 per capita. Figure out, if you can, where prosperity comes in for you.

Remember now, the college fellows admit that the people who work bear the burden of taxation. The workers are in the majority. The business of government should be to care for the interests of the majority. Does our government do this? No. Then what do you think of the college fellows—McKinley and Bryan and all their apologists and "promoters"—who ask you to vote their tickets and thereby "save the country"—for them? Some time ago I asked a first-class lawyer if the Socialist's argument could be refuted, and he promptly replied: "No." And he is a Bryan man! Then the college fellows, knowing these things, must be knaves. They certainly are not fools. Both the old party propositions are as full of holes as a sieve, because they pretend that they will make us all prosperous and yet retain the present throat-cutting, competitive industrial plan. The Socialist's plan is as sound as the much-chased and adored dollar, because he wants to supplant competition with co-operation. You are in the majority. Vote for what YOU want, not for what the capitalist confidence men want.

I was talking to my friend Bill, the molder, the other day. (You know I work for my living, too.) He said he was really a "Socialist at heart," but thought he would vote for Bryan. "Bill," said I to him, "you are going to make a monkey of yourself," and I showed him why. And now he swears he will vote for Debs this fall!

•And Mr. Workingman, there is another thing I want you to notice: Shortly after men turn Socialists they generally begin to be as big fools as I am about working for the cause. They induce their friends to subscribe for Socialist papers. They spend their own money for Socialist literature and for postage to mail it to their friends. They are as enthusiastic as camp-meeting exhorters, day and night, everywhere. Many of these enthusiasts are hard-working men, and they are not running for office, either. There is "nothing in it" for them. Isn't that peculiar? Why do they do it? They have seen a little of the light, that's why! Let me know if you see any disinterested workingman doing such work for either of the old parties this year.

Mr. Workingman, come in out of the wet! The old-party schemers are your friends for revenue only.

Oh, the Commercial Instinct is a fine thing! This rampant, rambunctious "incentive" of mankind is illustrated by the story of Oscar Bock, fourth officer of the Saale, one of the vessels destroyed at Hoboken a few days ago:

"I called to the tugs, 'Save me!' 'How much?' they asked. 'I have no money.' 'Then you might as well be dead,' they said, laughing, and turned away."

The Chicago Evening Post of July 3, in an article commenting on Bock's story and other similar ones, affected to be surprised and shocked—as though our unholy competitive scheme could breed aught but peace and purity and unselfishness!—and ended as follows: "If the stories were true our whole social system, with its religion and morality, would have to be pronounced a hollow mockery."

Dear editorial boy, right now our boasted civilization, with its alleged religion, is a mighty close imitation of a "hollow mockery"! A few more years of "economics without ethics" will put us up against the "real thing." Hurrah for the McHanna and Rockefeller era of rotten national conscience! Hurrah for an age when secular and religious educators smother their consciences and fawn, evade, equivocate and try to poison an industrial system covered with virulent ulcers! Hurrah for the hypocritical or pathetically ignorant who prate of "charity"! Hurrah, in short, for an international civilization generally insane from worship of the "Goddess of Getting-On"! May all the unseen forces that impel the cause of truth expand the minds, strengthen the hearts and steady the nerves of the few heroic souls who today, in the midst of this vast hypocrisy and greed, are raising their voices in protest against industrial slavery. I would rather my name were Kropotkin, Bakounin, Debs or Besant than McKinley!

JACK POTTS.

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN FUND

H. H. Meyer, Soldiers' Home.....\$ 5.00
M. Pierson, Jacksonville......50
"Z," Chicago......25
Previously reported.....850.00
\$855.00

BRANCH SUPPLIES

Membership Cards (per 100).....1.00
Membership Applications (100)......25
Constitutions (each)......05

Send orders with cash to Theodore Debs, 126 Washington Street, Chicago. No supplies sent on credit.

Chrysomelidae

INDIANA STATE CONVENTION

Allegiance Declared to the Social Democratic Party and Full State Ticket Nominated.

Governor of State,
JOHN W. KELLY, Marion.
Lieutenant-Governor,
JOHN A. LOYD, Columbus.
Secretary of State,
ED. H. EVINGER, Terre Haute.
Auditor of State,
WM. CROKE, Marion.
Treasurer of State,
C. A. HULSMAN, Indianapolis.
Attorney General,
C. A. THORNTON, Indianapolis.
Reporter Supreme Court,
FEASIEUR, Alexandria.
State Statistician,
WM. EHRENHARDT, Terre Haute.
Superintendent of Public Instruction,
M. A. THORNDYKE, Marion.
Presidential Electors,
EDWARD MYERS, Marion.
JUDSON O'NEAL, Terre Haute.
JOHN HUNDERMARK, Marion.
CARNELIUS VAN STREIN, Muncie.
B. G. SPENCER, Versailles.
J. C. SUTHERLAND, Evansville.
J. A. M'KEEN, Marion.
NEWTON HUFFINES, Evansville.
JOHN P. KIRKHAM, Sullivan.
HARRY W. CRIPPS, Evansville.
JOHN P. THORNDYKE, Marion.
HUGO MILLER, Indianapolis.
JOHN A. SEVIER, Alexandria.
Electors-at-Large,
HERMAN STUEMPFLE,
Terre Haute.
W. A. KLAZER, Evansville.

Indiana Social Democrats held their first state convention on July 4 at Reichwein's hall, Indianapolis. A full state ticket was chosen, mostly composed of workingmen. The usual display of pomp, glory and the not always characteristic other political conventions was conspicuous by its absence, and in its place was a cool, clear-headed body of men with determination stamped on their features, which was a source of inspiration to the delegates and unattached Socialists who attended the convention.

The convention was called to order by Sylvester Kelliher of Indianapolis, who gave a brief review of past and present progress in the party and a forecast of the future triumphs and victories which it hopes to achieve. The convention then got down to business by electing a committee on credentials and one on rules, after which a recess was taken until the committees were ready to report. The report of the committee on credentials showed that twenty delegates were present, representing Indianapolis, Evansville, Marion, Terre Haute and Columbus, and unattached Socialists were present from Elwood, Muncie and Alexandria and several other points. The reports of the committees were then adopted, after which Ed. H. Evinger of Terre Haute was elected permanent chairman and Charles Thornton of Indianapolis, secretary. The following committees were then elected:

Resolutions and Platform—James O'Neal of Terre Haute; Sylvester Kelliher and R. Grueling of Indianapolis.
Permanent Organization—John W. Kelly of Marion, Thomas Catton and Hugo Miller of Indianapolis.
Nominations—A. H. Rowley, Columbus; J. W. Rumer, Evansville, and John P. Thorndyke of Marion.

The convention then adjourned to meet at 2 p. m. Chairman Evinger called the convention to order at 2 o'clock. The committees on resolutions and platform reported the following resolution and platform:

We, the representatives of the Social Democratic party in state convention assembled, hereby indorse and ratify the nomination of Eugene V. Debs and Job Harriman for president and vice president of the United States and declare our allegiance to the Social Democratic party.

PLATFORM.

The Social Democratic party of the state of Indiana, in convention assembled, reaffirm the national platform adopted at Indianapolis convention in March, 1900, and declare our uncompromising adherence to the principles of international Socialism.

We demand the enactment of a law providing for the ownership and operation by the municipalities of all lighting, heating plants and the means of transportation and communication.

We demand the direct employment of labor by state and municipalities on all public work and the employment of the unemployed on state and municipal improvements, such as good roads, public baths, etc.

We demand that adequate school facilities shall be furnished, such as sufficient school room, trained teachers, free school books, and food, clothing and shelter whenever necessary.

We demand the enactment of a law providing for the eight-hour day on all state and municipal work.

The report of the committee on permanent organization was adopted after a slight amendment. Indianapolis was chosen as the seat of the executive board for two years.

The report of the committee on nominations was adopted, and the question of the party emblem was left to the executive board with instructions to try and secure for the national emblem the

figure of hands clasped around the globe with the inscription: "Workingmen of all countries unite."

The nominee for governor, John W. Kelly of Marion, has the distinction of being the first Socialist ever elected to office in the state of Indiana. The "next governor" was called upon for a speech, and in a few well-chosen words thanked the convention for honoring him with the nomination, and said that he would go into the state campaign with the same purpose in view that prompted his acceptance of the nomination for the council of Marion, that is with the determination to win. Speeches were then heard from the various delegates, all of whom spoke in an enthusiastic strain, which showed a determination to roll up a Socialist vote that would be a surprise to the capitalist parties in this state.

STATE ORGANIZATION.

1. The state convention shall be held every two years at such time and place as the state executive board shall determine.

2. Such state convention shall select the city where the state executive board shall be located.

3. The branches at the city elected shall elect an executive board of five members to compose the state executive board, three of whom shall constitute a quorum.

4. The executive board shall have supervision of the party organization, and shall have power to provide such rules, issue such orders and adopt such measures as may be required to carry out the objects of the organization.

5. To defray the expense of the party within the state, each branch shall contribute 5 cents from each member per month to the executive board.

6. Upon application of 5 per cent of the membership within the state, the executive board shall submit a referendum vote to the various branches upon any matter of interest to the members within said state.

PASSING OF CAPITALISM AND MISSION OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

By Isador Laskoff.

Why does capitalism, like a venomous fungoid, flourish in our midst? Why did the greatest achievements of the human genius in the conquests of dead matter result in the actual return to barbarity? Simply because our philosophy of life is way behind our progress in the domain of purely material or industrial activity. Simply because the modern methods of production and distribution of wealth are by far more advanced than our ideals and conceptions about right and wrong. Our methods of economic activity are incorporating (although incompletely) the progressive principle of socialization, while our philosophy of life, our moral ideals, remain still individualistic or anarchistic.

In this incongruity, in this contradiction between our conceptions of human inter-relations on one hand and actual material conditions on the other, is concealed the center of gravity of all social problems of the day. This incongruity and contradiction is felt instinctively by everybody. Very few, however, have the clear vision of the hidden causes of those phenomena. Deep is the general unrest, broad is the general nervousness of the people, obvious are the symptoms of our social abnormalities, absurdities and crimes, but very few penetrate through the mere surface of things.

Dissatisfaction permeates every class of the people, and many are the remedies proposed and advocated by all kinds of so-called reformers whose name is legion. The middle class "reformers" of the democratic-populistic stamp, those blind leaders of the blind, preach reaction, return to semi-medieval individualism, as a means to escape the perplexities of our modern industrial conditions. Their watchword is: "Backward, backward, Don Rodrigo!" Another variety of half-hearted, one-idea reformers try to concentrate all their attention on some single panacea, bound to save humanity in twenty-four hours after its inauguration. Such are the prohibitionists, single taxers, etc. All these would be saviors of humanity lack historic sense and philosophic training of mind. They are delightfully puerile in their utopian faith in the miraculous power of legislation on paper, and do not see the forest, because stubbornly insisting on looking on one tree only. They imagine themselves to be Joshuas commanding the sun of industrial evolution to stop at the Gideon of dwarfed capitalism.

The Social Democracy has another more sensible and cheering message for humanity. Its watchword is: "Forward, forward!" It recognizes the absurdity of all the attempts to turn the wheel of historical development backward, it considers as insane the advice to undo all the marvelous achievements of science applied to arts. Social Democracy is primarily an educational movement. Its task consists in teaching people to conform their philosophy of life, their social ideals and moral principles to the new industrial conditions. The economic structure of our modern society is clearly drifting towards the socialization of industry, and Social Democracy is preparing the people for this revolutionary change. The time is near when the tools of production and raw material will be turned over to the people engaged in production, when production

will be carried on not for profit, but for consumption, when socialized production will be carried on by society in the interest of society; in short, when society at large will be the master of its own economic destiny. Such a revolution in economic life demands a radical revision and readjustment of our moral conceptions; it demands a clear vision of the drift of our time and a great deal of enthusiasm in the cause of human welfare. This clearness of vision, this enthusiasm and the gospel of a new system of ethics Social Democracy brings to the people.

The passing capitalistic era with its profit system, with its zoological system of competition, with its eternal fluctuations between supply and demand, with its reckless speculation with human sweat and blood, with its brutal degradation of manhood and womanhood, with its flagrant injustice and absurdities, did not fall from heaven (or, rather, hell) into a community of innocent and reasoning beings. Capitalism is the product of our own irrationality and perverted sense of right or wrong. Capitalism is passing in the measure as we are outgrowing it morally and mentally. The mission of Social Democracy is to help and hasten our mental and moral growth into a higher, better, nobler social system. Social Democracy stands on firm historical ground. It takes up the work just where it was left by the middle class French revolution. Times proved the futility of political without economic freedom and equality. Events proved that freedom and equality in the purely political sense of these terms are mere worthless abstractions, a snare and delusion for the proletariat. Social Democracy demands economic democracy, economic liberty and equality as the only real democracy, liberty and equality worth striving for.

"Well, all that is certainly very nice and sounds well; but is it possible to change human nature so as to make men live like loving brothers?" is the usual skeptic objection of wise practical men to all social democratic arguments. This objection is by no means new. The wise and practical man-eater certainly did object to the radical reformer, who first suggested that it would be preferable to enslave the prisoners of war to eating them up in the same way. "It would be indeed very nice, but our fathers and forefathers did eat their war prisoners. You cannot change human nature." And yet centuries passed and slavery formed the under structure of great civilizations, like the Hellenic and Roman empires. The wise slave-owner argued in the same strain with the abolitionist, and yet the shackles fell from the limbs of a race whose only crime consisted in the pigment of its skin. Is it necessary to meet the objection of our wise and practical anti-socialists? It would be too tedious.

The middle class, the most typical representatives of which is the capitalists, was not always as conservative, nay, sometimes reactionary as it appears at present. By far not. The absolute power of the kings and emperors of Europe, owing to which the so-called nobility and clergy occupied the most privileged position in the said hierarchy, was a thorn in the flesh of the middle class. The middle class was the carrier of the noble ideals of (political) freedom, equality and (do not laugh, dear reader!) brotherhood. It was at the time of the French revolution representing the advanced guard of humanity. It fought nobly and conquered (with the aid of proletarian blood, of course). This accomplished the middle class hastened to forget its revolutionary traditions and for obvious reasons. As long as their class interests coincided, or seemed to coincide, with the interests of the human race—the human cause was their cause and no farther. Indeed political freedom proved to be an excellent thing without its economic counterpart for the valiant possessor of the valuable, as Ruskin aptly defined rich people. Who enjoyed economic freedom because he is valiant can use political freedom as a means to get advantage over his less valiant fellow-citizens as we witness it in Switzerland, France and the United States. The government of so-called free countries is just as easily run in the interests of a plutocracy as a monarchy in the interests of an aristocracy. The proletarian is left to his fate. He is doomed to be dependent on his only possession—his labor power as a ware on the market. All the insecurity, the fluctuations of supply and demand, competition and other beauties connected with the mercantile system are burdening the broad shoulders of the dispossessed class of the people. The interests of this class are at present identical with the interests of the human race. This class is, therefore, naturally the carrier of the highest ideals of the age, is the advance guard of humanity struggling for its emancipation. Social Democracy is the mouthpiece of this struggle, its interpreter, its advocate and leader. Social Democracy has to train the army of the proletarian class and to lead it against the hosts of capitalism.

The elections for the senate have taken place in Belgium, and the clerical majority is now fourteen, instead of thirty-eight in the previous assembly. There are now four Socialists instead of one.

SPLENDID LIFE-LIKE PORTRAIT OF EUGENE V. DEBS

CANDIDATE OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

SIZE—21 X 28 INCHES, ON GOOD PAPER

Price, 10 Cents, Single Copy
Sent by mail, securely enclosed in tube to insure safe transmission, on receipt of price.
Address,

CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY,
126 Washington St., Chicago

THE PLATFORM

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness depend upon equal political and economic rights.

In our economic development an industrial revolution has taken place, the individual tool of former years having become the social tool of the present. The individual tool was owned by the worker who employed himself and was master of his product. The social tool, the machine, is owned by the capitalist and the worker is dependent upon him for employment. The capitalist thus becomes the master of the worker and is able to appropriate to himself a large share of the product of his labor.

Capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people; but the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system will necessitate the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare.

The present system of social production and private ownership is rapidly converting society into two antagonistic classes—i. e., the capitalist class and the propertyless class. The middle class, once the most powerful of this great nation, is disappearing in the mill of competition. The issue is now between the two classes first named. Our political liberty is now of little value to the masses unless used to acquire economic liberty.

Independent political action and the trade union movement are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its political, the other its economic wing, and both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system.

Therefore the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be:

First—The organization of the working class into a political party to conquer the public powers now controlled by capitalists.

Second—The abolition of wage-slavery by the establishment of a national system of co-operative industry, based upon the social or common ownership of the means of production and distribution, to be administered by society in the common interest of all its members, and the complete emancipation of the socially useful classes from the domination of capitalism.

The working class and all those in sympathy with their historic mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America. The control of political power by the Social Democratic party will be tantamount to the abolition of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting the millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international Socialism, the brotherhood of man. As steps in that direction, we make the following demands:

First—Revision of our federal constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to complete control of government by the people irrespective of sex.

Second—The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

Third—The public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones; all means of transportation, and communication; all water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

Fourth—The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal, and other mines, and all oil and gas wells.

Fifth—The reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

Sixth—The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

Seventh—Useful inventions to be free, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

Eighth—Labor legislation to be national, instead of local, and international when possible.

Ninth—National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.

Tenth—Equal civil and political rights, for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

Eleventh—The adoption of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

Twelfth—Abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

The Social Democratic
Red Book
ORDER IT
PRICE 15 CENTS
Sent postpaid on receipt of price
DEBS PUBLISHING CO.
TERRE HAUTE, IND.

THE FULL STRENGTH OF APPEAL TO REASON

WILL BE GIVEN TO DEBS AND HARRIMAN

the ensuing campaign. For purposes of propaganda the following prices are named on bundles to one address:

25 copies weekly, 3 mos.,	\$ 1.50
50 " " " "	3.00
100 " " " "	6.00
250 " " " "	14.50
500 " " " "	27.50
1000 " " " "	49.00

ADDRESS,
APPEAL TO REASON
GIRARD, KANSAS

Pocket Library of Socialism

1. *Woman and the Social Problem.* By MAY WOOD SIMONS. Shows that the emancipation of man will only come with the emancipation of man through socialism.
2. *The Evolution of the Class Struggle.* By WILLIAM H. ROYCE. A historical study showing how socialism is coming.
3. *Imprudent Arrangements.* By ROBERT BLATNICK. A masterly answer to the argument that "prudence" would help the laborer.
4. *Packingtons.* By A. M. SIMONS. A study of the Union Stock Yards, Chicago; how nature and man are alike scientifically exploited.
5. *Realism in Literature and Art.* By CLARENCE B. DARROW. Shows how the workers of modern art and literature are helping on the new social order.
6. *Single Tax vs. Socialism.* By A. M. SIMONS. Shows the inadequacy of the Single Tax as a remedy for the evils pointed out by Henry George.
7. *Wage-Labor and Capital.* By KARL MARX. The essence of the great philosopher's theory, in his own words.
8. *The Man Under the Machine.* By A. M. SIMONS. Tells how wage slavery began, what it is today and how the workers are going to free themselves. A condensed handbook of socialism.
9. *The Mission of the Working Class.* By REV. CHARLES H. VAIL, author of "Modern Socialism," etc.
10. *Morals and Socialism.* By CHARLES H. KERR. Shows how popular ideas of morals are manipulated in the interest of the capitalist class.
11. *Socialist Songs.* Sixteen good ones, fit time every one knows.
12. *After Capitalism What?* By REV. WILLIAM T. BROWN. A logical historical study showing that socialism must come as the result of forces now at work.
13. *A Political Quack Doctor.* By W. A. COREY. A socialist view of the "Prohibition" movement.

Daintily printed, five cents each, post-paid.

SPECIAL OFFER—For one dollar we will mail forty copies of the Pocket Library, all of one kind, or assorted as preferred.

SEND ORDERS TO
THEODORE DEBS
126 Washington St., CHICAGO

The Book You Need PRINCIPLES OF Scientific Socialism

By Rev. Charles H. Vail

Author "Modern Socialism" and "National Ownership of Railways."

CONTENTS:
The Industrial Revolution. The Analysis of Value. The Origin of Surplus Value.
The Advantages of Socialism: Production, Distribution, Elimination of Unnecessary Vocations, Prevention of Waste, Elevation of Woman, Proper Care and Training of Children, Efficient Directors, Solution of the Monetary Question, Abolition of Taxation, Simplification of Government, Benefits to Capitalists, Benefits to Laborers.
The Evidence of the Moral Strength of Socialism: Its Spirit and Aim; Abolition of Business Dishonesty; Restriction of Divorce; Prevention of Prostitution; Elimination of Crime; Prevention of Intemperance, Insanity, etc.
Poverty—Its Cause and Cure. Wage Slavery vs. Chattel Slavery. Rent and Interest. The Law of Wages. The Law of Progress. Industrial Depression and Commercial Crises. The Problem of Labor-Saving Machinery.
Popular Economic Errors: That Value is Determined by Capitalist Cost of Production; that the Interests of Laborers and Capitalists are identical; that Labor is Better Off Today Than Ever Before; that Cheap Prices are Beneficial to Labor; that Foreign Markets are Beneficial to Labor; that Land Nationalization Would Solve the Social Question; that Extravagance is the Chief Cause of Economic Want; that Socialism Would Thwart Inventions and Improvements; that Socialism Would Destroy Individuality. Conclusion and Index.
12mo, 326 Pages; Paper, 35c; Cloth, \$1.00.

SEND ORDERS TO
THEODORE DEBS, 126 Washington St. CHICAGO

NATIONAL FUND

The following is a list of comrades who have agreed, in response to the appeal of the National Executive Board, to contribute monthly for one year to the national fund. Other names will be added as they are received.

- | | |
|--|--|
| CONNECTICUT
Pineville, N.H. Hartford
Holman, B. Hartford
ILLINOIS
J. Imas, S. Chicago
Jesse Cox, Chicago
F. P. Ayer, Chicago
"A Friend", Chicago
Dr. J. H. Grover, Chicago
Mrs. C. Brown, Chicago
Solro the Social Question, Chicago
James Wright, Chicago
INDIANA
E. V. Debs, Terre Haute
MASSACHUSETTS
Flanders, P. B. Haverhill
Cohen, A. Boston
Parker, Levi, W. Newton
Worrie, G. G. Brockton
Tate, Peter, Everett
Hitchcock, D. G. Warren
Goldman, S. Haverhill
Hough, E. W. Newton
Cham, Joe, O. Haverhill
Brown, J. W. Templeton
Graves, C. S. Amherst
Allen, Helen, N. Lynn
Known, Dr. J. A. Lynn
Carey, Jas. T. Haverhill
MICHIGAN
Kellier, S. Grand Rapids
MINNESOTA
Gowenlo, F. Red Lake Falls
MISSOURI
Fischer, Wm. St. Louis
Fellner, Henry, St. Louis
Roache, Wm. St. Louis
MARYLAND
Jacobson, E. Baltimore
NEW HAMPSHIRE
Gordon, W. B. Manchester
Howie, Geo. Manchester
Mellen, C. H. Honesworth
Honesworth Branch
NEW YORK
Fales, L. C. Bonanza
Abbott, L. D. New York
Butcher, Wm. Brooklyn
Thomas, E. H. New York
Kahn, Arthur, New York
Heis, F. W. New York
Loupoley, Jas. New York
Weyl, Chas. New York
Mark Raphael, New York
Aron, N. Solofa New York
Philip Gruber, New York
Sander, Wm. New York
Meade, T. F. New York
NEW JERSEY
Fankoff, Carl Jersey City
Karl Lindner, Paterson
"Comrade", Newark
OHIO
Bevar, Jos. Cleveland
Zern, John, Cleveland
Braun, F. Cleveland
Alchaberadi, C. Cleveland
PENNSYLVANIA
Lewis, J. H. Pittsburg
F. W. Hirt, Erie
TENNESSEE
Etnis, Dr. R. R. Nashville
Hamilton, A. Nashville
Mahoney, Wm. Nashville
TEXAS
Price, R. S. Houston
WISCONSIN
Borger, V. L. Milwaukee
Rueger, E. H. Milwaukee
Ziegler, E. Milwaukee
Duerfer, John, Milwaukee
Burman, G. Milwaukee
Arnold, L. Milwaukee
Meister, E. Milwaukee
Heumann, C. Milwaukee
Trotter, H. Milwaukee
Heath, V. Milwaukee
Branch, C. Milwaukee | |
|--|--|

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

THIRD YEAR. No. 5.

CHICAGO, ILL., U.S.A., SATURDAY, JULY 21, 1900.

Whole No. 107.

DISINHERITED CHILDREN AND "EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES"

Conditions Under Which Thousands are Brought Into the World Due Solely to the Capitalist System

By E. H. T.

Come with me to the poorest quarter of a great city this sultry summer evening. You must walk in the middle of the street, for the sidewalks are blocked with crowds of people who have swarmed out of their stifling tenements where the heat is actually unendurable. They gather by families around their doors, and the problem is, how can so many swarms come out of one hive? In cold weather, when they cannot remain on the streets, where do all these people put themselves?

But look here. This is what I wanted to show you; this little child lying asleep on the bare pavement. This little child who has no home worthy of the name, and no easier resting place than the hard stone. And yet he is just as soft and tender a baby as the little one cozily nestled in his dainty white nest in the millionaire's home. And yet the little curly head on its stony pillow has just as strong a claim to life and its good things as any other innocent child brought into the world without its own consent. What has become of his birth-right? Or why has society disinherited this unoffending little one?

Now do not flatter yourself, Mr. Workingman, that your babies have a strong arm to protect them and will never sink to the level of these children of the slums. A dull season or a panic may find you next year tramping the streets and staring at the signs in the factory windows, "No men needed here." What can your strong arms do for your children if it does not hold the tool with which it can win their bread? That tool belongs to the capitalist, and he may answer your appeal for work to feed your little ones with the words of one of Chicago's millionaires, that "a workingman has no right to have a family."

The day may be near when your children will share this baby's pillow.

And you, my friend of the middle class, do not imagine for one moment that your home stands secure and cannot be undermined by the capitalistic system. Year by year and day by day the great trusts are thrusting your class aside, and pushing them down into the classes below. Your business may be the next to be ruined; or the mortgage on your farm may be foreclosed; your home may be broken up, and your own boy and girl forced into the ranks of the disinherited children.

Think what it means! Think of the thousands brought into the world every year who were foredoomed before their birth to a life of want and suffering. We shudder at the old-fashioned doctrine of predestination, according to which certain persons were doomed to perdition

before they were born. We wonder how our grandfathers could have believed such a cruel doctrine, and yet we see it daily enacted before our very eyes. Think of the large per cent of children who die in infancy from exposure and lack of proper or sufficient food. Yes, I grant the little ones are wise to get away from such a miserable world betimes. But, what sort of a system have we, if the best we can offer them is a slow death by privation and suffering? Is society really so helpless that it cannot provide some way to prevent this slaughter of the innocents?

Look at it in another light. These children of the dispossessed classes, even if they succeed in struggling through their perilous infancy, or if they are born into homes of comparative comfort, where actual want is unknown, are yet handicapped in the race of life from the very start. Equal opportunities for all in America? How about the child in the factory or shop, dwarfed physically and intellectually, till he becomes fit for nothing but to be the slave of a machine? How about the boy on the mortgaged farm, whose education must be systematically interrupted so that he may help his father with the heavy burden of hopeless farm work? How many parents of the dispossessed classes can provide their children with any thing beyond a mere primary education, or even dream of giving them a professional or technical training that would fit them to take their places beside the sons of the rich?

"Equal opportunities," indeed! Now my friend, you who fear Socialism and defend the present system, what can you say to this? What argument can you produce to prove the justice of an order of society which not only permits, but perpetuates such a state of things? That continually replaces the prematurely worn-out workmen with a younger generation so trained that they are unfit for anything but the life of slavery which their fathers led before them and their sons and daughters must lead after them, when they in their turn are thrown away like a broken tool? If society must always go on in this vicious circle, is it not all a huge mistake, and would not "universal suicide be a wiser course?"

There is another alternative worth the trying. Give to those who labor the total product of their toil; give all an opportunity of employment; let there be no dispossessed parents, and there will be no disinherited children, nor one little innocent who shall miss the birth-right assigned to him by Justice and by Nature.

avail themselves with a clear conscience. It would be wrong to say that there are no good men or ideas in the old parties, but it does seem that they have about outlived their usefulness; and it is safe to assert that the Social Democracy has more to commend it to the conscientious voter than any other party before the people. Therefore, holding unalterably to the "universal brotherhood of humanity, without distinction of race, sex, creed, caste or color," I shall this year vote for Eugene Debs for President and feel thoroughly satisfied in doing it, too!

It seems that the nation which would lead in progress must take the initiative in making brotherhood visible and tangible. May ours be that nation!—A Chicago Theosophist.

A BALLAD OF CRIME AND DEATH

By Raley Husted Bell.

He does not wear the epaulettes
Nor the "corporal's" coat of gray,
Yet sickly gray is on the flesh
Of this monster man of prey,
Who, like some misshapen Martian
toad,
Unfurled the flag of fray.

He sits upon the latest throne—
Imperially commands
Our fighting lads to maim and kill
The brave of other lands.
His fat heart knows one craven wish—
The greed of miser-hands.

His craven heart is fat and sleek—
Unholy bends his eye—
The devil bought his soul from him
And Hanna bought the sty.
No more the home of patriot chiefs,
But a nest that brigands buy.

He doubly damns a peaceful land,
This foul and murderous thing!
And murder stalks the tracks of him—
Aye! Yet shall bullets sing,
And yet shall solemn midnight bells
For a damned soul ring!

The shot that laid sweet Lincoln low
(Dear Christ! That he were spared!)
Is spent and paid and dead we know—
And yet that shot was dared!
And still another chief we loved
Fell low to crime unshared.

But we pray that this fair land of ours
Be spared more stains of red—
Our flag is full of crimson bars
Where stars should smile instead;
And we pray our brave lads' blood redeems
The heroes' blood they shed.

Yet if "man kills the thing he loves,
By each let this be heard:
Some do it with a bitter look,
Some with a flattering word;
The coward does it with a kiss
The brave man with a sword!"

Miners Keep Away

From authentic sources we are informed that the mine owners and the martial law authorities of the Coeur d'Alene district are advertising in Ohio, Michigan and other eastern states for miners claiming a scarcity of laborers in this district, and offering extra inducements to miners to come here. In every respect this is a misrepresentation. There is not a scarcity of laborers here, and in fact there are now two men here today seeking employment for each man who is at work. The conditions are the worst that ever confronted labor anywhere in the United States. The advertisements for men which are being scattered in the east, state that there is no strike or trouble of any kind. There is no strike, but miners everywhere should be informed as to the conditions existing here. The difficulty between the laborers and mine operators in this district are not settled and the presence of Federal troops and continuance of martial law in this county are proof of the fact. Organized labor is unlawfully discriminated against by the state authorities for political purposes, and a man who gets employment here under the conditions is a slave. He must propitiate a score of state deputies and the vendor of permits to seek employment.—Idaho State Tribune.

Another View of New Zealand

M. Albert Metin, in "Notes on a Tour Round the World," printed in the Clarion, has the following reference to Australia and New Zealand: "Socialism, as a matter of fact, does not exist in these countries. The trade unionists are afraid of the word; Socialists, they told me, are extremists. Another prominent leader of the Labor party, whom I questioned as to his platform, replied, laconically: 'My platform? ten bob a day.' There is no sign in these countries of the remarkable English minority which protests with so much conscience and energy against the prejudices of society and the privileges of wealth; and though the laws in Australia have greatly improved the material situation of the workers, the moral and intellectual gain has been much less.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATS ACTIVE EVERYWHERE FOR SOCIALISM

Some of the State and Local Tickets Nominated—Enthusiasm Abounds Where Our Forces Are United

COOK COUNTY CONVENTION

The county convention of the Social Democratic party of Cook county, Illinois, met at Bohemian Turner Hall, Ashland avenue, Sunday morning, July 15. Convention was called to order by Chairman Holsinger of the committee. Comrade Frank Roderus was elected chairman and Comrade A. S. Edwards secretary.

Committee of three appointed on credentials, F. Svoboda, W. C. Horgan, and A. F. Dennison, reported the branches represented as follows: Branch 2, 43; Branch 3, 11; Branch 4, 23; Branch 5, 11; Branch 6, 6; Branch 7, 11; Branch 8, 23; Branch 12, 5; Branch 18, 9. Total representation, 143.

The convention by acclamation reaffirmed the Indianapolis platform and the state platform of the Social Democratic party.

On motion the convention at once proceeded to the nomination of candidates for the county ticket, with the following result:

State's Attorney—Wm. A. Cunnea.
Recorder of Deeds—George Simonds.
Clerk of Circuit Court—James Mudra.

Clerk of Superior Court—Gus Anderson.

Coroner—Rudolph Pusch.

Board of Assessors—J. A. Ambroz, M. Holsinger.

Board of Review—John Starr.

County Surveyor—W. H. Redford.
County Commissioners—Ferdinand Wimmer (President); Uhlhorn, John Aird, Frank Mitchell, Gus Hanson, Edward Lakaj, Werner, Joseph Dunder, Kelleher, August Philgraff, Anton Tyrdy.

Drainage Commissioners—Charles Bigel, James Hauser, E. J. French, H. G. Conrad, A. J. Amant.

On motion nominations for judge of the Probate court and judges of the Superior court were temporarily passed over and instructions given the county committee to file said vacancies after consultation.

On motion the convention elected the following committee of eleven and requested the city committee to co-operate with them, the complete body to constitute the county campaign committee:

McSweeney, H. H. Fraelich, J. J. Florian, M. Holsinger, W. M. Kirwin, H. G. Conrad, Peter Knickrehm, F. J. Peter, James Wright, Kelleher, Frank Filas.

The following resolution was read and adopted:

Resolved, That the announcements made in the Workers' Call and the New York People to the effect that on July 4 a united convention of the Social Democratic and Social Labor parties was held in Chicago, thus conveying the impression that the two parties in this city and state have amalgamated, are misleading and untrue; the Social Democratic party has its own state and county tickets, and except as to the defection of less than half a dozen members, our organization is intact, and as a matter of fact has not amalgamated with, nor is it a part of the so-called "Socialist party."

On motion the convention adjourned.

FRANK RODERUS,

Chairman.

A. S. EDWARDS,

Secretary.

UTAH STATE CONVENTION

The C. D. P. of Utah met in convention for nominating a full state ticket for the coming election, on July 5 in Salt Lake City. Twenty-five delegates were present representing six branches. F. M. McQuivey of Eureka was chosen chairman and Chas. E. Strong of Nephi, secretary. The following platform was adopted:

We fully endorse the national platform of the S. D. P. of A. and further make these demands:

We demand that all appointive offices be made elective.

We hereby endorse the proposed amendment to the state constitution providing for the adoption of direct legislation and call the attention of the people of Utah to the fact that by voting for this amendment at the coming election they will have an opportunity to obtain a voice in the affairs of their state.

We especially advocate the state ownership and operation of all water rights, reservoirs, canals, ditches, etc., for irrigating purposes, and that all water be furnished to the people at cost.

We demand the abolition of the contract system in public works and the direct employment of labor by the state and municipalities.

We demand that adequate school facilities shall be furnished by the state to all children between the age of five and

twenty-one years, school facilities to include sufficient school room, normal trained teachers, free school books and supplies, food and clothing.

A full state ticket was then nominated with the exception of justice of Supreme court, as follows:

Three Presidential Electors—Geo. B. Hobbs of Neplin, W. D. Clay of Bingham, and Jos. Ward of Salt Lake City.

For Governor—Martin Wright, of Mt. Pleasant.

Secretary of State—C. C. Goodwin, of Logan.

State Treasurer—John F. Osborn, of Bingham.

Attorney General—L. H. Gray, Salt Lake City.

State Auditor—Chas. E. Strong, of Neplin.

Land Commissioners—E. L. Powell, of Bingham; Byron Wheelock, of Eureka; J. L. Peterson, of Smithfield.

Representative in Congress—A. B. Edler, of Salt Lake City.

The whole ticket without exception was unanimously nominated.

A committee of five was appointed to carry on the campaign, fill vacancies, etc., as follows: Comrades Mahan, Smith, and Hansen of Salt Lake City; Richards of Bingham, and McQuivey of Eureka.

Before the convention adjourned the following resolution was passed without a dissenting vote: "We, the delegates of this convention, do sanction the action of our National Executive Board in regard to the committee on union and do hereby renew our allegiance to the S. D. P. of A., and especially condemn the attempt of certain members to disrupt our party by violating their pledges."

Charles A. Strong, Sec.

CONNECTICUT STATE TICKET

The Social Democratic party and the Socialist Labor party of Connecticut in state convention July 4 adopted the following resolution:

"That the S. D. P. and the S. L. P. unite on presidential, state and local candidates, platform and state campaign committee in the state of Connecticut." The following is the ticket nominated:

For Governor,
GEO. ANTHONY SWEETLAND.

Lieutenant-Governor,
WILLIAM ERNEST WHITE.

Secretary of State,
IRVING G. CHATFIELD.

State Treasurer,
WILLIAM BARTELS.

Comptroller,
WILLIAM J. SANSOUÇY.

Attorney-General,
GEORGE A. GOWDY.

TERRE HAUTE TICKET

The Social Democrats of Terre Haute and vicinity held their county convention at C. L. U. hall July 9th, and nominated the following candidates for the various county offices at the November election:

For State Senator,
WILLIAM BUNDY.

For Representatives,
C. E. KINGERY,
JAMES O'NEAL.

For Prosecuting Attorney,
CHARLES D. WILGUS.

For Sheriff,
JOHN KINGERY.

For Treasurer,
EDWARD HOLLINGSWORTH.

For Coroner,
S. M. YOUNG.

For Surveyor,
A. M. BAKER.

For Assessor,
WILLIAM W. ANSTEAD.

For Members County Council,
WILLIAM BACHELOR,
JAMES HATCHELL,

GEORGE KNIPPE,

JAMES WALL,

HENRY HESSEY,

CHARLES WALL.

NEBRASKA STATE TICKET

For Governor,
THEODORE KHARAS.

Lieutenant-Governor,
DANIEL McKIBBEN.

Secretary of State,
FRANK NEWMAN.

Treasurer,
S. L. JOHNS.

Auditor,
O. V. AULT.

Land Commissioner,
W. H. Nye.

Attorney General,
J. M. EASTERLING.

Superintendent Public Instruction,
MISS BURLA WILKINS.

Convention endorsed the Indianapolis platform.

ECONOMIC BASIS OF BROTHERHOOD

"Self-sufficing, obstinate, filled with the pride and intoxication of wealth, they perform lip-sacrifices for ostentation, contrary to scriptural ordinance. Given over to egoism, lust and wrath, these malicious ones hate Me in the bodies of others and in their own. A man liberated from these three gates of darkness [lust, wrath and greed.] O son of Kunti, accomplisheth his own welfare and thus reacheth the highest goal."—Krishna.

The words of Krishna are taken from the Bhagavad Gita ("Lord's Song,") 10th chapter, and translated by Annie Besant (1896,) and were uttered 5,000 years ago. This book is said by high literary authorities to be the most sublime scriptural production known to man. The chapter from which this extract is made, together with the second chapter, which treats of reincarnation—rebirth on earth in human form—will serve to give the careful reader an idea of the terrible exactness of the law of sowing and reaping which none of the orthodox statements can equal. Moreover, it is a rational belief which is steadily sweeping onward, gaining headway as it goes.

But what I want especially to call the attention of my readers to is this: First—The identical teaching of Jesus and Krishna when each is shorn of outside husk of dogma and ceremony.

Second—We cannot make permanent, eternal progress by climbing up on the back of our weaker brother, who, according to the real divine teaching, IS OURSELVES! Now by the present competitive commercial system we seem forced to prosper in trade just in proportion as our weaker brother fares ill. If you examine this matter closely you will be forced to the conclusion which many others have reached; namely, that no Christian can be a very rich man. Then you will recall with startling distinctness what

Jesus said of the difficulty of the rich man's entrance into the kingdom of heaven, for that kingdom is "within you!" Therefore, do you not think it is about time to change our industrial scheme to agree with the great truth? Can you deny that co-operation substituted for competition would afford mankind at least a better chance to be good and pure?

The Socialist has an unanswerable argument so far as the general plan of government is concerned. Later in man's evolution all who affect to disbelieve in the assertion of some of us that the universe has a moral basis—who say that we are "rainbow chasers"—will be forced to take higher ground than material Socialism, high as that may be, or their whole structure will crumble. Leaving this consideration aside, however, the Socialists present to you a party and a platform based on co-operation instead of competition, oneness rather than separateness. It is worth your while to at least vote for it if you are tired of the round of emptiness and sound of the old parties. And I dare to make the deliberate assertion that in Eugene Debs the Social Democracy presents to you a candidate for President who is a distinctly higher grade of character than any man who has ever held that position. In him to see the truth is to follow it; there is no variation or shadow of turning. Of course, being human, he might make a mistake; but of all who know him not one will believe he would lie! He is following that highest law—the law of service to mankind, and he has followed it further and higher than any other man I know of in the American public eye. All persons who are truly religious, both in and out of the church, whose worship is not lip service, who can truly say, "The world is my country; to do good is my religion," have a voting opportunity this year of which they may

Social Democratic Herald

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board Chairman
FREDERIC HEATH
SEYMOUR STEEDMAN Secretary
EUGENE V. DEBS VICTOR L. BERGER
CORINNE S. BROWN

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, 50 cents. Six months, 25 cents. No papers sent to any one on credit. If, without having subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and no bill will follow. Foreign subscriptions \$1.00.

Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

A. S. EDWARDS, Editor
THEODORE DEBS, National Sec'y-Treas.
136 Washington St., Chicago.

107 is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 108 your subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, JULY 21, 1900.

Harriman's Propaganda In Behalf of "Socialism"

Infamous Tactics Resorted to by the
Managers of the So-Called
United Party

If it were possible for us to be guided solely by individual preference, to pass in silence the despicable and perfidious methods resorted to by Job Harriman and others to force what they call a "union of Socialists," and to keep the columns of The Herald clean of any further reference to that subject or its emissaries, we would gladly follow that course and stand as we have done since the promulgation of the "Manifesto," unmoved by calumny and undeterred in the discharge of our duty to the Socialist cause. The file of this paper is in evidence as proof that we have for weeks past sought to minimize the interest of our readers in this matter, by gradually subordinating it and using our space in the advocacy and propagation of Socialist principles. Columns and columns of matter calculated to provoke strife have been shut out; the printing of individual communications had almost wholly ceased and only such resolutions as expressed the collective ideas and purposes of branches appeared. In our desire to avoid controversy we have besides ignored numerous scandalously false and ferocious attacks upon our party, the authors of which shield themselves behind the mask of "fraternity" and "brotherhood" and babble of the "holy cause of union." We now ask that comrades open their eyes and use their own sober reason in the light of recent developments and the subjoined statement of facts. From the start the managers of that faction of the S. L. P. which seeks organic union with us, routed by De Leon, determined to capture our growing organization. Their smooth and well-chosen palaver was spread out to our delegates. They made a show of modesty. They were innocent as babes and all they wanted was "union." They pledged themselves to accept our name (having none of their own), broke their pledges and violently denounced the name, and then before the denunciation had died away, they adopted the name by acclamation—all for the sake of "union," and be it remembered, that they did not adopt our name UNTIL THE "MANIFESTO" WAS ISSUED AND THE WARNING WENT FORTH REVEALING THE DESIGN OF THE MANAGERS.

Some of our honest comrades could not see the drift in those bleak March days. They were easily led to believe that members of the executive board wanted to be "bosses"; they will soon all be convinced that we were contending against "bosses."

Present developments prove every point. The evidence is overwhelming and the despised "Manifesto" is completely vindicated. Every word of warning it contained was timely and every avowal as to the designs of the so-called "unionists" is now an established fact. All the foul batteries of abuse, misrepresentation and slander could not prevail against it. Defeated at every point and grown desperate in their defeat, these party-wreckers, masquerading as the guardians of the cause of human freedom, now have their Presidential candidate, Job Harriman, in the field, going from place to place as the guest of our comrades and our party by appointment made through a decoy, one of our own number.

And what is this guest by appointment doing? Stabbing the party, vilifying the organization and getting pay for doing it.

HARRIMAN'S WORK IN KENTUCKY

Where once was harmony and good will there is now bitter strife. The party can not suffer the insidious attack now being made by Job Harriman upon it without protest. Silence now is cowardice and inaction becomes treason. Our Kentucky comrades have been treated to a sample of the kind of "union" Harriman stands for. Report of it comes to headquarters in a letter, written by Comrade Jas. H. Arnold, of Louisville. In reading this letter, which is given in full below, our members will recollect that he (Arnold) had decided to quit us for, as he believed, the sake of union and harmony; he had,

in fact, renounced the N. E. B. and was with the fusionists. The letter is, therefore, written by one who had concluded in the interest of harmony to sever his relations with the Social Democratic party, until Harriman went to Kentucky and opened his eyes to the fact that it was not unity and harmony he wanted, but to wipe out of existence the Social Democratic party so that S. L. Pism might have undisputed sway.

COMRADE ARNOLD'S LETTER

The following is a copy of our comrade's letter, dated July 7, 1900; the writer was a delegate to the Indianapolis convention and impressed all who met him as a sincere, honorable man and devoted Socialist:

"Comrades of the S. D. P.: Mr. Job Harriman, candidate of the united (?) party for vice-president, has visited Louisville, got in his work for unity and as a result we are now divided. His visit has resulted in some eight or ten comrades going over to the united (?) party.

"His plan of campaign is as follows: His manager in this instance, Wm. Butcher, previously notified some comrade in a branch in sympathy with his scheme that he will visit the city at a certain time; that arrangements should be made for an agitation meeting if possible, then, after the agitation meeting, there is to be a business meeting of the members. The purpose of the 'business meeting' is not made known to the members until the meeting has gathered. Then Mr. Harriman, taking advantage of the impression his speech has made on the members, and their own inexperience and their belief in his honesty, opens up with a long argument and plea for the comrades to 'unite.'

"He works on their supposed prejudice against the N. E. B. and then proceeds to demonstrate that the only way to overthrow the N. E. B. is to join his crowd and unite with the united (?) party, headquarters at Springfield, Mass.

"He is exceedingly smooth. He is a master of artifice, finesse and cunning. He has been engaged in this business for some time, and is doubtless doing his best to earn his salary and expenses.

"If through the continued exercise of his 'fine Italian hand,' he (Harriman) succeeds in persuading branches enough of the S. D. P. to desert their own and join his organization, to give the unity fellows a majority, doubtless, his employers will raise his wages.

"When he finished his speech in front of the court house in Louisville, a member in sympathy announced that a joint business meeting of our branches would be held in the hall. Upon arrival at the hall the chairman of the meeting announced there were several new members to enroll—three. Then Mr. Harriman was called upon for a talk, and for nearly an hour we heard his plea for unity—that we should leave our party and join his.

"The propositions from Butcher were laid before the branches and the chair asked for a motion to adopt them. The debate waxed warm, and a motion to adjourn was made and seconded. The chair announced the members could vote down the motion to adjourn. The motion to adjourn was lost—the three new members voting against adjournment.

"Then came the motion to adopt the Butcher matter, unity, constitution and all, and it carried—the three aforesaid new members voting in favor. But the unity committee in their report expressly declared that only those were eligible to vote on the unity propositions who were members in good standing on April 1st.

"Harriman knew this, but since he and the united party were getting the benefit of these illegal votes (even from their own standpoint), he was willing that they should be counted.

"Branch No. 1 is now reorganizing and will recover from the Harriman stampede in a few days. The united (?) party disruptionists will be dropped, and lost ground will soon be recovered. One more point I want to note. Harriman contends that he is the vice-presidential candidate of the united (?) party, and not the candidate of the S. D. P., and URGES THAT AS A REASON WHY WE SHOULD LEAVE THE S. D. P. AND JOIN THE UNITED PARTY.

"The loss of Mr. Harriman as our vice-presidential candidate would be a fearful price to pay for adhering to our own party but I think the party could pay the price and still survive the loss.

"Harriman says in effect: 'If you don't join the united party you may not have a chance to vote for ME as your vice-presidential candidate.' That is a clincher, especially so with those who imagine that the resignation of Harriman from the ticket with Debs would be fatal to the Socialist movement in this country.

"I consented at one time, in the interest of peace and harmony, to have the branch sever connection with the N. E. B. and stand independent, refusing to recognize either faction. This was agreed to as the wisest course. Our state convention, July 4, refused to entertain a proposition to sever this connection, but the next day, when the Covington delegates were gone, Harriman and Robinson secured the passing of resolutions endorsing the Butcher crowd. What do you think of that? Harriman stated over and over again that he was the candidate of the united (?) party, not of the S. D. P., with headquarters at Chicago. Harriman and the unity crowd have done nothing but sow dissension and strife since negotiations were opened.

"Comrades, we must get rid of Harriman, and the sooner the better. Let the united (?) S. L. P. party run him. He is not the kind of man the S. D. P. needs as a vice-presidential candidate. JAS. H. ARNOLD."

Comrade F. E. Seeds, one of the charter members of the branch at Covington, and an earnest, active worker in his state, also writes. He says:

"We held our state convention at Louisville on the 4th, nominated our ticket, state and national, and everything was harmonious and encouraging, as we thought. Last Saturday Harriman blew in here from Louisville, where he had succeeded in spoiling the harmony. He is here for the same purpose but we hope to foil him."

OPEN YOUR EYES TO THE TRUTH

Comrade Arnold's letter speaks for itself. The Social Democratic party at Indianapolis honored Harriman with the vice-presidential nomination. Now in his "business" meetings with our comrades he tells them he is not the nominee of the S. D. P. In a word, he repudiates our nomination to force our comrades into his so-called "united" camp managers, with headquarters at New

York, alias Springfield, Mass. Then, according to Benham, they will proceed to "tear the entrails out of De Leon's party." What an edifying conclusion to the crusade for Socialist unity! Kentucky united, harmonious and enthusiastic one day—the next divided, disrupted and disappointed by the nefarious work of one claiming to work for Socialist unity!

DOES HARRIMAN ACCEPT OR NOT?

We have a right to know, and speaking for the largest organized body of united Socialists in the United States, we demand specific declaration from Job Harriman if he accepts or repudiates the nomination of the Indianapolis convention. We demand an answer, yes or no. We do not propose to be satisfied with several columns of "interpretation of a situation," or a splutter of oily phrases. We want an answer and we want it quick. Following are the reasons for this demand:

1. Butcher is acting as agent for Harriman in making his appointments with the S. D. P. branches, betraying his own party in the interest of the "Kangaroos."

2. The vote on the fusion committee's report is so insignificantly small that the time of voting has been twice extended and now Harriman and others are frantically rushing about to gather in more votes—including illegal votes.

3. Harriman is paid by the so-called "united" party of New York to go about and destroy the S. D. P.

4. The "united" party in New York was effected by four delegates in good standing out of 20 S. D. P. branches and these four delegates represented only a very small per cent of the members of New York, and this "union" was declared in effect before the vote on unity was taken.

5. According to the reports from Kentucky, Harriman repudiated the nomination of the Indianapolis convention.

7. The Kentucky state convention refused to sever connection with our N. E. B. and party. Harriman waited until the Covington comrades returned home and then with the help of illegal votes, had the infamous resolution passed declaring treason to our party.

Will the members of the Social Democratic party hesitate for a single instant in deciding what their duty is when confronted by such a condition? Comrades, you are called upon, not in the name of "unity," but in behalf of the Socialist cause in this country, which is being dragged in the mud and made a thing for the scorn of honest men, to come to the point of decision. 'It is more than a question of party; it is a question of whether we shall have a Socialist movement at all.

Your candidate for President, Eugene V. Debs, stands squarely by his decision given at Indianapolis. He is in the fight as your nominee and will stay to the end. The hope of our cause rests with the Social Democratic party today. Whatever changes the future may bring, it is clearly the present duty of Socialists in the United States to rally to the support of the party which stands for Socialism, which was harmonious before it became inoculated with the virus of S. L. Pism, which is credited with whatever of noteworthy achievement attaches to Socialism in the United States, which is growing as no party declaring for international Socialism has ever grown.

Again we demand of Job Harriman, do you accept or repudiate the nomination of the Indianapolis convention of the Social Democratic party for vice-president?

A DEMOCRATIC CANARD

The silence of the capitalist press relative to the Social Democratic party and candidacy of Eugene V. Debs has at last been broken. We have been given a full column, first page article in the Sunday edition of the Chicago Chronicle and the conclusion every discerning man will draw from this marked prominence is that the managers of the Democratic party are suffering from a genuine scare, because Debs is in the field. The purpose of the article will be clear to every man when he reads that "on the first of October, Debs is to withdraw in favor of W. J. Bryan," and that the "Republican managers are laying plans to use the Social Democratic party as a McKinley aid society." If there is any thing preposterously false and utterly contemptible that the managers of the Democratic party are not equal to in their game of trying to deceive the working class voters, we would like to hear of it. The Bryanites fear this man's candidacy, with very good reason, and they propose to resort to lying and deception for the sole purpose of hoodwinking the working people who have made up their minds to vote for him. Everywhere the fear is growing that Bryan's election is endangered by the Social Democratic party ticket, and so it is. If the working class will arouse themselves, all capitalist parties will be in danger and McKinleyism too swept into oblivion. Social Democrats everywhere should not be surprised if frequent lying reports made out of whole cloth, are sent out from Democratic or Republican headquarters.

Eugene V. Debs is the candidate, and will be the candidate of the Social Democratic party for president, until the polls close next November.

NO ORGANIC UNION HAS BEEN EFFECTED

By Eugene V. Debs

Silence seems to give acquiescence to misrepresentation regarding the "unity" question. It is important enough that we should have a clear understanding about it. There has been no organic union of the S. D. P. and S. L. P. The issue was placed squarely before our party by the manifesto of the N. E. B. and defeated by a decided majority. Nor is this all. The second vote taken upon the committee report by those who took exception to the manifesto, simply verified the first vote and emphasized the decision of the party. But a small minority of members in good standing voted on the report at all. Repeated extensions of time and the most vigilant drumming of votes could not alter the result.

The two parties are therefore separate and distinct organizations as they were before the question of union was raised. This is the fact and no amount of misrepresentation can change it. Yet there are those who insist that the two parties are now one. Defeated by the general vote of the party at large, they have appealed to the states to secede from the party, and we have heard that one state after another has effected organizations in defiance of, if not renouncing allegiance, to the National party. These reports are in nearly every case false and misleading. Take New York for example. Four bona fide S. D. P. delegates attended the "joint" convention. Sixteen branches refused to participate on the ground that they were opposed to organic union. Yet these four delegates, representing but about ten per cent of our membership in New York, acting with the delegates of the S. L. P., declared the two parties a "united" party. Such actions are not calculated to promote union sentiment. They simply inaugurate strife. And yet those who object to such methods are denounced for opposing union.

The National party decided against organic union and I maintain that no state convention has any authority to commit the party to such an alliance and that those who take such a step in defiance of the party's mandate secede from and sever their relations with the party. I have no fault to find with comrades for joining the Kangaroo S. L. P. but I object to the assumption that their action is that of the party of which they are but a very small minority. The National Executive Board has been and is unanimous upon this question. When they issued their manifesto it was charged that they, and they alone, were opposed to union, and it was freely predicted that the board and its action would be repudiated by an overwhelming majority. Instead of this the board has been twice sustained by the party, once by the vote on the manifesto and again by the negative action on the report of the "unity" committee.

We have been told over and over again that the rank and file demand "union" and that only the "leaders" stand in the way. Then why do not the "rank and file" remove the "leaders" and unite? Nothing is easier or simpler. Our constitution provides the power of recall and five per cent of the members can initiate the demand. The fact is that a large majority of our comrades are opposed to joining the S. L. P. They are satisfied with their party as it is; and in spite of all that has been said about their N. E. B. they know that not one of its members sought or desired official position, that not one of them has ever received a cent of salary, that every one of them has served the party to his own personal loss and inconvenience and that every cent of their official expenses from first to last, has been paid from their own private income. Can the same be said of their accusers and traducers?

There has been no opposition to "union" in any proper sense of that term. We have resisted an alliance which under the circumstances was fraught with dissension and strife, not union and harmony. We do not quarrel with those who differ from us. They have all the rights we claim for ourselves. Let them unite with the S. L. P. if they choose to and we will have nothing mean to say about them. Time will show which of us is right.

Since there has been some question about my status as a candidate, I wish it understood that I am the candidate of the Social Democratic party, whose convention nominated me at Indianapolis and whose national headquarters are located at Chicago.

I do not doubt the time will come when we shall have a united party. Until then we yield to the inexorable logic of facts.

We do not claim that we are better than others. We may not be as good. That is not the question. We differ from them and we are simply standing by our convictions.

But be these differences among socialists what they may, they can and should in every battle unite against capitalism and to such a policy of united action we stand pledged until we have a truly united party.

Subscribers will find their expiration number on wrapper. Prompt renewal is requested.

NO FUSION IN ILLINOIS

The Social Democrats of Illinois for weeks hoped to make such arrangements as would result in political cooperation with other Socialists in this state. Failing in this, owing to the unreasonable and confusing course followed by the S. L. P. managers in Chicago, our comrades filed their nominating papers with the State Secretary three weeks ago and on those papers appear the names of Debs and Harriman. Our state convention, followed the nomination of its ticket with a resolution which read as follows:

"Resolved, by the Social Democratic party assembled in state convention, that they believe in political union in the state of Illinois, and therefore, and to this end, appoint a committee of seven, who shall have power to retire candidates from the state ticket of the Social Democratic party and substitute candidates of the Socialist Labor party therefor."

We had assurances that this course made an approach to amicable relations for the campaign possible. But under the baleful domination of a few "bosses" like Simons, editor of the International Socialist Review, and T. J. Morgan, who was opposed to the union from the start for no other conceivable reason than that he saw the movement outgrowing his narrow limitations, this offer was rejected, and as a result some of the most sincere and rational men in the "Kangaroo" camp in Chicago are through with them. Long before the Indianapolis convention several of our comrades in Chicago, made offers for union which the Simon-Morganites rejected, and notwithstanding this, nearly all of us to a man voted for the candidates of the S. L. P. at the municipal elections last spring, and thereby swelled the Socialist vote in Chicago from 1,500 to over 5,000. More than that, we contributed to the expenses of the election, and have been rewarded for our fraternal interest in the cause of Socialism on that occasion with studied abuse and vilification. Every move made by these so-called unionists in Chicago has been in line with Harriman's infamous tactics, though more blunderingly conducted.

These Simon-Morgan Socialists of Chicago held what they called a "joint" convention July 4. They are incorporated as the "Socialist Labor Party," a few weeks ago they voted themselves the "Social Democratic Party," and in their "joint" convention, under the absurd leadership of the astute gentlemen before mentioned, they decided that they were the "Socialist Party." Their "joint" convention was an abortion, only four Social Democrats being present, and these from a branch with the majority of its members opposed to the things being done in these days in the name of Socialism and "unity." They nominated Comrade F. G. Strickland (who was not present) on their county ticket against his protest and he authorizes the Herald to say that he repudiates that nomination.

No union between the Social Democratic party in Illinois and the Simon-Morgan Socialists has been effected nor is any desirable, and all reports sent out to the contrary are purposely intended to deceive.

IOWA STATE CONVENTION

A convention of the Social Democratic party of Iowa is hereby called to meet at the city of Oskaloosa on Friday, Aug. 10, 1900.

Owing to the fact that there are thousands of unattached Socialists in Iowa as yet not affiliated with branches, we have deemed it proper to issue the call so as to admit a reasonable number of Socialists from each county in addition to and distinct from the representation of the branches. Therefore Socialists throughout the state are invited to attend and participate in the work of the convention.

Each county will be permitted to have five votes of this character.

Each branch of the Social Democratic party and each section of the Social Labor party will be permitted as many votes as there are members of the branch or section, and the members present from such branch or section will be permitted to cast the full vote of the membership of said organization. The convention will assemble at 10 o'clock a. m., and in addition to such other matters as may properly come before that body will transact the following business:

1. The nomination of a full state and electoral ticket.
2. The nomination in district causes, so far as possible, candidates for congress.
3. The formation of a permanent organization of Iowa Socialists.

A. W. Ricker, State Organizer.

CONVENTION CALL

A congressional and legislative convention of the Social Democratic party will be held at Nagles Hall, Blue Island avenue, Saturday, July 21, at 8 o'clock, to which branches 2, 3, 5, 6 and 19 should send delegates under same rules as the county convention. Southside Bohemians please take action.

NEW BRANCHES

Webb City, Missouri.
Eugene, Oregon.

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN FUND

E. Schellmer, Philadelphia \$.50
 "Coming Nation" Duke 5.50
 Previously Reported 856.65
\$862.65

NOTES FROM THE FIELD

Comrade F. A. Kulp, of Battle Creek, Mich., writes: "Last night the Social Democratic party for the County of Calhoun, held a mass convention in this city and nominated a County Committee. A full county ticket will be placed in the field this fall. Rev. J. Stitt Wilson, of Chicago, has just finished a week's campaign in the city in the interest of Socialism. It has made us votes. In fact the large S. D. P. vote in this city is due to Mr. Wilson's effort in the past."

The Cleveland Citizen makes the announcement that the two parties have "amalgamated." This statement is false. A resolution proposing "union" was defeated in the state convention by the Social Democratic delegates, the vote being 17 to 2.

Miss Mary E. Coleson, who has recently joined the staff of workers at Hull House, lectured before Branch 9 of the Social Democratic party. Miss Coleson will take up the work of the late Mrs. A. P. Stevens.

Comrade Michael Britzius is laying sick in Alexian Brothers hospital. He sent greetings to the convention and hopes soon to be restored to health.

NOMINATIONS CALLED FOR

The Executive Board requests the Branches to make nominations for a new board, to consist as provided for by the constitution, of nine members.

TO IOWA SOCIALISTS

The Western Passenger Association has granted a rate of one and one-third fare to our state convention providing 10 delegates attend. Let our immediate efforts be toward making this convention a great success. I feel sure that we can secure an attendance of that number. In addition to the convention speakers, Comrade Debs will be present and deliver his lecture in the evening.

A. W. RICKER.

TEXAS STATE TICKET

For Governor,
 L. L. RHODES (Providence, Van Zandt county).
 For Lieutenant-Governor,
 G. H. SHOAP (San Antonio).
 For Attorney-General—Nomination to be made by the executive committee.

For Controller,
 W. A. MITCHELL (Kaufman).
 For Treasurer,
 W. E. MARSHALL (Bonham).
 For Land Commissioner,
 DR. CHARLES A. OTTERBEIN (Weatherford).

For Superintendent of Public Instruction—Nomination to be made by the executive committee.

For Railroad Commissioner,
 DR. G. B. HARRIS (Bruceville).

Electors-at-Large,
 EUGENE PILLOD (Dallas), F. J. MILLER (Beaumont).
 District electors—To be nominated by the executive committee.

NOON HOUR WISDOM

I have just been reading, with an intermingling of pity, amusement and sorrow, a circular letter issued by a number of men styling themselves the state executive board of the S. D. P. of the state of Washington. It is quite a lengthy document, and is signed by A. G. Siebert, Herman Culver, J. D. Curtis, H. F. Titus and George B. Boomer. It breathes so fully the spirit which the Social Democratic party was organized to oppose, that I will ask my listeners' indulgence while I give it a little attention. It sets out by charging that there were ulterior motives for the issuance of the manifesto concerning the unification project, and goes on to show that the ulterior purpose was nothing more or less than the turning of the Social Democratic movement over to Mid-Road Populism! I should not be surprised to see such a screed in a paper like De Leon's People or Benham's Class Struggle, for the S. L. P. has lived on such emanations for years, lived its gauged, fanatical life, to the disgust of all high-minded, sensible men. But when a state committee of a party organized on such self-respecting lines as ours gives out such a characteristically S. L. P.-ish "official" document, one doesn't know whether to feel sorrow, pity or amusement.

One of the great features of the S. L. P. for years has been its capacity for suspicion. Once let some wild and woolly suspicion get into a member's noddle, no matter how far-fetched and silly it might be, it was nursed for a while, till by psychological circumlocution, it was actually believed by the owner of the noddle, and then committed to paper and sent on for publication in the party press. It was all part of the gospel of suspicion and hate upon which the S. L. P. "thrived." When the abominable and despotic rule of the S. L. P. became wholly intolerable to decent-minded Socialists of the country, the Social Democratic party was organized, and under its broad-gauge plan of ad-

ministration and propaganda, American Socialism went forward by leaps and bounds. It at once demonstrated how utterly wrong and pernicious had been the rule of the S. L. P., and as it pursued the even tenor of its way it gave new hope to true Socialists and showed them that it was possible for the movement to attain to as dignified proportions and as to great relative numerical strength as the movement in such countries as Germany, France and Belgium.

But immediately there went up a cry from the S. L. P. that the new party was merely an asylum for all sorts of characters, or, to put it in the words of a recent writer in an anti-DeLeon paper, "capitalist politicians out of a job, adventurers, workmen both honest and dishonest—an unclean membership." It was charged that we took in any one, whether Socialist or not, and that we were thus little more than a middle-class party. How nicely time has given the lie to this I need hardly point out. That we took in members without holding an inquisition over them is true. We barred no honest person who pledged his desire for the collective ownership and operation of the means of production and distribution. And often we took in men who had very unclear notions as to Socialism. But it is a noticeable fact that such men soon got clear ideas on the subject, and that it did not injure the sharpness of our battle line against capitalism to thus take in raw recruits. We did not brandish in the faces of possible recruits a lot of high-sounding, academic stuff about constant and variable capital, relative surplus value and the like (telling them to believe or be damned), things they should not trouble themselves about until they had become deep enough students of social science to understand. We repelled no one in such a way, but welcomed them as beginners or advanced learners, as their case might be, believing that in a natural way they would sooner or later get to the same plane of clear-headedness. In one of the recent Socialist congresses in Germany one of the leaders of the movement frankly confessed that he had not only not read Karl Marx to any extent, but that he found it almost impossible to clearly understand his writings. In this country such a declaration would have brought condemnation upon the man by the S. L. P.

Desirable as it is that the workers in the movement for the overthrow of the present system should be clear in economics and social science, it is absurd to suppose that all can be, or that all will have the capacity to go clear to the pinnacle of the study. Especially absurd is it to think of such a thing of a party made up principally of wage-earners—men who have little or no academic training. To poll-parrot a lot of academic phrases, as so many of the rank and file of the S. L. P., is simply to make the movement a mere sect and to render its propaganda largely waste effort. Socialism must be preached in the common language of the people, using the words and terms common to everyday conversation, and this the Social Democratic party has done, and it has been successful. And the late strife was not merely a question of a union of organizations, but an effort to keep the movement on these lines and to prevent it from getting back into the old habit.

When some of the Socialists of Washington talk of our turning to Mid-Road Populism they make themselves extremely ridiculous, and at the same time show that they are heavily permeated with S. L. P.-ism. The Social Democratic party has won many a good man to Socialism by the tactics which these Washington pseudo-S. D. P.'s condemn. They are incapable of taking a large view of affairs. They have my pity. The broad-minded comrades of Washington ought to repudiate that state committee, and do it soon.

The Philosopher.

ECONOMIC TERMS AND PHRASES

A. P. Hazell, in London Justice

Exchange

Exchange is the basis of the capitalist system; abolish exchange, and capitalism is no more. The origin of barter goes farther back than recorded history, but for practical purposes it may be assumed that it commenced on the borders of pastoral communities, with the superfluities of wealth. Exchange implies individual property, buyers and sellers, each recognizing that the other has a right to alienate his commodity as the individual owner and possessor of the product which he desires to barter.

Frequent exchanges give rise to the need of some handy mode of reckoning, and hence we get the money form of commodity. When a barter is made each owner compares his product with the other, and by that means reckons its exchange value. By frequent exchanges a stable commodity like corn becomes selected for the purpose of reckoning, and is always accepted in return for other commodities because it is recognized as being socially useful, and one which can at any time be exchanged for others. In a pastoral community, corn and live stock would be taken as equivalents in exchange; in a nomadic community, skins. In a more civilized community, metals in the order of iron, copper, brass, silver and gold. The equivalent commodity which we take in

exchange is known as the money commodity, the one recognized by the state for the purpose of legal payment or legal discharge of debt. The money commodity affords peculiar facilities for accumulation of riches and a purchasing power over wealth. The special use of money applied to industry, inaugurated the capitalist system of production. The less restrictions there are on freedom of exchange, the more progress will the capitalist system make. Though this is now generally recognized, protective clauses are still made by nations to give them an advantage over others. "Freedom of contract," "the sacred rights of property," "the principle of laissez faire," are all phrases based on exchange arising out of individual property. With the growth of the capitalist system a class has obtained possession of the means and instruments of production, and a proletarian class has arisen which has had to sell its labor power at a subsistence price. Here we have an antagonism between classes, a system of production inimical to the welfare of the community considered as a whole, and yet conforming to the principles of free exchange, which, to the majority, appear to be based on equity and the welfare of the community.

Co-operation

The growth of capitalism superseded primitive individual production and gave way to a more extended form of co-operative production. What we call the handicraft period of production, while favorable to the cultivation of the artistic faculties of the producer, was not conducive to the full expansion of man's productive powers, as it limited co-operative effort by restricting the instruments of production at his command.

The capitalist by his greater command over the instruments of production is enabled to bring together large groups of workers, and to produce on a more extensive scale, and by division and sub-division of labor to enormously increase the productive power of his workers as a whole; compared with individual producers. The substance of exchange value being labor, the producer who can produce an equal article at the lower cost of production in labor than his competitor has the power to oust him from the market; consequently co-operation gives the victory to that capitalist who works most in conformity with that law. Our own experience teaches us that the individual producer gives way to the joint-stock company and the joint-stock company to the syndicate, and the syndicate to the trust, and the trust in its turn to the municipality and collectivization of industries by the community. Co-operation is a law of association, which steadily expands, overcoming all obstacles and restrictions.

Capitalism owes its strength and influence to increased facilities it has afforded man to co-operate. To it is due the wonderful increase of wealth. The workers by their power of co-operation are capable of producing wealth even beyond the dreams of avarice, and are only now prevented from doing so by the conflicting interests of capitalists, whose primary object is not the increase of wealth for society as a whole, but the increase of that portion of wealth which they may individually appropriate to themselves.

Conflict

The interests of capitalists as competitors are opposed to each other, and they use their capital with a view of ousting each other from the markets of the world. Each capital is arraigned against the other in competitive conflict, and, so likewise, are the co-operative group of workers set in motion by each particular capital. Each group does not conflict in person, but it is none the less real because that conflict is transferred to the commodities on the market and fights by the weapon of cheapness. In the capitalist system conflict stares us in the face everywhere. Each capitalist tries to overcome his competitor. And in this struggle he has the support of that group of workers which his capital employs. Their immediate subsistence depends upon his success, and though they may outwardly express a certain amount of sympathy for their unfortunate brethren, yet they feel an inward satisfaction at their misfortune as they recognize that their fellow-workers represent a fallen foe which might have been victorious over themselves.

It is these individualistic and anti-social feelings engendered by conflict which makes it so difficult to unite the workers on a common platform for their economic emancipation.

Both capitalists and workers live and die in an atmosphere of competition and conflict until they accept it as a natural order of things, over which they may lament but cannot alter. There is much to foster this conception. In animal life they see the drastic and unrelenting law of conflict operating all around them, and also that evolution has furnished them with weapons to carry on the struggle. Philosophers and scientists have become so impressed by the continuous and persistent phenomena of conflict that they have convinced themselves that progress is only possible by a specious law which they term "natural selection," or "survival of the fittest."

LOCAL BRANCHES

Notices of Branch Meetings inserted for 25 Cents per Month

CALIFORNIA

Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evening, commencing at 8. Admission free. Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening. Membership, Social Democratic Herald free to each member, 25 cents per month.

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2 o'clock at Woodmen's Hall, 1234 Spring St. J. Franco, 700 Dayton Ave., Secretary.

Branch No. 3, Alameda, California, holds free public meetings every 21 and 4th Sunday, 8 p. m. at Foresters' Hall, cor Park St. and Santa Clara Ave. Business and Educational meetings (for members) 1st and 3rd Mondays, 8 p. m. at 2450 Central Ave. Allan A. Crockett, Secretary, 1810 Walnut St.

Branch No. 1, Denver, meets every Sunday at 8:30 p. m. at 1715 California Ave., Chas. M. Davis, Secretary, 1629 17th Street.

Branch No. 3, Goldfield, meets every Sunday at 7:30 p. m. at City Hall. Chas. Le Camp, Secretary.

CONNECTICUT

The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at Turn Hall, Rockville. L. Schiav, Secretary.

Branch No. 2, New Haven, meets every Wednesday evening, 8 p. m. at Aurora Hall. C. Volmer, Sec. Branch No. 4, New Haven, meets every 1st and 3rd Thursdays at Turn Hall meeting room, Village street. Secretary, Richard Niederwieser, Box 781.

ILLINOIS

Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 32 Dearborn St.

Branch No. 1, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening. Thomas Kirwin, Secretary, 2504 Westworth Ave.

Branch No. 2 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Sunday at 2 p. m. at Nagle's Hall, 535 Blue Island Ave. Vaclav Jelinek, Secretary, 605 Blue Island Ave.

Branch No. 3 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Sunday at 2 p. m. in Dauber's place, 1080 W. 18th place. Joseph Dauber, Secretary.

Branch No. 4, Chicago, meets second and fourth Sunday of each month at 8 o'clock at Nagle's Hall, 535 Blue Island Ave. near 18th St. Albin Celsky, Secretary, 726 W. 20th St.

Branch No. 5 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Sunday, at 8 a. m. at 3002 Lincoln Street. J. A. Ambros, Secretary, 4940 Wood Street.

Branch No. 9, Chicago, meets at 1145 W. 63rd st., first and third Sundays at 3 p. m. Roswell H. Johnson, Secretary, 652 E. 57th St.

INDIANA

Branch No. 4, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichwein's Hall, corner Market and Noble Sts.

Branch No. 2, Hiteam, meets every fourth Friday at the home of Mrs. J. H. Jamison, chairman. James Fisher, Secretary, Joseph Schellmer, Secretary.

IOWA

Branch No. 4, Belleue, meets 1st and 3rd Sunday, at 2 p. m. and 2nd and 4th Wednesday, at 8 p. m. at Fairfield Ave. We will make it interesting for all. Henry Listerman, Sec., 135 Fulton Ave.

KENTUCKY

Branch No. 1, Baltimore, meets every Sunday at 3 p. m. at Carpenter's Hall, 560 E. Baltimore St. Public invited.

Branch No. 2, Baltimore, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at Weasel's Hotel, 225 W. Camden St. Good speeches. Public invited. Levin T. Jones, Secretary, 202 W. Harre St.

MASSACHUSETTS

The Massachusetts State Committee meets the first Saturday of each month at 724 Washington St., Boston. All dues and moneys intended for the State Committee should be sent to the financial secretary, A. McDonald, 104 W. Springfield St., Boston. All other correspondence should be addressed to the Corresponding Secretary, Margaret Hallie, 5 Glenwood St., Roxbury.

Branch No. 2, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Mondays of each month at Springfield Turner Hall. Gas. Geisler, Organizer, 55 Sumner St.

Branch No. 3, Lynn, permanent headquarters, 71 Monroe St. Business meeting every Monday night at 8 p. m. at 90 Chelsea St. Miss Jenny Sogal, Secretary, 90 Chelsea St.

Branch No. 25, Roxbury, Mass., meets at 24 Warren St. for business at Social Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Center Sts. Every comrade is expected to attend one meeting a month. Mrs. Annie Bowditch, Secretary, 31 Prospect St.

Branch No. 15, East Boston, meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 90 Chelsea St. Miss Jenny Sogal, Secretary, 90 Chelsea St.

Branch No. 29, Roxbury, Mass., meets at 24 Warren St. for business at Social Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Center Sts. Every comrade is expected to attend one meeting a month. Mrs. Annie Bowditch, Secretary, 31 Prospect St.

Branch No. 31, Chelsea, permanent headquarters, Room 2, Postoffice Building. Open every evening. Business meetings every Thursday at 8 p. m. Public invited.

MICHIGAN

Branch No. 1, Battle Creek, Mich., meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of each month, at 3 p. m. at 10 W. Main Street, in the late Congress Hall. All are cordially invited. L. C. Rogers, Secretary.

[Published by request.]

MARSEILLES HYMN

Ye sons of freedom, wake to glory,
 Hark! Hark! what myriads bid you rise;
 Your children, wives, and grandmothers hoary,
 Behold their tears, and hear their cries,
 Behold their tears and hear their cries;
 Shall lawless tyrants, mischief breeding
 With hireling host, a ruffian band,
 Affright and desolate the land,
 While liberty and truth lie bleeding?
 Arise, arise ye brave,
 Your dying country save,
 March on, march on, all hearts resolved,
 On liberty or death!

With luxury and pride surrounded,
 The bold, insatiate despots dare,
 Their thirst for gold and power unbounded,
 To mete and vend the light and air,
 To mete and vend the light and air;
 Like beasts of burden would they load us,
 Like gods would bid their slaves adore—
 But man is man, and who is more?
 Then shall they longer lash and goad us?

Arise, arise, ye brave,
 Your dying country save,
 March on, march on, all hearts resolved
 On liberty or death!

Oh, Liberty! can men resign thee,
 Once having felt thy glorious flame?
 Can tyrants' bars and bolts confine thee?
 And thus thy noble spirit tame?

And thus thy noble spirit tame?
 Too long our country wept, bemoaning
 The tyrant's grasp on town and field,
 But freedom is our sword and shield,
 And all their arts are unavailing.

Arise, arise, ye brave,
 Your dying country save,
 March on, march on, all hearts resolved
 On liberty or death!

Oh, Liberty! can men resign thee,
 Once having felt thy glorious flame?
 Can tyrants' bars and bolts confine thee?
 And thus thy noble spirit tame?

And thus thy noble spirit tame?
 Too long our country wept, bemoaning
 The tyrant's grasp on town and field,
 But freedom is our sword and shield,
 And all their arts are unavailing.

Arise, arise, ye brave,
 Your dying country save,
 March on, march on, all hearts resolved
 On liberty or death!

Oh, Liberty! can men resign thee,
 Once having felt thy glorious flame?
 Can tyrants' bars and bolts confine thee?
 And thus thy noble spirit tame?

And thus thy noble spirit tame?
 Too long our country wept, bemoaning
 The tyrant's grasp on town and field,
 But freedom is our sword and shield,
 And all their arts are unavailing.

Arise, arise, ye brave,
 Your dying country save,
 March on, march on, all hearts resolved
 On liberty or death!

Oh, Liberty! can men resign thee,
 Once having felt thy glorious flame?
 Can tyrants' bars and bolts confine thee?
 And thus thy noble spirit tame?

And thus thy noble spirit tame?
 Too long our country wept, bemoaning
 The tyrant's grasp on town and field,
 But freedom is our sword and shield,
 And all their arts are unavailing.

Arise, arise, ye brave,
 Your dying country save,
 March on, march on, all hearts resolved
 On liberty or death!

MINNESOTA

Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Gosswein, on Main St. A. Kingsbury, Secretary.

MISSOURI

St. Louis headquarters, Room 7, 23 N. Fourth St. Address all communications to E. Val Putnam, Secretary. For information concerning ward branches, inquire at the above address.

Branch No. 7, Kansas City, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1200 Union Ave. G. J. Storr, Secretary, 1280 W. 9th St.

MONTANA

Branch No. 1, Butte, meets every Thursday, at 8:30 p. m. Engineers' Hall, Owsley Block. G. Frankel, Sec. 71 E. Park Street.

Branch No. 3 meets first and third Sundays of each month at G. W. Wood's home, Chico, Mont.

NEW JERSEY

Branch No. 1, Secretary, Michael W. Schor, 81 Livingston St.

Branch No. 3, Camden, N. J., meets every 4th Sunday of the month. For particulars address Paul Eberding, 1238 Kaighn's Avenue.

Branch No. 3 (German) Newark, meets every third Saturday, at International Hall, 7 Bedford St. Hans Hartwig, Secretary, 7 Bedford St.

Branch No. 6 (German), Paterson, N. J., meets first and third Mondays at 8 p. m. at Helvelia Hall, 44-56 Van Houten St. Karl Linder, Secretary, 245 Edmond St.

NEW YORK

The City Central Action Committee of Greater New York, meets every second Tuesday at 412 Grand street, Windsor Hall. James Altman, Secretary, 32 Suffolk street, care of "Forward."

East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every first and third Thursday at 11. Clifton St. A. Guyer, Secretary, 13 Suffolk St.

Branch No. 2, 24th Assembly District, meets second and fourth Wednesdays of the month at 1050 10th Ave., at the "Central." Henry Lang, Secretary, 334 E. 60th St.

Branch No. 4, West Side Branch, New York, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of every month at headquarters, 120 W. 90th St. Elizabeth H. Thomas, Secretary.

Branch No. 5 Brooklyn, New York, meets every Saturday at 8 p. m. at 56 Moore St. Visitors welcome. Comrades desiring to organize should communicate with Secretary Sol. Freeman, 190 Boerum St.

Branch No. 10, New York, meets every Friday, at 8 p. m., 230 E. Broadway. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Organizer, Joseph Williams, 36 Henry st.

OHIO

Branch No. 2, Cleveland, meets in Ohlsen's Hall, 55 York St., second and fourth Sundays, at 3 p. m. Lectures, discussions, business meetings, first and third Fridays at 8 p. m.

Branch No. 3, Cleveland, meets first and third Sundays, in each month at 8 p. m. in Ohlsen's Hall, 55 York St. Lectures and discussions.

Branch No. 4, Cincinnati, meets at Harrison Hall, southeast corner 9th and Plum St., every Sunday at 2 p. m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Jos. Jasin, Secretary, 1410 Central Avenue.

Branch No. 5, Dayton, Ohio, meets every 2d and 4th Friday evening, in Hall 27, Central Trades Council Building. Everyone interested in Socialism, invited. J. C. Schawne, Chairman, W. Barringer, Secretary, P. O. Box 294.

Branch No. 8, Cincinnati, meets every second and fourth Saturday in Workingmen's Hall, 135 Walnut St. F. Hamel, Secretary, 1304 Frantz St.

Branch No. 11, German, Columbus. Ed Greiner, Secretary, 805 Mohawk St.

PENNSYLVANIA

Branch No. 2, Erie, meets every Sunday, 3 p. m., at K. of L. Hall, 716 State St. Chairman, Joseph Stein, Secretary, J. K. Perry, 119 Sassafras St.

Branch No. 4, Pittsburg, meets every Thursday evening at 7:30 p. m. at Funk Hall, 3 1/2 24th and Josephine Sts. W. Bohm, President, 244 Addison St. J. H. Lewis, Secretary, 2415 Jane St.

Branch No. 4, Coudersport, meets every second and last Wednesday of each month in K. of L. Hall, (Chas. Knispel, C. chairman; L. H. Morse, Secretary; Ben. Cudington, Treasurer).

Branch No. 5, Philadelphia, meets first Friday of each month at 8 p. m. at 1212 Chestnut street morning at S. D. P. Club Rooms, at 423 E. Third St. Organizer, M. Gillis, 1007 S. Third St.

Branch No. 10, Williamsport, meets every Sunday afternoon at 3 p. m. in Social Labor hall, No. 18 East 11 St. E. R. Smith, chairman; Jno. Lyon, secretary, 143 Second St. Public invited.

WASHINGTON

Branch No. 5, Tacoma, meets every Monday evening at 8 p. m., 413 11th Street.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee Central Committee, S. D. P., meets second and fourth Sunday of the month at Brewers' Hall, southeast corner Fourth and Chestnut sts.

Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets at Kailer's Hall, Fourth Street, between State and Prairie, every second and fourth Thursday evening.

Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Friday in Geatke's Hall, corner Green Bay and Concordia Ave.

Branch No. 2, Sheboygan, meets every fourth Thursday of the month at Gustav Burgard's Hall on Pennsylvania Ave. M. Soben, Secretary-Treasurer, 8 1/2 12th St.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday each month at Miller's Hall, corner 23d and Brown Sts. George Moserbach, Secretary, 891 23th St.

Branch No. 8, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of each month at 1212 Chestnut st. (Chas. Knispel, C. chairman; L. H. Morse, Secretary; Ben. Cudington, Treasurer).

Branch No. 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of each month at Kraus' Hall, 21 and Center St., at 8 p. m. Secretary, Rudolph Loeschman, 1125 25th St.

Branch No. 23, Milwaukee, meets second and fourth Wednesday of each month, at 53 Clark street. Henry Harbicht, Sec., 1074 7th Street.

Have your card inserted in the
 BRANCH DIRECTORY, 25 Cents per
 Month. It will help you in the work
 in your locality.

IF YOU SYMPATHIZE
 WITH
 TRADE UNIONS

You will encourage the sale
 OF UNION LABEL GOODS

If you want Union Label Shoes demand the above
 Union Stamp. No charge or royalty for the Union
 Stamp. Visit your shoe dealer and take no excuse.
 Need for latest list of factories. Subscribe for "The
 Union Shoe and Shoe Worker," 50 cents per year.

Boot and Shoe Workers Union,
 620 Atlantic Ave., Boston, Mass.

SOMETHING NEW!
 SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC
 CAMPAIGN BUTTONS
 AND PINS

With a fine miniature photo of our

RIP VAN WINKLE REDIVIVUS

By James Allman, New York.

About two years ago I received the following peremptory notice written upon a postal card:

"Comrade:—Go to Yonkers at once. Get there about noon or as early in the afternoon as possible and assist the comrades there to fix up certain differences which unfortunately exist among them. Then speak in the open air at Getty Square at 8 p. m.

"Yours fraternally,

The time of the day was 11:30 a. m. and I was occupied peacefully reading Edward Bellamy's "Equality," a book which I had just borrowed. I immediately flung the book down upon the table amid the manuscripts unfinished, finished and rejected—principally rejected—pipes, tobacco, books, matches, newspapers, pamphlets, letters, etc., which go to compose in their heterogeneous collectivity the literary litter on the table of my furnished apartment.

Rapidly making the necessary change of clothing, i. e., putting on my coat and vest and the only clean collar I had, I quickly picked a few notes and thinking I might need something to read I snatched up the book also and hurrying out soon found myself on the New York Central Railroad, rushing upward toward Yonkers. The train dashed shrieking and rattling through the smoky and hideous tunnel which extends from the Grand Central Depot many blocks and at length emerged into the open air near One Hundredth street. The tall rows of flats, wadry and monotonous, swept past on either side and I looked up at the windows from whence looked down the pale faces of sickly women and children and I shuddered with a sensation of disgust and weariness.

Presently patches of parched greensward appeared between the houses and I felt the approach of that repulsively genteel and respectable borderland between God's beautiful open country and man's filthy overcrowded city, called the suburbs. I hate the suburbs and the contemptible middle class denizens thereof; hence I reached for my book, but upon opening it I laughed heartily.

In my hurry I had picked up Washington Irving's "Sketch Book" instead of Edward Bellamy's "Equality." It is very refreshing to re-read the books of one's childhood and it was not without some relish mixed with pleasant memories that I began again to peruse the misadventures of that delightful schnapps-drinking, wife-hating, never-working, lovable vagabond, Rip Van Winkle.

The train dashed across the trestle bridge which spans the Spuyter Duyvil creek and looking up from the book I beheld the beautiful blue Hudson sweeping onward before me, its myriad moving waves flashing like glowing sapphires in the sunlight, while its broad majestic deeps extended in cool and kindly embrace around the feet of the tall green mountains on either side.

A resident of a large city who seldom sees fair Mother Nature attired in her glorious mantle, green and bedecked with those fairest and brightest of all jewels, the many-hued early summer flowers, gazes upon her with the rapture of a lover who meets but seldom a beautiful mistress.

I gazed upon the mighty mountains, their shoulders garbed in green woodland, their heads crowned with coronets of clouds and their forms reflected in the azure mirror of the waters. But suddenly I saw something that irritated me. The sides of the mountains had been in places denuded of all trees in order to make room for the palatial residences of the multi-millionaires who dwell along the Hudson. What appeared like small white spots in the far distance I knew to be the more than regal palaces of the Goulds, Rockefellers, Whitneys, etc., who have their residences at Tarrytown, Dobbs Ferry and other places along the Rhine of America. Disgusted with the proximity of these plutocrats I exclaimed: "Is it not possible to escape from them?" I turned in disgust from these reminders of modern commercial greed and looked across one dark blue river, but even as I did so a rush, roar and shrieking whistle accompanied by a cloud of smoke which enveloped the sweeping form of an express train, recalled to me the fact that the plutocrats not merely crowned the summits with their castles but also claimed the roadway on both sides of the river as their means of profit and plunder, owning the New York Central & Hudson River Railroad on the east and the West Shore Railroad on the west. Truly is this river called the Rhine of America, for do not the ruined remains of castellated towers and frowning fortresses along the banks of Germany's Rhine to the present day proclaim that in medieval times the robber knights and barons were wont to descend upon the unwary trader who traveled along the banks of that river?

Along the Hudson the modern robber barons have also their castles on the heights, they also levy tribute upon all travelers along the river banks, but they do not do so in the bold, reckless and romantic manner of their German prototypes. The difference between the ancient and the modern robber baron is that the former defied his feudal sovereign and the law of the land and often bravely faced risk of life and limb when

the trader whom he attacked chanced to be armed and accompanied by a retinue, while the latter collects his plunder in a cowardly manner under the protection of the law and runs no risk whatever.

Regretfully looking upon the scenery of the valley my mind reverted to the legend of Sleepy Hollow and I murmured:

"How beautiful this valley must have been before it was marred by hideous modern capitalism. How lovely this river and landscape in the days of Rip Van Winkle!"

"Did I hear you mention my name?" asked a quiet voice at my elbow.

Startled, I looked around and found that Rip Van Winkle stood beside me. In some strange and unaccountable manner I had left the railroad car and stood upon an eminent part of the old Boston road from whence I could look down upon the Hudson river, flowing and winding some hundreds of feet below me in the valley.

There stood Rip Van Winkle attired in his old-fashioned, quaint eighteenth century garb, a battered hat which had once been three-cornered, but the flaps of which spread out around his long white flowing locks, a loose full-skirted hunting coat and a pair of much mended knee breeches which ended at the knees in leather leggings. Somehow I seemed to be quite at home with him and when he again remarked:

"You mentioned my name. How comes it that you know me?" I answered:

"I think I was introduced to you by a certain gentleman of New York city called Washington Irving. Pray tell me what you have been doing since your unpleasant awakening, about which that gentleman told me?"

"Well," replied Rip, "that's quite a long, sad story. Let us sit on the fence while I tell you my narrative."

"But you see," I remarked, "that there is nothing but those miserable new-fangled barbed wire fences on both sides of the road and is it not written somewhere that he who sitteth down upon a barbed wire fence shall rise again?"

We stretched ourselves upon the narrow strip of greensward which skirted the dusty high road and Rip Van Winkle began as follows:

"After my unpleasant experiences following upon my awakening about which you appear to know, I returned to Sleepy Hollow and went to sleep again. How long I slept I cannot tell you; I simply know that I was rudely awakened by an overseer of the estate, as he called himself, who informed me that he would have me arrested for vagrancy if I did not get up and move on right away. I did so and found that all the pleasant scenery was enclosed by these hideous barbed wire fences and perceived far off on the hillside an extensive but extremely showy modern palace which I was informed was the residence of a wealthy plutocrat who owned all the beautiful country thereabout. Instinctively I thought of those British aristocrats who in colonial times not only had their large enclosed estates in the mother country, but were in some places introducing their slavish semi-feudal institutions into the colonies. I really began to wonder whether what I had heard in my previous awakening about a certain George Washington and a free republic in this country had not been merely a dream and whether the descendants of King George and his aristocratic government still ruled this land and had developed their monarchical institutions here. I traveled down the Hudson and everywhere I went I found the same fenced in estates and large mansions and every time I tried to lay down and go to sleep I was awakened, threatened with arrest and called a tramp. Brutality, hurry, avarice and misery confronted me on every side and I found myself no longer regarded as in the kindly old days of yore as an interesting vagabond, but called a loafer and blamed for my idleness. Now, indolence is not always an evil."

"I quite agree with you, Rip," I remarked, as I yawned, stretched myself in the sunlight and contemplatively puffed a cloud of tobacco smoke upward. "Indolence is said to be the mother of all vice, but she is a kindly mother, even though her children do not turn out to be very respectable. It has also been said that indolence is an indication of a reflective temperament."

"Well," continued Rip Van Winkle, "I eventually reached New York city. That terrible desert of skyscrapers and tenements, peopled with the vitiated bodies of men, women and children whose souls have died, with its flaunting vice, its ostentatious opulence, its sordid degrading poverty and filth shocked my healthy old-fashioned colonial mind and nearly drove me to despair. I, Rip Van Winkle, really could not sleep for some time. At length tired out I stretched myself out in a doorway located upon a noisy thoroughfare misnamed by the 'very peaceful and pastoral sounding name of the Bowery, but I was soon awakened by a policeman banging me upon the soles of my shoes with a long stick."

I who know the Bowery could not refrain from laughter at Rip's quiet unsophisticated recital and turned aside to hide my merriment.

"I found myself," continued my companion, "eventually compelled to enter

a common lodging house. What a repulsive den it was! The place was dark and reeking with offensive odors, the rows of beds one above the other, 'double-deckers' they call them, the sheets dirty and swarming with vermin and many of the lodgers were drunken and noisy. I tried to sleep in one of the beds but could not on account of the

"Stop!" I cried; "don't say that word. It's coarse. You mean the pediculus vestimenti," giving the Latin entomological term for the active little insects to which Rip was about to refer openly and vulgarly. I acquired the habit of throwing learned Latin bluffs through associating with a certain sect of ultra-scientific Socialists in New York city.

"I call them by a shorter name," rejoined Rip; "but I think the mighty name you give them suits them better because they are so mightily pernicious. They, oh!" cried he, scratching ingloriously at the tattered remains of the seat of his knee-breeches.

I moved quickly and nervously away, for I have a wholesome dread of the ubiquitous and aggressive little pediculus vestimenti.

"Well, in brief," said Rip, "I can find no quiet spot to sleep in any longer. Driven from place to place, abused, vilified, misunderstood, starving, homeless and despised, I find myself where you see me, no longer the interesting vagabond I was when you last met me, but a modern, disreputable tramp. Can you tell me why this is so?"

"Your drowsiness," I answered, "has been disturbed by what we modern Socialists call the capitalist system and if it has at last succeeded in waking you up, Rip, there is some hope that it may awaken that other individual who alone beats your record for drowsiness—viz., the modern wage slave."

"Do you not remember, Rip Van Winkle, that before you fell into your first long slumber King George III. and his despotic government had conserved to themselves not only the political power of England, but also were extending by unjust and oppressive legislation their tyrannous sway over the colonies of America?"

"Yes," rejoined Rip, "and I also remember how the colonists arose, overthrew the government of King George and placed all political liberty in the hands of the people by establishing a free republic, and there were happy homes and a peaceful people along the valley of the beautiful Hudson. But whence this frightful change?"

"I will tell you," I replied. "During the course of time commerce and industry have developed, but all commercial and industrial resources are controlled by a modern monarch far more despotic than George III.—viz., Monarch Monopoly. All means of transportation and production, all railroads, canals, telegraphs, telephones, all factories, mines, workshops, etc., are monopolized by a limited number of capitalists, and most of these capitalists are formed together into a small group of avaricious plutocrats who have come to a common understanding among themselves as to how they can control all industries, and have thus formed what we term monopolies or trusts. The mass of people being dependent upon these trusts for work, wages and their very life, are reduced to a condition of abject servitude. Hence the want, misery and suffering which you perceive on every side. But a great and glorious evangel of labor emancipation is spreading rapidly through the land. That evangel is called Socialism. It demands that all land and all the means of transportation, communication, commerce and industry should be owned by a government of the people, and that the people through the medium of that government should become their own employers. The noble truths of this gospel are spreading rapidly, and soon King Capital will be de-throned and an industrial republic be established, even as King George was overthrown and a political republic established a century and a quarter ago."

"Then again will this fair valley of the Hudson, and all the valleys, hillsides and plains of this broad, rich land of America be peopled with free, happy and contented citizens. Then will the blithe and happy song of the emancipated and free laborer be borne upon the waves of this flowing river. Then will the breezes carry like the perfume of the flowers in the spring time the musical laughter of free, healthy children. Then will the smiling blue waters of the flowing Hudson reflect the large, laughing eyes and graceful forms of magnificent maidens, strong and athletic as the goddesses of ancient Greece. Then will—"

"Crotona! All out for Yonkers!! Don't you want to get out here? Hurry up! Do you think the New York Central is going to stop while you sit there sleeping?"

I started and awoke. My vision of Rip Van Winkle had been but a dream. I was seated in the railroad car, the open book upon my lap and a brakeman standing over me berating my laziness in vigorous tones. I arose in that sour mood peculiar to the recently awakened and used in my wrath a few unprintable expressions. I stepped from the car, but as the train was already pulling out, my foot slipped and I rolled over on the platform, and there sat blinking and looking ruefully after the notes of a lec-

ture which I had prepared to inflict upon the patient denizens of Yonkers, but which were scattered by the suction of the train.

A comrade of Yonkers, who was on the platform to meet me, made no attempt to conceal his amusement at my discomfiture, and perceiving him, I again relapsed into the unprintable.

Gathering myself, my book, my notes and my temper, I accompanied him up the steep Main street, which climbs the hillside from the river to Getty square.

"Well," grumbled my comrade, "you look half asleep. Those New Yorker couldn't send anybody but you, eh? You're the sleepest of the whole bunch."

I yawned and was about to reply sarcastically, when suddenly I saw an old beggarman with long, white hair and tattered clothing, who reminded me forcibly of my recent dream. He seemed to look at me with such sad, pleading eyes that impulsively I stepped toward him.

"Well, where are you, rushing to now?" asked my companion.

"Look at that quaint, picturesque beggar!" I exclaimed.

He looked in the direction indicated and remarked, with an inimitable drawl: "Say, doesn't he look like Rip Van Winkle?"

THE PLATFORM

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness depend upon equal political and economic rights.

In our economic development an industrial revolution has taken place, the individual tool of former years having become the social tool of the present. The individual tool was owned by the worker who employed himself and was master of his product. The social tool, the machine, is owned by the capitalist and the worker is dependent upon him for employment. The capitalist thus becomes the master of the worker and is able to appropriate to himself a large share of the product of his labor.

Capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people; but the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system will necessitate the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare.

The present system of social production and private ownership is rapidly converting society into two antagonistic classes—i. e., the capitalist class and the propertyless class. The middle class, once the most powerful of this great nation, is disappearing in the mill of competition. The issue is now between the two classes' first named. Our political liberty is now of little value to the masses unless used to acquire economic liberty.

Independent political action and the trade union movement are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its political, the other its economic wing, and both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system.

Therefore the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be:

First—The organization of the working class into a political party to conquer the public powers now controlled by capitalists.

Second—The abolition of wage-slavery by the establishment of a national system of co-operative industry, based upon the social or common ownership of the means of production and distribution, to be administered by society in the common interest of all its members, and the complete emancipation of the socially useful classes from the domination of capitalism.

The working class and all those in sympathy with their historic mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America.

The control of political power by the Social Democratic party will be tantamount to the abolition of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting the millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international Socialism; the brotherhood of man. As steps in that direction, we make the following demands:

First—Revision of our federal constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to complete control of government by the people irrespective of sex.

Second—The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

Third—The public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones; all means of transportation, and communication; all water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

Fourth—The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal, and other mines, and all oil and gas wells.

Fifth—The reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

Sixth—The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

Seventh—Useful inventions to be free, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

Eighth—Labor legislation to be national, instead of local, and international when possible.

Ninth—National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.

Tenth—Equal civil and political rights, for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

Eleventh—The adoption of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

Twelfth—Abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

The Social Democratic

Red Book

ORDER IT

PRICE 15 CENTS

Sent postpaid on receipt of price

DEBS PUBLISHING CO.

TERRE HAUTE, IND.

SPLENDID LIFE-LIKE

PORTRAIT

OF

EUGENE V. DEBS

CANDIDATE OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY FOR

PRESIDENT

OF

THE UNITED STATES

SIZE—21 X 28 INCHES, ON GOOD PAPER

Price, 10 Cents, Single Copy

Sent by mail, securely enclosed in tube to insure safe transmission, on receipt of price.

Address, 

CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY,
126 Washington St., Chicago

THE FULL STRENGTH OF APPEAL TO REASON

WILL BE GIVEN TO

DEBS AND HARRIMAN

the ensuing campaign. For purposes of propaganda the following prices are named on bundles to one address:

25 copies weekly, 3 mos.,	\$ 1.50
50 " " " "	3.00
100 " " " "	6.00
250 " " " "	14.50
500 " " " "	27.50
1000 " " " "	49.00

ADDRESS,

APPEAL TO REASON
GIRARD, KANSAS

Pocket Library of Socialism

1. Woman and the Social Problem. By MAY WOOD SIMONS. Shows how the emancipation of woman will only come with the emancipation of man through socialism.
2. The Evolution of the Class Struggle. By WILLIAM H. NORTON. A historical study showing how socialism is coming out of the class struggle.
3. Imprudent Marriages. By ROBERT BLATHEP. A masterly answer to the argument that "prudence" would help the laborer.
4. Packingtown. By A. M. SIMONS. A study of the Union Stock Yards, Chicago; how nature and man are alike scientifically exploited.
5. Realism in Literature and Art. By CLARENCE S. DANNOW. Shows how the workers of modern art and literature are helping on the new social order.
6. Single Tax vs. Socialism. By A. M. SIMONS. Shows the inadequacy of the Single Tax as a remedy for the evils of capitalism.
7. Wage-Labor and Capital. By KARL MARX. The essence of the great philosopher's theory, in his own words.
8. The Man Under the Machine. By A. M. SIMONS. Tells how wage slavery began, what it is today and how the workers are going to free themselves. A condensed handbook of socialism.
9. The Fusion of the Working Class. By REV. CHARLES H. VALL, author of "Modern Socialism," etc.
10. Morals and Socialism. By CHARLES H. VALL. Shows how popular ideas of morals are manipulated in the interest of the capitalist class.
11. Socialist Songs. Sixteen good ones, 8¢ times every one knows.
12. After Capitalism What? By REV. WILLIAM T. BROWN. A logical historical study showing that socialism must come as the result of forces now at work.
13. A Political Quack Doctor. By W. A. COCKE. A socialist view of the "Prohibition" movement.

Daily printed. Five cents each, post-paid.

SPECIAL OFFER—For one dollar we will mail forty copies of the Pocket Library, all of one kind, as assorted as preferred.

SEND ORDERS TO

THEODORE DEBS

126 Washington St., CHICAGO

The Book You Need

PRINCIPLES OF

Scientific Socialism

By Rev. Charles H. Vall

Author "Modern Socialism" and "National Ownership of Railways."

CONTENTS:

The Industrial Revolution. The Analysis of Value. The Origin of Surplus Value. The Advantages of Socialism: Production, Distribution, Elimination of Useless Vocations, Prevention of Waste, Elevation of Woman, Proper Care and Training of Children, Efficient Directors, Solution of the Monetary Question, Abolition of Taxation, Simplification of Government, Benefits to Capitalists, Benefits to Laborers. The Evidence of the Moral Strength of Socialism: Its Spirit and Aim; Abolition of Business Dishonesty; Restriction of Divorce; Prevention of Prostitution; Elimination of Crime; Prevention of Intemperance, Insanity, etc. Poverty—Its Cause and Cure. Wage Slavery vs. Chattel Slavery. Rent and Interest. The Law of Wages. The Law of Progress. Industrial Depression and Commercial Crises. The Problem of Labor-Saving Machinery. Popular Economic Errors: That Value is Determined by Capitalist Cost of Production; that the Interests of Laborers and Capitalists are identical; that Labor is Better Off To-day Than Ever Before; that Cheap Prices are Beneficial to Labor; that Foreign Markets are Beneficial to Labor; that Luxury is Beneficial to Labor; that Land Nationalization Would Solve the Social Question; that Extravagance is the Chief Cause of Economic Want; that Socialism Would Thwart Inventions and Improvements; that Socialism Would Destroy Individually. Conclusion and Index. 12mo, 228 Pages; Paper, 35¢; Cloth, \$1.00.

SEND ORDERS TO

THEODORE DEBS, 126 Washington St., CHICAGO

BRANCH SUPPLIES

Membership Cards (per 100)	1.00
Membership Applications (100)	.25
Constitutions (each)	.50

Send orders with cash to Theodore Debs, 126 Washington Street, Chicago. No supplies sent on credit.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

THIRD YEAR. No. 6.

CHICAGO, ILL., U.S.A., SATURDAY, JULY 28, 1900.

Whole No. 108.

FIRST NATIONAL CAMPAIGN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Plant High the Banner of Social
Democracy and March Forward
to Victory This Year

CONDITIONS TO CONFRONT

A Change from One Capitalist Party to
Another is Not a Change of Play,
But Only of Players

History repeats itself; again four years have rolled by and we, the citizens of the United States, are once more confronted with a presidential campaign. The professional politicians of both old parties organize their forces, manufacture issues, work out platforms, shape party pledges, give birth to campaign catchwords, flood the country with "educational" campaign literature and oral eloquence, denounce violently their opponents and profess their great love and admiration for the dear (Oh, how dear!) common people. The thoughtless crowd, the cattle of the ballot box, shout and whoop and sell their rights of primogeniture for a mess of nasty pottage, to either one or the other of the old parties. After the campaign is over there may be some change in the personal constituency of the actors on the political arena, some shifting and readjustment of the stage decorations. The play enacted, however, will remain ever the same—the exploitation of the unorganized many by the organized few, the merciless exploitation of the weak by the strong, the honest and simple-minded by the crafty and unscrupulous.

Did I say ever? No—not forever, but as long as any of the old parties, immaterial which, will be in power. And that cannot last very long. The middle class parties have no vital principles to incorporate and a political party without vital principles is like a body without a soul.

The dense ignorance and criminal good-nature of the people may for a short while allow the old parties to preserve the outward appearance of life. The mone-tel-upharsin of the old parties is, however, written with fiery letters on the walls of the modern Beshazzars of Commercialism and Capitalism.

The Social Democratic Party is starting its first national campaign under the brightest auspices. There is a demand, a pressing need for a great, honest third, national political party, a party which will unite all enlightened, public-spirited men who are opposed to our present commercial and capitalistic system and its corollaries: the management of national affairs by the hirelings of the capitalistic and commercial classes in the interests of these classes solely, and to the detriment of all the rest of the people, of toiling humanity without distinction of class.

The strength of the capitalistic parties in our days is not in that class itself, but in the ignorance and indolence of the people in general and especially in the utter demoralization of the capitalistic mobs.

By the term capitalistic mob we mean the thoughtless crowd of people who—far from being capitalists themselves and from having a ghost of a show to become capitalists—are always ready to back up the institution of commercialism and capitalism out of sheer stupidity and despicable success worship. The power of the pro-slavery party of the South, just before the abolition, consisted likewise in the slavish trend of mind of the thoughtless crowd of retainers who could never afford to own a slave themselves. This ignorance, this indolence and demoralization were the most formidable enemies of party for abolition of black slavery.

And the same ignorance, indolence and demoralization are most formidable enemies of the Social Democratic Party, the party that undertakes the task of abolishing the slavery of the white wage workers.

The surest way to victory for the Social Democratic party is by public enlightenment, and the best means are agitation and propaganda.

Let us shake up the torpor of the masses; let us mold and shape public opinion according to the national and moral principles of Social Democracy; let us direct public sentiment toward the right channel in favor of the disinherited and down-trodden, but most worthy part of humanity, the toiling classes; let us arouse public consciousness to the absurdities and wrongs of our present social and economic system; let us appeal to the highest and noblest instincts of human nature; let us point out the inherent solidarity of the interests of the human race and the futility of all class distinctions; let us rise to the level

of the aspirations of the greatest leaders of humanity and the victory will be won.

The Social Democratic party enters into its first national campaign with no sordid aims and purposes of office-hunting or self-aggrandizement. The party leader (are there any? It seems to me that every member of the Social Democratic party is a leader) have no personal ambitions, except the ambition of a great inspiring cause.

The Social Democratic party is fully aware that the presidential election is the axis around which all the political corruption of the country moves. It considers the office of the president in its present shape a menace to the freedom of the people and is certainly opposed to the present system of election by proxy. It detests all the tactics of the old parties. It uses the presidential campaign as an excellent opportunity for missionary work. It has to fight the old parties with their own weapons on their own ground.

The Social Democratic party has to open the eyes of the people to the evils of our present public institutions; to unmask fools, who parade as sages; rogues, pretending to be models of honesty; charlatans, who pretend to be eminent specialists; show the hideous feature of salaried back-yard politicians posing as public servants, to show the difference between the purposeless bunning of superfluous officeholders and earnest work in the interest of the community, it has to lift the curtain of many a snug corner of our administration, honey-combed with corruption.

The Social Democratic party has a great deal to do in that line of work. At the same time, however, it has to keep before the eyes of the people the great principles and ideals it represents. The destructive and constructive work of the party must go on at the same time.

Let us plant our banner high and keep it pure from all the pollution of political compromises and trickery.

A clean work needs clean hands. Great principles and lofty ideas demand a great and lofty man as their representative. Such a man is the presidential candidate of the Social Democratic party—Eugene V. Debs.

A truer heart and purer mind, a more sincere friend of toiling humanity has not been born on earth in our country and century.

Let us, then, all do our very best in order to insure as many votes for him as we possibly can. Every vote cast for Debs means a vote for the improvement of the prospects of our own nation; means a vote for a better, nobler, more human life; a vote for a better future for the coming generation.

A FABLE

There was once a burglar who broke into the residence of a Doctor of Divinity, with the purpose of benevolently assimilating sundry valuable articles possessed by the reverend gentlemen. While the burglar was engaged in this task, he was surprised by the clergyman, whom he at once covered with a revolver to prevent him from making an outcry.

The pious man resolved to appeal to the burglar's conscience, and exhorted him to refrain from the intended robbery, telling him that if he persisted in his evil ways, he would lose his precious soul. "That would have been true," replied the burglar, "had you preached it to me before I pried open your window; but now that I have commenced the theft, these moral questions have nothing to do with the case."

The clergyman was greatly shocked at this reply, and the lack of morality which it indicated. "My dear brother," he said, "do you not know that it is always wrong to commit a crime? Repent while there is yet time. While the lamp holds out to burn the vilest sinner may return."

The burglar shook his head. "A year ago," he said, "your appeal might have moved me to repentance. But it is now too late."

"Oh, sinful man," cried the D. D., "what horrid crime have you committed that your conscience is so dulled?"

"This is my first offence," replied the burglar. "But last Sunday I heard you preach a sermon about 'Our Duty in the Transvaal.' I then learnt from your holy lips that when crime was once begun, it was the duty of every patriotic citizen to assist in completing it. As I am nothing if not patriotic, I will thank you to help me pack your silverware in my bag. Otherwise I will be compelled by manifest destiny to fill you full of lead."—Justice.

That man is blest
Who does his best
And leaves the rest;
Then, do not worry.

At present 11,000 people in Liverpool are living in 3,288 cellars, independent of 6,532 cellars under houses. Sixty-five cellar dwellings were closed last year, and during the past ten years 981 of them have been closed to human habitation.

JACK POTTS' OBSERVATIONS ON THINGS AND PERSONS

Brother Passmore is Heard From
Again—Is After the Bishops
Who Get Rich

INTERESTING TO WORKINGMEN

Servile Tools of Mammon Flayed by a Man
of Courage and Convictions—Workers
Arouse to Call of Duty

Mr. Workingman, here is what Matthew Arnold, one of England's greatest literary men, said a few years ago: "Ask yourself if you do not sometimes feel in yourselves a sense that, in spite of the strenuous efforts for good of so many excellent persons amongst us, we begin somehow to flounder and to beat the air; that we seem to be finding ourselves stopped on this line of advance and on that, and to be threatened with a sort of standstill. It is that we are trying to live on with a social organization of which the day is over." That is just what the Socialist has been telling you all these years!

Hear what General Booth of the Salvation Army has to say: "I am quite satisfied that these multitudes, these starving, hungry crowds, will not be saved in their present circumstances. All the clergymen, tract distributors, sick visitors and every one else who cares about the salvation of the poor must make up their minds to that. The poor must be helped out of their present social miseries." Certainly no one can accuse General Booth of being one of "those terrible Socialists!"

The great Standard Oil university, the University of Chicago, will have a Russian chair. Certain Polish citizens object, declaring that the Polish language is far superior to that of the Muscovite, while the literature of Poland is incomparably finer than that of Russia. The Chicago Daily News of July 11 says concerning this matter: "The Pole was a man of refinement, culture and advancement when the Russian was still a fierce semi-barbarian of half-Asiatic mold. It is only natural that the Polish language should be richer, that the Polish literature should far surpass that of the conquering Slav." But the News urges that there are other reasons not literary or intellectual for a preference for Russian; and what do you suppose those reasons are? Why, "the great and growing bond of commerce between Russia and America." No matter in what direction you go, you bump against the Commercial Instinct. In fact that same Commercial Instinct is the greatest obstruction today in the path of the world's progress, and it must be removed. The press of the United States—yes, and of the world—knows this, but it is handcuffed and don't dare tell the truth; truth-telling might curtail the advertising! You must depend on the reform portion of the press, and especially Socialist publications, for the truth. The latter are edited and supported by poor men and are not conducted for "what there is in it." Everything these days is subservient to the Commercial Instinct. Preachers and educators bow to it. That's why the workingman don't hustle out to church!

"Rev. Mr. Passmore Wields a Meat Ax on the Methodist Bishops," is the heading of a salty five-column article in the Denver Sunday Post of June 24 by Rev. F. F. Passmore, who was fired from the church because he is a Socialist. It shows that the dear Methodist Episcopal brethren are keenly alive to the Commercial Instinct! Mr. Passmore says that the keynote of the conference was sounded when General Rushing (appropriate name!) published in the Daily Christian Advocate that "One of the crying needs of the Methodist church today is more millionaires and multi-millionaires." Bishop Joyce prayed: "Lord bless our men of wealth," but he didn't pray for the widows, orphans and toiling millions. Probably the bishop had in mind that cynical saying, "God bless the rich; the poor can hustle." According to Mr. Passmore a bishop's job is a "snap" and bishops are thrifty: "In a world where there are so many people needy, in want, suffering, and starving no man can be a rich man and a Christian. The old prophets were not rich men; Christ was not a rich man; the apostles were not rich men. No, these men were not rich men, neither did they uphold the saloons, slavery, gambling and oppressors. But Bishop Ames died worth \$400,000; Bishop Simpson died worth \$100,000; Bishop Peck died worth a good fortune; Bishop Newman died worth \$50,000. These men were rich, for they stood by the slaveholders and other rich oppressors."

Mr. Passmore thinks the church had

the opportunity of the ages at this conference, but it chose the evil side, and "Ichabod is now written over the doors of her churches, colleges and universities," which translated means that the church's name is "Dennis." He says the rules of the church forbid its members to rent premises for liquor houses or to drink liquor; yet when McKinley, who is a member of the church, visited the conference in 1896 the assemblage rose to its feet in a huge demonstration of its joyous approval, notwithstanding the fact that at that very time he had property in Canton rented for saloon purposes.

Mr. Passmore goes on to say that "I once had great respect for the bishops, elders and ministers in general, for I thought that they were true and courageous men of lofty souls who had risen to the sublime heights of unselfishness, and were what they professed to be; but after I joined the conference I met them in many places, and under different conditions when I found that they were false men, living two lives; wolves in sheep's clothing, hypocrites; I found them as Christ said of the hypocrites of His day: 'This people draweth nigh unto Me with their mouth, and honor Me with their lips; but their heart is far from Me.' It is sad to think that our bishops and the leading preachers of the church are living for the fine linen, purple and broadcloth that they can wear, and the best cuts of beefsteak they can eat. They live and move and have their being on no higher plane than the common worldling, politician and saloon man."

Well, they chose to worship Mammon rather than God, and "Verily they have their reward," Jesus said.

I have no quarrel with true religion, and I revere the names of Jesus and Buddha. But the baseball bat is kept for "churchianity"—sectarianism.

A sergeant of the United States army just back from the Philippines says that the natives are "too lazy to work." Well, just wait until the white man gets his infamous industrial burden adjusted to their backs; then they will be mighty glad to hustle perennially for a bare existence!

"Corporations have no souls." Neither do most of their managers, apparently; but they do have intestines!

A man is "class-conscious" when he recognizes the great fact that there are just two classes of people—non-owners and owners. The latter already possess 83 per cent of the wealth, and they have both feet in the trough after the remaining 17 per cent!

Mr. Workingman, open the windows of your soul and let the fresh air of industrial freedom in!

JACK POTTS.

NO WORKINGMAN SHOULD MARRY

"No workingman should marry or aspire to be the head of a family of children."

This statement was made by a capitalist in Chicago, when, in the pending labor troubles there, a body of workingmen represented to him that their wives and children are suffering for the necessities of life.

The words of the capitalists have been heralded over the country as sensational. Yet the declaration they convey is as matter-of-fact as the wages paid labor.

The tendency is always to pay a man just enough to keep him working. And this does not include his family. Wages are fixed by the necessities of single men. The percentage of single men at work is always greater than the percentage of married men. Statistics show this. If one of the latter refuse to work on what the former can live—very well; let him go. There is a single man to take his place and glad to get it. So competition tends to keep down wages to the cost of the single man's living. Here is where women acquire a natural personal interest in the wage question. If a workingman marries, his poor girl, business takes no heed of the fact that it costs more for two to live than one. When the baby comes, business, absolutely indifferent to the fact, does not raise your husband's wages. What business does in effect is to say to man: "Here are your wages. We pay for what we get out of you. That's business. The rest is your own affair. Be reasonable and live alone. Take a wife, pinch, squirm, struggle, fall. It's all the same so long as your pick ax falls regularly, so long as you have breath enough and heart enough to work."

Thus wages embody the plain everyday doctrine of wealth concerning the wisdom of marriage among toilers. In the war of capital against labor a natural right of woman is assailed—her right to be a happy wife and mother.—American Musician.

The Herald will be sent to any address in the United States 26 weeks for 20 cents.

REVIEW AND EXPOSURE OF CAPITALIST WAGE SYSTEM

A Subject of Deep Interest to Every
Wage-Worker in the Land
Read and Consider

WAGES NOT PRICE OF LABOR

The Purpose of Capitalists is to Have Capital
Return to Them as Money
in Greater Magnitude

By Gabriel Deville.

Wages appear to be the price of the labor performed, but this is merely an appearance, as can easily be seen. Wages can in fact only be less than or equal to this price. If the labor performed was worth, let us say, \$2, and if the workman received less than \$2, we would reach the absurd conclusion that labor worth \$2 is worth less than \$2. If, the labor being worth \$2, the laborer gets \$2, what interest would the capitalist have in carrying on such operations? You see, that in any event wages can not be the price of the labor performed. What are they, then?

You ask yourselves how it can be that money, functioning as capital, breeds more money and yield to its proprietor a greater sum than that which he had advanced. Here we have the essential point, and therefore it is this which I am going to explain to you first of all.

The movement of capital in the process of bringing forth surplus value, that is to say, a value over and above its own value, is divided into three periods.

In the first period the capitalist appears as a purchaser on the commodity (or goods) market and on the labor market. His money is converted into goods, warships, raw material and machinery, in a word, into means of production, and into labor power; that is to say, he buys the things and the people which are the elements of production.

In the second period, the capitalist functions as a producer of commodities, and this production produces objects intended for sale.

In the third period, the capitalist becomes a seller of the commodities produced. The purpose that the capitalist keeps ever in view is that his capital, leaving his hands as a sum of money of a given magnitude, shall return to him as a sum of money greater in magnitude. The money is not in his mind expended, but advanced in order that it may grow larger.

When, in the first period, the capitalist buys the means of production and the labor power, there is an exchange. Can the exchange be the source of surplus value? Let us look into this.

If a man who has plenty of wheat, but who needs money and has it not, trades with another who has plenty of money, but is in want of wheat, a value of \$100 in wheat for \$100 in money, from the point of view of utility there is in this transaction an advantage for both of them. The exchange in this respect, is a transaction by which each party gains. But, from the joint point of view of wealth, the exchange of \$100 in wheat for \$100 in money is an increase of value for neither of the parties, since each of them was in possession, before the exchange, of a value equal to that which he had afterward. The same amount of value remains constantly in the hands of the same party; only he holds it successively under different forms. In the same way, when we exchange a \$20 bank note for four \$5 gold pieces, it may serve our convenience better, but there is no change in the quantity of value.

Of course certain capitalists may cheat those who trade with them; they may, in the first period buy for less than they are worth the things and the persons they require in order to produce, and they may, in the third, sell their products at a price above their value. Yet, if there is there, as you will shortly see, a displacement of values to the profit of individuals, there is no creation of value; there is no surplus value.

Suppose that Peter is very shrewd and has few scruples, and that he succeeds in cheating Paul and James. Peter buys from Paul coloring material which he needs for his dye-house, and pays \$80 for materials which are worth \$100; there is a profit of \$20 for the first period. In the third, which is the period of the sale of the products, he sells to James for \$120 dyed fabrics which are worth \$100; here is a second profit of \$20. That in this way Peter makes a profit of \$40, there can be no doubt; but let us not look at the thing solely from the point of view of Peter, let us also look at it from a general point of view.

Before these transactions we had \$80 in money in the hands of Peter, \$10 in coloring materials in the hands of Paul and \$120 in money in the hands of James, making a total of \$300. After the operations of Peter, we have \$120 in

(Continued on Fourth page)

Social Democratic Herald

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board
FREDERIC HEATH, Chairman
SEYMOUR STEPMAN, Secretary
EUGENE V. DEBS, National Sec'y-Treas.
CORINNE S. BROWN

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, 50 cents. Six months, 25 cents. No papers sent to any one on credit. If, without having subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and no bill will follow. Foreign subscriptions \$1.00.

Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

A. S. EDWARDS, Editor
THEODORE DEBS, National Sec'y-Treas.
126 Washington St., Chicago.

108 is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 109 your subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, JULY 28, 1900.

DEBS STANDS TO THE END

A week ago reference was made in these columns to a press dispatch sent out from Chicago to the effect that about Oct. 1 Eugene V. Debs, candidate of the Social Democratic party for president, would withdraw in favor of the Democratic party and W. J. Bryan. It hardly seemed necessary to say that this report was a miserable falsehood, without a shadow of truth to sustain it. Because it is false, and on that account serves the dishonest purposes of capitalist politicians and pressmen of both the old parties, it has been given great prominence during the week and persistently written about as if it were true. We may, therefore, with propriety, again characterize this Democratic canard as it deserves. It reveals the design of the capitalist press and is an index of its program. Up to this time we have been blotted out of the press, the policy being to utterly ignore us. But the Social Democratic party is so persistently in evidence in every quarter that it cannot be ignored; hence, the party and its candidate must be lied about so as to mislead and demoralize its adherents, and herein is the animus of the Chicago story, which, upon the face of it, is too absurd to merit serious treatment.

As a Socialist and the candidate of the Social Democratic party, Eugene V. Debs stands opposed to all capitalist parties. Socialists and all in sympathy with them who will this year cast their first ballot for Socialism, may rest assured that Comrade Debs is in this contest until it closes, and if the working class is true to itself in the approaching election and those who toil for a mere wage dribble consider their best interests, every solitary one of them will cut loose from all the old parties and give their support to the party that stands for Socialism, that is to say, the abolition of the wage system and inauguration of economic freedom.

The Democratic party is not opposed to the capitalist competitive system. There is not a word in its platform against wage slavery. In no essential particular does it differ from the Republican party, and no wage worker ought to be deceived by its wordy and meaningless declarations. The vital, commanding issues of the hour, all growing out of capitalist production and never to be solved except by the adoption of Socialism, are studiously obscured and the platform adopted with so much noise at Kansas City is entirely satisfactory to Croker and his crew of trust-smashing patriots.

The Social Democratic party is equally opposed to all capitalist parties. Impartial in its opposition, it can have no choice. It has none.

Four years ago Eugene V. Debs supported Bryan and the Democratic party. After the election a number of the leaders met at Chicago and among other things it was agreed that "Debs and his ilk were largely responsible for Bryan's defeat and such Socialists, anarchists, etc., must be read out of the party and gotten rid of, or the respectable elements will be driven out of it."

These same gentlemen are today smilingly and whisperingly assuring Socialists that the Democratic party is "strongly Socialistic" and will surely "accomplish the Socialist's desire." They have forgotten that "Debs and his ilk" were largely "responsible for Bryan's defeat" four years ago, as they then declared, and would now have the voters believe that "about Oct. 1 Debs will withdraw in favor of Bryan." The fact is, and the working class of this country should know it by this time, the Democratic leaders will declare for anything, promise anything, and manufacture false reports to catch voters and capture the spoils of office. It is impossible for them to understand that a man can stand immovable for a principle and hold in lofty scorn and contempt the entire bribing power of plutocracy.

There will be no withdrawal and no retreat will be sounded by the party. From every section of the country come assurances of enthusiastic support, and we are within the bounds of modest statement when we say that November will bring a revelation to capitalism and its subservient parties.

AN IMPRESSIVE CEREMONY

In the beautiful cemetery for pet animals and birds at Dellwood-on-the-Hudson a big brown and white collie dog, for many years the pampered pet of Mrs. John T. Stephens of New York, was buried a few days ago. A marble headstone bearing the collie's name and age stands above his grave.

When the pet died the grief of his friends was very great. He was placed in a casket lined with white satin and friends placed flowers on his coffin.

Many of them shed tears over the body of the pet. The casket was hidden beneath flowers, and beside it his mate, another big brown and white collie, sat and mournfully howled.

In one of those cemeteries of the living, where the poor outcasts of humanity swarm in Chicago, the home of millionaires and churches, a poor and aged woman, too feeble to help herself and too proud to beg, was found by the police in a dying state. She had not tasted food for two days, her haggard face and emaciated form bore evidence to the terrible suffering she had endured. She died. No marble headstone marks the resting place of this American mother. She was laid in no coffin lined with delicate fabrics. No friends were there to place flowers upon her grave—only a stranger did that. This homeless woman, crushed and heart-broken by the relentless operations of an inhuman system, died unwept with none to do reverence to her womanly sacrifice and service in a world for two thousand years under the "benign influences of the Christian religion."

Lena Berker, eleven years old, left her home last week in Chicago to search for somebody to buy her services for a living wage. Her efforts were unsuccessful, nobody wanted her. Discouraged and sick, she slept in doorways and picked her meals from alleys until a policeman found her half starved last Sunday night, when prayers were being said in a thousand city churches. Next morning the system we live under did the best it could, sent her to one of its institutions with other outcasts.

And down in North Carolina thousands of children are being worked in the mills without education and worked from 6 o'clock in the evening until 6 o'clock in the morning for 10 cents a night! Human flesh is cheap, but pet collies come high.

None wept over the grave of our unknown mother.

The dead collie's mate sat by the casket and mournfully howled!

THE VACANT CHAIR

Observation discloses the fact that in the offices about town are many vacant chairs, until lately occupied by typewriters, clerks, etc., and that the employers themselves are doing what little work needs attention. This state of affairs is an index to the future; work is slackening up; jobs are hard to get and easy to lose. The vacant chairs will soon be dust covered.

But the clerk, stenographer and typewriter will have plenty of company, for there are vacant places at the bench and the lathe, and in shop, mill and factory the toiling masses begin to realize the emptiness of the prosperity babble and the uncertainty of their days under capitalist employment. The call of the hour upon Social Democrats is imperative. The duty is to push the propaganda for Socialism now and to save the wage working class from the folly of supporting with their votes either Bryanism or McKinleyism—both of which, when correctly interpreted, mean Capitalism.

NOTES AND COMMENT

Jerry Simpson will soon be left alone with his real friends, the Bryan Democrats. Every prominent populist with conscience and intelligence is coming into the Social Democratic party. Seattle, take notice: The latest arrival is Ex-Governor L. D. Lewellyn of Kansas.

Mr. Pitts, of the Commercial Travelers' Association, thinks the traveling men will this year vote the Bryan ticket from the standpoint of self-preservation. Some of them will, but we know a large number who will do the more sensible thing, from the standpoint of protecting themselves and their families, vote the Social Democratic ticket.

Let us see: If United States senators were elected by popular vote, how would that improve the condition of the fellows who work for a dollar a day? Perhaps Mr. Bryan will tell us on Labor day. Or, if the corporations are to be protected "in their legitimate interests," what effect will that have on the fellows who work for corporations at a dollar a day? What real issues does the Democratic party face, anyhow?

If the average wage increased from \$248 in 1850 to \$400 in 1890, the workingman is better off, isn't he? Wait a minute: The wealth per capita of the working class in 1850 was \$239.50, but in 1890 it was only \$184. But the wealth per capita of the parasite class went up

from \$1,293 to \$8,085. So, you see, the workingman gets only enough to keep him alive today; what is called a "rise in wages" is really a decline, when measured by the increased production, because, you know, all wealth is produced by labor and the producing power of the nation increased fivefold from 1850 to 1880. Have you anywhere heard of workmen receiving a fivefold increase of wages?

Chauncey Depew has made the discovery that this great American nation produces \$2,000,000,000 worth more than it can consume. But he has not yet learned what Socialists have, that this surplus represents a part of the values stolen from the wealth producing class by the Capitalist system, that the reason the surplus exists is that workmen are so poorly paid they can't buy back what they produce.

The Republican national committee sent out in 1896, for the purpose of deluding workmen into voting for McKinley, 130 carloads of literature. The National Campaign Committee of the Social Democratic party, now organized, would like to send out one full carload this year as an antidote to Republican (and Democratic) rubbish. One full carload would do the trick. Contributions may be sent to Campaign Committee, S. D. P., 126 Washington Street, Chicago.

An advertisement in the New York Herald for a young lady to do clerical work, at a salary of \$3.50 per week, brought over 500 replies. Another advertisement in the same newspaper, for a woman able and willing to do housework, and who would like a home where she would be treated according to the Golden Rule, received only one reply, and that was from a wealthy old lady who evidently got into the wrong column, for she begged an interview, offered to give references, and promised the advertiser a good home and the most considerate treatment!

SOCIAL DEMOCRATS HAVE DISTINGUISHED ENDORSEMENT

John Brisben Walker has an article in the July Cosmopolitan, on "The Trusts and the End," which raises the question why he is not supporting the Social Democratic party and lending the influence of his magazine to the advocacy of its principles. If Mr. Walker believes in the socialization of the trusts and a democratic administration of industry for the benefit of all the people, he is a Social Democrat. He says:

"No well-informed man in the business world of today, but believes that with two or three hundred millions at his disposal, a brain as able as some of those now in active careers may in turn attack and crush one leading business interest after another until even the millionaires may be swept from the field and practically all the wealth of the country concentrated in one great corporation."

Mr. Walker further says:

"First—The trusts are in the direction of organization of the methods of production."

Second—Nearly all the benefits of these magnificent organizations now go to a few individuals.

"Third—It is contrary to the best interests of the public and dangerous to a republican form of government that these profits should continue to accumulate in such percentages."

"Fourth—How are we going to bring the benefits of scientific organization into the hands of the many instead of the few?"

He declares that there is only one remedy—and that is the remedy proposed by Social Democrats. His concluding words are as follows:

"Here we are, then. Eighty millions of people under a form of government, which may be denominated a republic tempered by the use of money at the polls, up against the question of the distribution of wealth. Let it go on upon present lines and in ten years more not all the intelligence of the nation can provide a remedy. And is there any remedy today? One only—government ownership. . . . I challenge any reasoning mind taking up this subject without regard to past prejudices to arrive at any other goal than public ownership. . . . Let us brace up and look the situation fully in the face. Either it must continue, and it is every moment growing more like an avalanche, or it must end in public ownership."

NOMINATIONS FOR EXECUTIVE BOARD

The following nominations have been received for the new National Executive Board:

By Branch 4, Illinois.—Seymour Stedman, Frank Roderus, Mrs. Corinne Brown, W. C. Horgan, J. H. Greer, Illinois; V. L. Berger, Wisconsin; Margaret Haile, Massachusetts; J. W. Kelley, Indiana; A. W. Ricker, Iowa.

By Branch 1, Illinois.—Mrs. Corinne Brown, Seymour Stedman, J. H. Greer, Frank Roderus, Jacob Winnen, Illinois; V. L. Berger, Wisconsin; Margaret Haile, Massachusetts; J. W. Kelley, Indiana; A. W. Ricker, Iowa.

Subscribers will find their expiration number on wrapper. Prompt renewal is requested.

THE FARMER AND HIS HORSE

A Fable by Madison Warder

A certain farmer had a horse, which was very unruly. The name of the horse was Trust. It was all the time breaking into the farmer's corn field, eating all it could, and destroying much. The farmer was sore, perplexed, and could not think of a plan to stop the ravages of the horse—he let the animal run free.

At last he took counsel with the wise men of the land to determine what should be done. These had many and varied suggestions to offer, and each thought his plan could control the beast.

Said a Governor: "The remedy lies in Publicity. The horse should be required to make regular statements of his capitalization—that is, of the capacity of his stomach; and of his profits—that is, of the corn he eats. Then if his capacity is overestimated, and he eats too much, other horses will come and compete with him. He, therefore, cannot monopolize the field."

But the farmer was slow to believe. Said a Presidential candidate:

"I have here a little bell, called License, which I will hang around his neck; and we will require him to promise before he goes into the field that he will not eat too much corn. If he breaks his promise, we will take off the bell, and encourage other horses to compete with him."

But the farmer had his doubts. Said the President of a College:

"What he needs is Social Ostracism. Drop his acquaintance. Give him the cold shoulder when you meet him. Don't invite him to your barn to partake of your hospitality. That will in time cure him of his greedy propensities."

The farmer was incredulous. Said a Supreme Court Judge:

"You cannot molest him. He is exercising his constitutional prerogatives. You cannot infringe upon his vested rights."

The farmer despaired. Said a New-idea Socialist:

"Let us catch him and put upon his back the harness of Public Ownership. Then we will set him to raising more corn."

But the others cried: "Visionary! Crank! Anarchist! You are crazy! You would overthrow society!" And they heaped much ridicule upon him. Yet the farmer began to think.

UTOPIA, OR THE IDEAL STATE

The stress of life as we know it in our selfish community, is so great for all of us that one has a longing for existence without worry and with means for the enjoyment of life. But the condition that would satisfy some would fail to meet the approval of others. Is there any way to change the present condition of life, from our present selfishness? Probably not. Can any one hundred persons agree upon an ideal that would be acceptable tomorrow, or any time afterwards?

Not long ago an able man said: "We are going charity mad and our sympathy for misfortunes is making more beggars." The intention of those who give charity is, in most cases, to do good, with the idea of moving the world on in the direction of Utopia, an ideal state, where there is no misery or want. This idea is a noble one, but will not accomplish the purpose under our selfish system. Agreeable employment with equitable distribution will sooner do it.

Are there not men today who tell us of the great, good and wise men of a hundred years ago? Who gave us examples of unselfishness, modesty, truth and integrity, in poor comparison with men now living? There are men living now who are equally as good in morals, as were our ancestors, but are now in the minority, therefore have not the influence to counteract the motives of selfishness as formerly, the great cause of undermining all the other virtues of civilization.

Suppose that a hundred years ago some prophet had predicted that in the beginning of the twentieth century we could travel with safety and comfort 500 miles in a day and night on land; and nearly the same on the ocean to other countries; receiving news of important happenings from most any part of the world in one day; that the heating, cooking and lighting in houses would be done without fire; houses built twenty stories high and no climbing of stairs required; machines built that could talk and sing perhaps better than some men or women; that the coming of storms and cold would be known in advance; that the human body could be made transparent to see broken bones, diseased tissue and other substances; that pain would be prevented in operating on an arm, leg, eye or any part of the body; in fact all varieties of inventions introduced in that time.

If any one had suspected then that such discoveries and conveniences could be brought to such perfection as they are, the people then would have wished to live and see it and enjoy the ideal state; yet we who live and have them all consider them as necessary to life as air and water, and appear sometimes to be no nearer the ideal state than our ancestors were. This selfishness on our part is the stumbling block toward the ideal state; if that were done away with, the ideal state would be close at hand. Mere knowledge is not the ideal con-

dition. Utopia is the perfected character. This will make a perfected society with ideal environments.

History teaches us that for hundreds of years in Europe, and nearly a hundred years in this country has been a continual effort to improve the condition of the people by laws, regulation, freedom here, suppression there, to organize into an ideal state. Yet who dares to express an honest conviction in Europe on any important matter? The slightest disturbance is liable to bring on a continental war.

In each presidential election in this country the same state of affairs exists, and why? Each nation wants the whole world for a market for its surplus products. Where there is no demand for work there is not much to eat. Utopia is that condition where one can do most for others, where the pleasure comes from active and sympathetic interest for the comfort and well being of those not so fortunate as others. Any other ideal is scarcely worth striving for.

H. H. MEYER.

Comrade Ricker at Work

Mr. A. W. Ricker, of Lone Tree, Ia., state organizer for the Social Democratic party, has been in the city since Monday night arranging for the state convention of Iowa Socialists, which is to be held here on Friday, August 10. Exclusive of the old S. L. P., which has been organized in this state for four years, and is amalgamated with the movement, the Social Democracy has active organizations in nearly all counties east of Des Moines, all the work of less than two months. Among those who are known throughout the state and are connected with the movement, may be mentioned Prof. Geo. D. Herron, of Grinnell, now traveling in Europe, but who will return for the campaign; Hon. Chas. A. Lloyd, people party candidate for governor three years ago, Rev. Chas. E. Brecken, of Muscatine, prominently identified with the state federation of labor, John L. Rice of Monroe county, of the mine workers, J. B. Welzenbach, of Davenport, of the S. L. P., and a host of union leaders of more or less local renown in their own cities.—Oskaloosa (Ia.) Herald.

A Bricklayer for Governor

The Salt Lake Tribune says of Comrade Martin Wright, Social Democratic candidate for governor of Utah: "The nominee of the Social Democratic party for governor of Utah, was born in the city of Providence, R. I., July 1, 1849, of Yankee and English parentage. By trade he is a bricklayer of the trades union kind, of the international and local type. He came to Utah in the spring of 1876; has resided here in Utah since that time."

"He has resided in Mt. Pleasant seventeen years, and lost his first wife here nine years ago."

"Mr. Wright is a good citizen and a hard working man, and a man who, when once convinced he is on the right track, puts forth every effort to do what he considers his duty. While Mr. Wright fully realizes he stands no show of election, he says his interest in the cause is as sincere as any man's could be."

INTERNATIONAL OUTLOOK

The strike of London dockers still continues, but, Justice says, there appears little likelihood of any other unions coming out in support of them.

The only elective body at Gibraltar is the Chamber of Trade. The Republica Social at Valencia states that four Socialist workmen have been elected members.

The Austrian Socialist party has just issued a manifesto calling for the adoption of universal suffrage throughout the empire. A large number of this manifesto has been issued.

M. Mauss writes in Le Mouvement Socialiste on the Transvaal war, pointing out how it was caused by capitalists who wished for higher dividends; he also calls attention to the fact that protests have been made by the British Socialists and by the trade unions.

The International Congress of Miners has been holding its annual meeting in Paris. It is reckoned that about 1,200,000 miners were represented. About half of these were English and Scotch. There are about 130,000 in France, 120,000 in Belgium, 250,000 in Germany and 100,000 in Austria.

At the election at Waldenburg, Germany, the Socialist Sachse has been returned. The election is noteworthy, as the Socialist polled more votes than at the previous election and every effort was made to defeat him. It proves, as Vorwarts says, that the government policy is not as popular as people believe.

In La Revue Socialiste for June, E. Vandervelde, in an article on Socialism and agriculture, shows how in Belgium the small peasant proprietor is becoming extinct. Just as in industry, where the small man is disappearing, so in agriculture the large farm is becoming the rule, as it can be worked much cheaper and better.

Statistics are now published giving the corrected number of votes recorded at the last general election in Italy. The Socialists obtained 215,841 votes; this is a great increase, for in 1897 they only obtained 184,602, and in 1895 only 76,359 votes. The great strength of the party is in the north in Lombardy, Piedmont, Tuscany and Venetia, and their weakest spot is in the south.

On the 24th June a congress of representatives of all the Socialist associations of Holland was held at Amsterdam. The forty-two associations which were represented unanimously voted in favor of a resolution which expressed the determination to unite themselves in one organization. The Socialist Alliance and the Social Democratic Labor party have consequently ceased to exist as separate organizations. In the opinion of Van Kol this unification of the Socialist forces of Holland marks the end of anarchism in that country.

CAUSE OF SOCIALISM IS DISGRACED IN MASSACHUSETTS

"Loyalists" under Bossiam of Carey, Have a Machine and Conduct State Convention and Astonish Old-Party Managers

Do you remember the scene in "Pinafore" where the hero stands in the center of the stage and sings his own praises and his high appreciation of himself, while an admiring crowd of relatives fill up the balance of the stage, hang upon his words and cheerfully chorus at every opportunity, "and so do his sisters and his cousins and his aunts?" It is a number of years since I saw the opera, but the scenes of Sunday, July 8, brought it very vividly to my mind.

The third annual convention of the S. D. P. in Massachusetts met at Paine Memorial Hall, Boston, on July 8. State Secretary Margaret Haile called the convention to order and read the call. From that moment the division in the convention asserted itself. Charles E. Lowell of Whitman was nominated for temporary chairman by those who stood for loyalty to the national organization and for the principles of Democracy, and John C. Chase by the others. The vote resulted in a tie (107 on each side), which the secretary took great pleasure in deciding in favor of the loyal candidate, Comrade Lowell. We started out exactly even in numbers, but very unequal in equipment. This was an instance where God was not on the side of the heaviest battalions, but on the side of the latest improved labor-saving machines, which enabled one person to do the work of 107 and permitted of an admirable division of labor. One man made all the motions, and all that the others had to do was to holler for them and to remember their slates for the credentials and other committees, all of which they faithfully did.

A few days before the convention one of the machine men "peached on his pals"; told us all about the cut-and-dried plans, the slates and the final caucus that was to be held Saturday night at a hotel in Boston. He did not tell which hotel, but we have since learned that it was the Davis House. Most of their work, however, had been done, he informed us, by seeing individuals separately.

Knowing this, and knowing also that the loyal delegates were many of them widely scattered branches and had never seen each other, a few of them who had come into town Saturday evening, in order to be on time Sunday morning, put up at the same hotel in order that they might get acquainted and talk over the situation. In self-defense they had to at least know each other's names.

The moment the temporary organization was completed the labor-saving machine was started up and ran steadily until 8:10 p. m.

You will find it hard to believe, comrades in other states, that every motion, aside from nominations, that was made, with two exceptions, was made by one man; but that is the absolute fact.

Carey's first motion was for a committee of five on credentials, to be appointed from the floor. An amendment was made that to save time the common courtesy of permitting the chair to appoint should be granted. Then Carey got up and in a well-feigned righteous indignation charged that a caucus had been held at the Quincy House by the loyalists the night before, talked about slates and capitalistic politics (!) and cramming things down the throat of the convention (!); he thought it was perfectly awful, and "so did his sisters and his cousins and his aunts." McCarthy replied for the loyalists that they had done nothing but what was perfectly fair and honorable, and made counter charges of caucusing and packing the convention. There the matter dropped and the committee was elected from the floor.

Voted, on motion of Carey, that a committee be elected to receive, sort and count the ballots. Chase, Putney and Willett were elected and got to work.

Voted, on motion of Carey, that a committee of five on rules be elected. They were elected: S. L. Smith, Brockton; Dr. Gibbs, Worcester; J. Spero, Boston; Hoffman, Everett; Coulter and Chase.

Voted, on motion of Carey, that all persons nominated constitute the committee on rules.

Voted, on motion of Carey, that the convention adjourn until 1:30.

Promptly at 1:30 Chairman Lowell called the convention to order.

Some comrade forgot himself and made a motion. It was to the effect that the visitors be requested to retire to the gallery, leaving the floor to the delegates. Carey objected, and the motion was withdrawn.

Report of the tellers on credentials was received, the following committee being elected: Hayman of Haverhill; Wilkinson of Lawrence (which is three miles from Haverhill); Clifford of Jamaica Plain branch (which is also very near to Haverhill, through its leading man, D. M. Chase, a brother of John C.); A. W. Barr of Worcester, and Putney of Somerville.

Voted, on motion of Carey, that the committee on credentials take action immediately and collect the credentials.

Voted, on motion of Carey, that while the committee on credentials is preparing its report the committee on rules be allowed to report, the contesting delegations on both sides to be allowed voice and vote.

Smith of Brockton, for the committee on rules, recommended the following program for the remainder of the day: Report of committee on credentials. Election of permanent officers of the convention, to consist of chairman, vice-chairman, secretary and two assistants. Election of committee on resolutions. Report of same. Election of state committee.

Appointment of committee to invite S. L. P. delegates to this convention; and a rule limiting speeches to five minutes, no member to speak more than once until all have spoken who wish, the leader of the opposition to be allowed five minutes to close the debate. Report accepted.

A collection, amounting to \$32.09, was then taken up to cover expenses of the convention.

On the committee on credentials work was done to make the angels weep, and the labor-saving machine rejoice in the depths of its metallic heart. They accepted four delegates from branches which had not been heard from at headquarters for a year; one from a branch which had only four members enrolled at headquarters in any kind of standing, and is, therefore, not a legal branch; three from a branch which had, before the call was issued, dropped the thirty members whom they represented for non-payment of dues; three others who had been elected at a special meeting called by a man, as chairman, who was not chairman of the branch at all, and so on through the whole list of contests. And they were all seated by the convention, debate having been shut off.

Voted, on motion of Carey, that the report of the committee be accepted as a whole and the delegates seated.

Voted, on motion of Carey, to proceed with the regular order of business as recommended by the committee on rules.

For permanent chairman, John C. Chase of Haverhill and Charles E. Lowell were nominated.

Chase was elected and Lowell was then made vice-chairman.

For permanent secretary the nominees were Margaret Haile, Clifford and Sherman.

Margaret Haile was elected, and it was voted, on motion of Carey, that the other two act as assistants.

Voted, on motion of Carey, to suspend the rules and proceed to the election of a state committee.

Timson of Lynn, Hoffman of Everett and Laird of Brockton were elected tellers.

Again a comrade forgot himself, and moved that the state committee be comprised of eight members elected from this body, and one additional member from each congressional district. Carey promptly amended that we elect a state committee of twelve, to be elected at large, by this convention. The amendment carried.

Twenty-four nominations were made. It was decided to vote by ballot, the twelve highest to be elected.

As soon as the balloting was over and the tellers had retired, it was voted, upon motion of Carey, that the rules be suspended and that a committee of three be appointed to inform the delegates of the S. L. P. that we are now ready to receive them for the purpose of nominating candidates for office, and such other business as may properly come before the body.

The chair appointed Carey, Coulter and Lowell.

In a few moments thirty-eight delegates from the S. L. P. (anti-DeLeon faction) entered the room, headed by a comrade carrying a large red flag, and were received and seated amid applause and cheers.

One of the S. L. P. delegates then moved that this convention indorse Eugene V. Debs for president and a S. D. P. man moved that Job Harriman be indorsed for vice-president. Both motions carried, and "all went merry as a marriage bell."

It was voted, on motion of Carey, that the name under which these candidates stand be the Social Democratic party.

The following state ticket was then nominated, Carey nominating the governor:

For governor—Charles H. Bradley, Haverhill (S. D.).

Lieutenant governor—Geo. H. Wrenn, Springfield (S. L.).

Secretary of state—A. W. Barr, Worcester (S. D.).

Treasurer—Stephen O'Shaughnessy, Boston (S. L.).

Auditor—Frank S. Walsh, Brockton (S. D.).

Attorney general—J. A. Billings, Rockland (S. D.).

Voted, on motion of Carey, that a committee of three be appointed to bring in a list of presidential electors.

While this committee was out, the following platform committee was elected: MacCartney, Putney, Oliver, Mailly, Coulter.

Voted, on motion of Carey, that the question of platform be settled by the platform committee, acting in conjunction with the state committees of the S. L. P. and S. D. P., and whatever they decide upon shall be adopted.

Again a rash comrade made a motion

that a committee on resolutions be now elected. Carey amended that the committee on platform be a committee on resolutions, and that all resolutions be read before this convention without debate and referred to the committee, to be reported back to this meeting tonight. Amendment carried.

Several resolutions were offered, and the committee withdrew to consider them.

Carey then moved that the state committees of the S. D. P. and S. L. P. act jointly. After a brief debate, closed by vociferous calls for the previous question by the machine, the motion was carried, the S. L. P. delegates joining in the vote.

The committee on resolutions recommended the following: "Resolved, that all questions relating to the standing of the party toward national boards, whether the Chicago National Executive Board or the New York 'Unity' Conference Board, be left entirely to the independent action of each branch of the party voting at their several branch meetings; and that we, the S. D. P., without regard to our standing to any executive board, join with the S. L. P. in this convention according to the call of our state committee. That the state committees elected by the S. D. P. and S. L. P. be a joint state committee."

MacCartney brought in a minority report amending the last sentence to read that the two committees "act together as a campaign committee during the coming state and national campaign."

Carey moved the adoption of the majority report. Margaret Haile moved the substitution of the minority report.

And, can you credit it, comrades in other states, this most important resolution of the whole convention was put through without debate! So that you may not lose all respect for the Massachusetts comrades, I ought to explain that it was now about 8 p. m., the delegates had had no supper, and most of them anxious to get off to catch trains. The whole day had been frittered away over trifling routine matters, the convention not being permanently organized until about 6 p. m., and all the important business had to be crowded into an hour or two. The loyal comrades were Social Democrats, and came into the convention expecting it would be carried on with at least a semblance of fairness. It did not take them long to realize that they were up against a labor-saving machine, and they did not know how to deal with it. Seeing its uselessness, many of them gave up the fight, especially as the S. L. P. votes now swelled the majority by thirty-eight. So be lenient with loyalists, comrades.

The previous question was called for, the minority report was put and voted down, though it had generous support. The majority report was put and vociferously carried, the S. L. P. joining in the vote.

The following state committee was declared elected: W. P. Bosworth, W. P. Porter, J. C. Chase, James F. Carey, Addison W. Barr, E. W. Timson, S. E. Putney, M. J. Konikow, A. G. Clifford, A. McDonald, J. W. Sherman and C. E. Lowell.

To sum up the whole proceedings in a word: One man said so; and "so did his sisters and his cousins and his aunts."

MARGARET HAILE,
Secretary of the Convention.

NOTES FROM THE FIELD

Wisconsin comrades will hold their state convention the latter part of August.

Branch 23, Wisconsin, elected officers at its meeting July 25. The branch is in excellent working order.

We note with pleasure that a new publication is to be started at Blum, Texas, to be known as the Southern Socialist, and hope its projectors will meet with success.

The National Campaign Committee is printing leaflets for propaganda to be sold at a low price—cost of getting them to you. Read advertisement and order at once.

Prof. Geo. D. Herron is announced for a course of lectures on moral philosophy and applied Christianity next winter at Avalon College, Trenton, Mo., of which George McA. Miller is president.

Comrade Jos. Jason writes us from Cincinnati that a "Young Men's Socialist League" has been organized. The purpose is to work among young men below 25 years of age and it is believed has a great future.

On Sunday, July 15, Comrade F. J. Hlavacek, editor of Spravednost, organized a club of Bohemian women of the Social Democratic party in the Thirty-first ward of Chicago with nineteen members. He has also organized a new branch of the S. D. P. at Racine, Wis., with eleven members.

A HALF YEAR'S GROWTH.

The semi-annual report now being prepared by the National Secretary shows that from January 1 to June 30, 1900, the increase in membership of the Social Democratic party was over 3,000, an average of more than 500 per month. From present indications we have reason to believe that this splendid growth will be exceeded during the second half of the year.

LOCAL BRANCHES

Notices of Branch Meetings Inserted for 25 Cents per Month

CALIFORNIA

Liberty Branch, San Francisco; holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evening, commencing at 8. Admission free. Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening.

Membership, Social Democratic Herald free to each member, 25 cents per month.

Apply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk street.

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday, afternoon at 3 o'clock at Woodmen's Hall, 1254 Spring St. J. Franco, 704 Barton Ave., Secretary.

Branch No. 5, Alameda, California, holds free public meetings every 2d and 4th Sunday, 8 p. m. at Forsters' Hall, Cor. Park St. and Santa Clara Ave. Business and Educational meetings (for members) 1st and 3rd Mondays, 8 p. m. at 2400 Central Ave. Allan A. Crockett, Secretary, 1610 Walnut St.

COLORADO

Branch No. 1, Denver, meets every Sunday at 8:00 p. m. at 1715 California Ave. Chas. M. Davis, Secretary, 1629 17th Street.

Branch No. 2, Goldenfield, meets every Sunday at 7:30 p. m. at City Hall. Chas. Le Camp, Secretary.

CONNECTICUT

The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at Tura Hall, Rockville, L. Schram, Secretary.

Branch No. 6, New Haven, meets every Wednesday evening, at 8 p. m., at Aurora Hall. C. Volmer, Sec.

Branch No. 4, Rockville, Conn., meets first and third Thursdays at Tura Hall meeting room, Village street. Secretary, Richard Niederwieser, Box 780.

ILLINOIS

Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 52 Dearborn St.

Branch No. 1, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening, Thomas Kirwin, Secretary, 2504 Wentworth Ave.

Branch No. 2 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays at 2 p. m. at Nagl's Hall, 606 Blue Island Ave. Vaclav Jelinek, Secretary.

Branch No. 3 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Mondays at 8 p. m. in Dander's place, 1080 W. 14th place, Joseph Dander, Secretary.

Branch No. 5, Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays of each month at Andr. Muska's, 40 Spring St. Paul Chlapacka, Secretary, 3844 Huble St.

Branch No. 6 (German), Chicago, meets every first Saturday of each month at 8 o'clock at the first Hall, 535 Blue Island Ave. near 18th St. Albin Geisler, Secretary, 728 W. 30th St.

Branch No. 8 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays, at 9 a. m., at 502 Lino Street. J. A. Amroz, Secretary, 494 W. 30th St.

Branch No. 9, Chicago, meets at 11:30 W. 62nd St., first and third Sundays at 3 p. m. Roswell H. Johnson, Secretary, 632 E. 57th St.

INDIANA

Branch No. 6, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichwein's Hall, corner Market and Noble Sts.

IOWA

Branch No. 2, Hiteam, meets every fourth Friday in the month at opera house. S. B. Jamieson, chairman. James Fisher, organizer; Joseph Schullcraft, secretary.

KENTUCKY

Branch No. 4, Bellevue, meets 1st and 3rd Sunday, at 2 p. m.; and 2nd and 4th Wednesday, at 8 p. m. at 91 Fairfield Ave. We will aim to make it interesting for all. Henry Listerman, Sec., 142 Foote Ave.

MARYLAND

Branch No. 1, Baltimore, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m. at Carpenter's Hall, 560 E. Baltimore St. Public invited.

Branch No. 2, Baltimore, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at Wessel's Hotel, 228 W. Camden St. Good speeches. Public invited. Levin T. Jones, Secretary, 202 W. Barre St.

MASSACHUSETTS

The Massachusetts State Committee meets the first Saturday of each month at 74 Washington St., Boston. All dues and moneys intended for the State Committee should be sent to the financial secretary, A. McDonald, 104 W. Spring St., Boston. All other correspondence should be addressed to the Corresponding Secretary, Margaret Haile, 5 Glenwood St., Roxbury.

Branch No. 2, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Mondays of each month at Springfield. Turner Hall. Gus Geisler, Organizer, 55 Sumner St.

Branch No. 3, Lynn, permanent headquarters, 71 Monroe St. Business meeting every Monday night at 8 p. m. Public invited. Harry Gotsdiner, Sec., 423 Essex St.

Branch No. 15, East Boston, meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at Chelsea St. Miss Jenny Segal, Secretary, 99 Chelsea St.

Branch No. 20, Roxbury, Mass., meets at 24 Warren St., 2d and 4th Fridays of every month. Public invited. Room 2, Boston. Open every evening. Business meetings every Thursday at 8 p. m. Public invited.

MICHIGAN

Branch No. 1, Battle Creek, Mich., meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of each month, at 3 p. m. at 10 W. Main Street, in the International Congress Hall. All are cordially invited. L. C. Rogers, Secretary.

Branch No. 1, Philadelphia, meets every Monday, at 8 p. m., at 423 3rd Street, until further notice.

Branch No. 2, Erie, meets every Sunday, 3 p. m., at K. of L. Hall, 716 State St. Chairman, Joseph Stain, Secretary, J. E. Perry, 119 Sassafras St.

Branch No. 4, Pittsburg, meets 2nd and last Wednesday evening at 7:30 at K. of L. Hall, 8 a. m. and Josephine St. W. Bonn, President, 244 Addison St. J. H. Lewis, Secretary, 233 June St.

Branch No. 4, Connersport, meets every second and last Wednesday of each month in K. of L. Hall. Chas. Kojand, chairman; L. H. Morse, Secretary, Ben. Codington, Treasurer.

Branch No. 5, Philadelphia, meets first Friday of each month—Executive meets every Sunday morning at S. D. P. Club Rooms, at 423 B. Third St. Organizer, M. Gille, 1007 S. Third St.

Branch No. 10, Williamsport, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2 p. m., in Social Labor Hall, No. 10 East 3d St. G. H. Smith, chairman; Jno. Lyon, secretary, 743 Second St. Public invited.

WASHINGTON

Branch No. 5, Tacoma, meets every Monday evening at 8 p. m., 418 11th Street.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee Central Committee, S. D. P., meets second and fourth Monday of the month at Brewers' Hall, southeast corner Fourth and Chestnut sts.

Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Thursday of the month at Kailer's Hall, Fourth Street, between State and Prairie, every second and fourth Thursday evening.

Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Friday in Galtie's Hall, corner Green Bay and Concordia Ave.

Branch No. 3, Sheboygan, meets every fourth Thursday of the month at Gustav Burgard's Hall on Pennsylvania Ave. George Moerschel, Secretary, 81 2nd St.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday each month at Meller's Hall, corner 23d and Brown Sts. Secretary, Rudolph Loeschman, 1128 23rd St.

Branch No. 9, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at R. Sigel's Hall, southeast corner Orchard St. and 9th Ave. O. Wild, Secretary, 1128 23rd St.

Branch No. 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of each month at Kraus Hall, 21 and Center St. at 8 p. m. Secretary, Rudolph Loeschman, 1128 23rd St.

Branch No. 23, Milwaukee, meets second and fourth Wednesday of each month, at 521 Clark street. Henry Harbicht, Sec., 1074 7th Street.

Have your card inserted in the BRANCH DIRECTORY, 25 Cents per Month. It will help you in the work in your locality.

CONGRESSIONAL AND LEGISLATIVE NOMINATIONS

The following legislative and congressional nominations have been made by the Social Democratic party in Chicago and Cook county:

Ninth Senatorial District—Charles Hassé, 699 West Twenty-first street.

Thirteenth Senatorial District—Peter Knickrehm, 358 Johnson street.

Second Congressional District—Joseph Kozak, 1048 West Nineteenth street.

Third Congressional District—Chas. Tyl, 776 South Halsted street.

Fourth Congressional District—Ferdinand Svoboda, 694 West Eighteenth street.

First Congressional District—Joseph R. Finn.

Board of Equalization—Geo. C. Larson.

For State Legislature—Seymour Stedman.

MINNESOTA

Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Geaswein, on Main St. A. Kingsbury, Secretary.

MISSOURI

St. Louis headquarters, Room 7, 23 N. Fourth St. Address all communications to E. Val Putnam, Secretary. For information concerning ward branches, inquire at the above address.

Branch No. 7, Kansas City, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1200 Union Ave. G. J. Storz, Secretary, 1230 W. 14th St.

MONTANA

Branch No. 1, Butte, meets every Thursday, at 8:30 p. m. "Engineers' Hall, Owens Block. G. Frankel, Sec. 21 E. Park Street.

Branch No. 2, Butte, meets first and third Sundays of each month at G. W. Wood's home, Chico, Mont.

NEW JERSEY

Branch No. 1, Secretary, Michael W. Schor, 57 Livingston St.

Branch No. 3, Camden, N. J., meets every 3d Sunday of the month. For particulars address Paul Eberding, 1204 Kaighn's Avenue.

Branch No. 3, (German) Newark, meets every third Saturday, at International Hall, 7 Bedford St. Hans Hartwig, Secretary, 7 Bedford St.

Branch No. 6 (German), Paterson, N. J., meets first and third Mondays at 8 p. m. at Helvetia Hall, 54-56 Van Houten St. Karl Linder, Secretary, 248 Edmund St.

NEW YORK

The City Central Action Committee of Greater New York, meets every second Tuesday at 412 Grand street, Windsor Hall. James Allman, Secretary, 32 Suffolk st. care of "Forward."

East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every first and third Thursday at 113 Clinton St. A. Guyer, Secretary, 123 Suffolk St.

Branch No. 3, 24th Assembly District, meets second and fourth Wednesdays of the month at 1059 Second Ave., at the "Central." Henry Lang, Secretary, 324 E. 60th St.

Branch No. 4, West Side Branch, New York, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of every month at headquarters, 18 W. 26th St. Elizabeth H. Thomas, Secretary.

Branch No. 5 Brooklyn, New York, meets every Saturday at 8 p. m., at 55 Moore St. Visitors welcome. Comrades desiring to organize should communicate with Secretary Sol. Freeman, 190 Boerum St.

Branch No. 10, New York, meets every Friday, at 8 p. m., 209 E. Broadway. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Organizer, Joseph Williams, 36 Henry st.

OHIO

Branch No. 2, Cleveland, meets in Ohlsen's Hall, 65 York St., second and fourth Sundays at 8 p. m. Lectures, discussions, business meetings, first and third Fridays at 8 p. m.

Branch No. 3, Cleveland, meets first and third Sundays in each month at 4 p. m. in Ohlsen's Hall, 65 York St. Lectures and discussions.

Branch No. 4, Cincinnati, meets at Kitchell Hall second and fourth Wednesdays of the month at 2 p. m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Jos. Jasin, Secretary, 1410 Central Avenue.

Branch No. 5, Dayton, Ohio, meets every 2d and 4th Friday evening, in Kitchell Hall, 244 Ad. Block. Everyone interested in Socialism invited. J. C. Schawes, Chairman, W. Harringer, Secretary, P. O. Box 234.

Branch No. 8, Cincinnati, meets every second and fourth Saturday in Workingmen's Hall, 1818 Walnut St. F. Hamel, Secretary, 1804 Printz St.

A SUMMARY OF MARX'S NOTED CRITICISMS OF CAPITALIST PRODUCTION

By A. P. Hazzell

Marx's early training was very favorable to the study of economics. He had a very superior education, as well as the advantage of moving in an intellectual circle where every topic was brought to the bar of reason and severely tested. In early life he mixed with the Hegelians, who at that time represented the forward movement in social questions and intellectual thought. Political economy was always a favorite subject with Marx, and when the labor upheavals prior to and including 1848 in Germany and on the continent generally enlisted his sympathies he soon found that the bourgeois economists were drawn upon to head back the forward movement. He, therefore, determined at the first opportunity to give his serious attention to the subject of economics with the object of exposing the fallacies of the so-called great classic authorities.

Marx applied what is known as the historical method to the study of economics, and in this connection his name has become associated with the theory known as the "materialist conception of history," which shows that wealth production controls the action of men unknown to themselves. This presentation of the subject by Marx is well illustrated by a Russian critic and reviewer named N. Tschernyschewsky, who wrote at the time of publication of Marx's work:

"The one thing which is of moment to Marx is to find the law of the phenomena with whose investigation he is concerned."

Of still greater moment to him is the law of their variation from one form into another; from one series of connections into a different one. Consequently Marx only troubles himself about one thing, to show by a rigid scientific investigation, the necessity of successive determinate orders of social conditions, and to establish as far as possible the facts that serve him for fundamental starting points. For this it is quite enough if he proves, at the same time, both the necessity of the present order of things, and the necessity of another order into which the first must inevitably pass over; and this all the same whether men believe it or not, whether they are conscious or unconscious of it. Marx treats the social movement as a process of natural history, governed by laws not only independent of human will, consciousness and intelligence; but rather, on the contrary, determining that will, consciousness and intelligence. That is to say, not the 'idea' but the material phenomenon alone can serve as its starting point. Such an inquiry will confine itself to the confrontation and the comparison of a fact, not with ideas, but with another fact."

According to this author, Marx deals only with facts coupled with an anxious desire to explain them to his readers. It is now our task to try and give briefly a sketch of those facts as contained in his analysis of capitalist production.

Marx first of all inquires what is the form of wealth with which capitalism surrounds us today. He answers: The commodity form of wealth. A commodity can, therefore, be accepted as the unit of capitalist wealth. He then analyses that commodity; a commodity is an object of wealth, and an object of wealth is a thing of utility. That thing which administers to man's desires is an object of utility, and by that fact becomes wealth, and when labor has been further expended on that object for the purpose of exchange, then it becomes known as a "commodity."

When such labor products are brought into exchange their value becomes expressed by the act of exchange. Marx then examines value, use-value and exchange-value. Value is a relation, or comparison which we make between things. Like all other comparisons, it is necessarily one of quantity. To say what is the value of a thing is equal to saying, "What is the quantity of a particular substance contained in your article as compared with mine?" Value is thus an equation of two quantities. When we come to commodities brought into exchange we have to discover the substance of their exchange value. There are two substances favored by economists—utility and labor. Marx, while demonstrating that utility is the substance of wealth and of use-value, denies that it is the substance of exchange-value. Exchange-value presupposes an equation which precludes utility from acting as its substance. The substance of value is already contained in commodities; it is therefore objective, and has only to be measured to have its quantity expressed. Utility is of a subjective character depending on the desires of a person, and cannot be measured objectively by a person. The utility of a pair of boots cannot be expressed until you have experienced it by wearing them, but their exchange-value is expressed when you purchase them. Utility being thus unable to find relative expression at the point of exchange cannot be the exchange value-giving substance.

Marx then asserts that labor is contained in all commodities, and that with-

out it social wealth would cease to be. Labor, being embodied in commodities, is objective, and can be quantitatively measured by time similarly as two bodies containing weight can be measured by the gravitative force.

The substance of exchange-value is, therefore, labor or human energy. Marx then shows that there are different forms or qualities of labor, such as carpentering labor, shoemaking labor and tailoring labor; these, though so different in character, all represent energy or labor, and it is in this character of simple energy alone that they impart value to a commodity. A commodity is valuable only in so far as it contains a given quantity of labor.

Marx then deals with exchange, showing that it presupposes private property, the mere fact of exchange proving that buyer and seller recognize that each has a right to part with his product as owner of his product.

Returning to commodities and their value, Marx shows that exchange necessitates a money form of value. In an act of barter or sale we measure the value of our commodity in that one we exchange with, recognizing it as our equivalent. For the purpose of reckoning, the commodity which is most frequently exchanged becomes generally recognized, and accepted as an equivalent at all times. Eventually, in agreement with public opinion, the state declares such an equivalent legal tender in discharge of debt, and thus we have money arising out of the equivalent form of value. Money creates a new social power, for he who has it has a purchasing power over all other commodities. It is of such social use that the loan of it secures interest. It also facilitates accumulation and enables its possessor to enter into production of other commodities. Money applied to production for the purpose of securing profit or interest, becomes capital. Money-capital in the hands of the capitalist begets more money, which increase of money Marx calls surplus-value. Money being nothing more than an equivalent commodity, cannot, like all other material objects of wealth, impart more than its own value, so Marx investigates the productive process of the capitalist to find how the latter gains his increase.

Marx goes on to show that a capitalist divides his capital into two portions—the part which purchases the instruments of production, raw material, etc.; and the other part which he pays as wages. The first he calls "constant" capital, because the value it imparts admits of no expansion beyond its own cost of production; the other part, which is expended in purchasing labor-power, he calls "variable," because the value labor-power imparts into a product varies from its own cost. If the cost of a machine is \$100, and lasts a year, it will embody that amount of value and that amount alone in raw material, such value being its cost of production. A laborer, however, costing \$100 a year, will not only pass over his own cost of production, as represented by his wages, but considerably more. When a worker produces more value than his wages represent he produces surplus-value. Surplus value is thus a term to express that portion of value for which no equivalent is given. Out of this surplus value the capitalist adds to his capital and obtains his private income, and thus the worker himself creates the chains which economically bind him to the capitalist.

(To be continued.)

APPEAL TO WAGE-WORKERS

The executive council of the American Federation of Labor has issued an appeal to all wage-workers to organize and federate. It says:

"Throughout our country a struggle is raging between the oppressor and the oppressed, the possessors of wealth and the laborers; the concentration of industry and wealth is the order of the day. Everywhere the workers must suffer disastrous results unless they organize and federate to protect and promote their mutual interests.

"In this combination and concentration of wealth the possessors permit no sectional or state lines to interfere with their power, and it therefore behooves the toilers, the wealth producers, to unite and federate regardless whether they are located east, west, north or south; irrespective of sex, politics, color or religion. The hope of the workers, the prayer of all our people, for justice and right, and the perpetuation of republican institutions lies in organized labor.

"Recognizing these essential truths, the executive council of the American Federation of Labor appeals to all wage-workers of whatever trade or calling to organize unions where such do not exist to join those already organized, to form unions and international unions of their respective trades and callings, and to affiliate in one common bond of labor upon the broad platform and under the proud banner of the American Federation of Labor.

"In calling upon the workers to unite and federate we aim to do no one wrong, but establish justice for all."

Workers should organize economically to alleviate their conditions and strike at the polls for freedom. There is no other way. Organize for Socialism and vote for it.

Subscribe for the Herald.

REVIEW AND EXPOSURE OF CAPITALIST WAGE SYSTEM

(Concluded from First Page)

money in the hands of Peter, \$100 in dyed fabrics in the hands of James and \$80 in money in the hands of Paul, making a total of \$300. The value in circulation has not grown a single penny; there is simply a change in its distribution among Peter, Paul and James; it is just as if Peter had stolen \$40. A change in the distribution of the value in circulation, does not increase their quantity.

No matter what point of view one takes, by the process of exchange the articles exchanged, viewed as a whole, are not altered, there is no formation of surplus value if equivalent values are exchanged, and, if unequal values are exchanged, as in the former case, there is no surplus value formed. As the quantity of values thrown into circulation can not increase there, we must seek outside the realm of circulation or of the exchange of the commodities, for cause of the appearance of surplus value, of a new value.

Hence we reach this conclusion: All those trickeries must be disregarded which result merely in transferring wealth from pocket to pocket without increasing the sum total of the value in circulation. Yet the owner of the money, who begins by buying certain commodities for exactly what they are worth, and afterwards sell them again at their exact value, is able to realize more money for them than he risked in their purchase. As this increase can not take place either when the capitalist buys the elements of production, or when he sells the products, it is necessarily effected in the period of production.

In this period, the capitalist makes use of the things and the persons he has bought in order to produce. When he has made these purchases, he has in his possession the aggregate of the muscular and intellectual powers with which man is endowed and which he brings into action when he wishes to produce useful things. As labor power is a faculty of the living individual, the essential condition of its continuance is that the individual maintain and reproduce himself. The latter, for his support and reproduction, requires a certain quantity of the means of subsistence, and it is the quantity of the means of subsistence required, in a given country and period, to enable the laborer to permanently maintain a power equipped with the necessary technical skill and knowledge which determines the value of that power.

Suppose that the daily value of labor power is 80 cents, and that at the end of five hours' work the laborer had added to the value representing material worked up and the wear and tear of the implements employed a new value of 80 cents. If the labor stopped there, the capitalist would have a value equal to that which he had disbursed; he would in truth pay the value of the labor performed; he would lose nothing, but he would gain nothing. Now, gain is the goal at which he aims; he wishes his money to increase, to bring forth more money.

The capitalist has for the 80 cents, the daily value of the labor power, bought the use of that power for one day. The use of it belongs to him during one day, and he continues to keep it at work after it has at the end of five hours, as we have assumed, reproduced a value equivalent to its own. Labor power can then, in a day produce more than it costs, and it is the prolongation of labor beyond the fraction of a day that suffices to produce the equivalent of wages which alone can be the source of surplus value.

Labor continued after the equivalent of wages is produced is what begets the excess of value of the object over that of its constituent elements, means of production and labor power.

The production of surplus value is, consequently, nothing more than the action of labor prolonged beyond the point where the wages are replaced by equivalent value. The quantity of labor which the worker furnishes after having produced a value equal to his wages is surplus labor.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC CAMPAIGN BUTTONS AND PINS

With a fine miniature photo of our Presidential Candidate

EUGENE V. DEBS

PRICES:

Single Buttons or Pins - - - - 5c
1 Doz. Buttons or Pins - - - - 50c
50 Buttons or Pins - - - - \$1 75
100 Buttons or Pins - - - - 3 00

As shown by this price list, there remains for the retail dealer a handsome profit, as the buttons ought to find a ready sale at 5 cents a piece. The Social Democratic branches can secure this profit by ordering and selling these goods themselves. On account of the excellent and new patent the buttons can also be worn as Campaign Buttons. Comrade E. V. Debs has given us permission to manufacture this button and spoke very highly of them. We have agreed to give at least 10 per cent. of the net proceeds of the sale of these buttons to the campaign fund of the Social Democratic Party. It is a good and a cheap article for every Social Democrat! It will prove to be a Campaign Pusher for our Party! Order a hundred at a time!

Take Notice:—When the amount is enclosed with the order we send the goods free of charge, otherwise C. O. D., express charges to be paid by person ordering goods. All orders and inquiries should be addressed to:

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC BUTTON CO.
Sheboygan, Wis.

Social Democratic Party Leaflets

FOR CAMPAIGN PURPOSES

The National Campaign Committee of the Social Democratic party will issue for the campaign a series of well-written, effective four-page leaflets, two of which are now ready for delivery. These leaflets will be sent to branches and individual workers at cost of printing and postage.

LEAFLET NO. 1 is an address to unorganized Socialists; contains information concerning the Socialist movement, the party and its methods, object and program.

LEAFLET NO. 2—"An Open Letter to the Average American Workman," by Ben Atterbury. This is an admirable and convincing paper on the wage question, production, distribution of wealth and an appeal to the intelligence of the working class.

Put Them Into the Hands of Every Workingman

PRICES.

50 Copies - - - - - \$.10
100 Copies - - - - - .15
250 Copies - - - - - .25
500 Copies - - - - - .50
1,000 Copies - - - - - 1.00
5,000 Copies - - - - - 5.00

POSTAGE PAID.

Send orders to Campaign Committee Social Democratic Party, 126 Washington street, Chicago, Ill.

SPRAVEDLNOST

(JUSTICE)

BOHEMIAN WEEKLY PUBLISHED BY THE BOHEMIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC BRANCHES OF CHICAGO

Subscription, \$1.50 a year

Address, 700-702 Loomis Street, Chicago, Illinois

THE PLATFORM

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness depend upon equal political and economic rights.

In our economic development an industrial revolution has taken place, the individual tool of former years having become the social tool of the present. The individual tool was owned by the worker who employed himself and was master of his product. The social tool, the machine, is owned by the capitalist and the worker is dependent upon him for employment. The capitalist thus becomes the master of the worker and is able to appropriate to himself a large share of the product of his labor.

Capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people; but the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system will necessitate the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare.

The present system of social production and private ownership is rapidly converting society into two antagonistic classes—i. e., the capitalist class and the propertyless class. The middle class, once the most powerful of this generation, is disappearing in the mill of competition. The issue is now between the two classes first named. Our political liberty is now of little value to the masses unless used to acquire economic liberty.

Independent political action and the trade union movement are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its political, the other its economic wing, and both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system.

Therefore the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be:

First—The organization of the working class into a political party to conquer the public powers now controlled by capitalists.

Second—The abolition of wage-slavery by the establishment of a national system of co-operative industry, based upon the social or common ownership of the means of production and distribution, to be administered by society in the common interest of all its members, and the complete emancipation of the socially useful classes from the domination of capitalism.

The working class and all those in sympathy with their historic mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America.

The control of political power by the Social Democratic party will be tantamount to the abolition of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting the millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international Socialism, the brotherhood of man.

As steps in that direction, we make the following demands:

First—Revision of our federal constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to complete control of government by the people irrespective of sex.

Second—The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

Third—The public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones; all means of transportation, and communication; all water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

Fourth—The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal, and other mines, and all oil and gas wells.

Fifth—The reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

Sixth—The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

Seventh—Useful inventions to be free, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

Eighth—Labor legislation to be national, instead of local, and international when possible.

Ninth—National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.

Tenth—Equal civil and political rights, for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

Eleventh—The adoption of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

Twelfth—Abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

SPLENDID LIFE-LIKE PORTRAIT OF EUGENE V. DEBS

CANDIDATE OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

SIZE—21 X 28 INCHES, ON GOOD PAPER

Price, 10 Cents, Single Copy

Sent by mail, securely enclosed in tube to insure safe transmission, on receipt of price.

Address, CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY, 126 Washington St., Chicago

THE FULL STRENGTH OF APPEAL TO REASON

WILL BE GIVEN TO

DEBS AND HARRIMAN

the ensuing campaign. For purposes of propaganda the following prices are named on bundles to one address:

25 copies weekly, 3 mos., \$ 1.50
50 " " " " 3.00
100 " " " " 6.00
250 " " " " 14.50
500 " " " " 27.50
1000 " " " " 49.00

ADDRESS,

APPEAL TO REASON
GIRARD, KANSAS

Pocket Library of Socialism

1. Woman and the Social Problem. By MARY WOOD SIMONS. Shows that the emancipation of woman will only come with the emancipation of man through socialism.
2. The Evolution of the Class Struggle. By WILLIAM H. HAYES. A historical study showing how socialism is coming.
3. Impudent Harriages. By ROBERT BLATSPERD. A masterly answer to the argument that "prudence" would help the laborer.
4. Packingtown. By A. M. SIMONS. A study of the Union Stock Yards, Chicago; how nature and man are alike scientifically exploited.
5. Realism in Literature and Art. By CLARENCE B. DAKIN. Shows how the workers of modern art and literature are helping on the new social order.
6. Single Tax vs. Socialism. By A. M. SIMONS. Shows the inadequacy of the Single Tax as a remedy for the evils pointed out by Henry George.
7. Wage-Labor and Capital. By KARL MARX. The essence of the great philosopher's theory, in his own words.
8. The Man Under the Machine. By A. M. SIMONS. Tells how wage slavery began, what it is today and how the workers are going to free themselves. A condensed handbook of socialism.
9. The Philosophy of Socialism. By REV. CHARLES H. VAIL, author of "Modern Socialism," etc.
10. Morals and Socialism. By CHARLES H. VAIL. Shows how popular ideas of morals are manipulated in the interest of the capitalist class.
11. Socialist Songs. Sixteen good ones, fit times every one knows.
12. After Capitalism? What? By REV. WILLIAM T. BROWN. A logical historical study showing that socialism must come as the result of forces now at work.
13. A Political Quack Doctor. By W. A. CORRY. A socialist view of the "Prohibition" movement.

SPECIAL OFFER—For one dollar we will mail forty copies of the Pocket Library, all of one kind, as assorted as preferred.

SEND ORDERS TO

THEODORE DEBS
126 Washington St., CHICAGO

The Book You Need

PRINCIPLES OF Scientific Socialism

By Rev. Charles H. Vail

Author "Modern Socialism" and "National Ownership of Railways."

CONTENTS:

- The Industrial Revolution. The Analysis of Value. The Origin of Surplus Value.
- The Advantages of Socialism: Production, Distribution, Elimination of Unnecessary Vocations, Prevention of Waste, Elevation of Woman, Proper Care and Training of Children, Efficient Directors, Solution of the Monetary Question, Abolition of Taxation, Simplification of Government, Benefits to Capitalists, Benefits to Laborers.
- The Evidence of the Moral Strength of Socialism: Its Spirit and Aim; Abolition of Business Dishonesty; Restriction of Divorce; Prevention of Prostitution; Elimination of Crime; Prevention of Intemperance, Insanity, etc.
- Poverty—Its Cause and Cure. Wage Slavery vs. Chattel Slavery. Rent and Interest. The Law of Wages. The Law of Progress. Industrial Depression and Commercial Crises. The Problem of Labor-Saving Machinery.
- Popular Economic Errors: That Value is Determined by Capitalist Cost of Production; that the Interests of Laborers and Capitalists are Identical; that Labor is Better Off To-day Than Ever Before; that Cheap Prices are Beneficial to Labor; that Foreign Markets are Beneficial to Labor; that Luxury is Beneficial to Labor; that Land Nationalization Would Solve the Social Question; that Extravagance is the Chief Cause of Economic Want; that Socialism Would Thwart Inventions and Improvements; that Socialism Would Destroy Individuality. Conclusion and Index.

12mo, 250 Pages; Paper, 50c; Cloth, \$1.00.

SEND ORDERS TO

THEODORE DEBS, 126 Washington St., CHICAGO

BRANCH SUPPLIES

Membership Cards (per 100)..... 1.00
Membership Applications (100)..... .25
Constitutions (each)..... .50

Send orders with cash to Theodore Debs, 126 Washington Street, Chicago. No supplies sent on credit.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

THIRD YEAR. No. 7.

CHICAGO, ILL., U.S.A., SATURDAY, AUGUST 4, 1900.

Whole No. 109.

SOCIALIST MOVEMENT FEARED BY DEMOCRATS

A Salaried and Demagogic Scribbler
on Hearst's Chicago American
Vents His Spleen on
The Socialists

TWENTIETH CENTURY PAPER

Desperate Attempts Will be Made by the
Democratic Press to Turn the Tide
of Socialism—A Political
Exorcism

By Ben. Atterbury

The leaders of the democratic party are in desperate hope of leading the people to understand them; the harder they apply themselves to their great task the more certain it becomes that they are doomed to failure. And the reason of it is to be found in the insincerity of the leaders; they are for the most part confused in their thinking, contradictory in speech, antagonistic in policy and hypocritical in profession.

Nothing is more pregnant with civic hypocrisy and damnation than the so-called "regenerated" democracy. For years it has coquetted with and seduced every third party movement that has come into existence, protesting its only desire to be the accomplishment of the reforms these parties have advocated, but really for the sole purpose of coralling votes sufficient in local, state and national elections to gain control of the public spoils by turning the republicans out.

Where this party of noisy profession and niggardly performance has been in control it has always proved itself equally capitalistic with the republican party, and it has done no more for the masses of the people, the working class.

Such poor conception of civic duty as the leaders of this party have is confined to a consideration of individual aggrandizement at the expense of the people. This they call "individual liberty."

It denounces trusts in the North, lustily proclaiming a profound interest in the working man, and shares in the benefits of trusts and white slavery in the South.

It declares the financial question to be as dead as Julius Caesar, and reaffirms the 16 to 1 rot of the Chicago and Omaha platforms.

Its press buys professional sophists to write fallacious arguments about "far-reaching vital policies," to deaden the conscience and intelligence of the people to issues that are really vital.

It is too cowardly to face these issues and too hypocritical to espouse them.

Having destroyed by chicanery and double-dealing every third party movement up to date, this boastful democracy now finds itself up against a harassing obstacle to its success in the Social Democratic Party. It is writhing and venting its spleen at third parties in general and the Socialist party in particular. The paper selected for the propaganda (can you believe it?) is Hearst's Chicago American. The scribbler to whom the assignment has been given is James Creelman, a person who probably never had an intellectual conviction on any subject under the sun that was not readily convertible into cash for use in a capitalistic newspaper.

Of the Chicago American it may be said that it is "the twentieth century newspaper," if we are to accept the say-so of its publisher. Some of us, however, will prefer not to accept that as final. Some of us have ideas of our own about a twentieth century newspaper. That they would not be approved by the Chicago American is clear from the fact that in its first edition this paper said: "It will demand the construction by Americans of the greatest navy of the world; this navy to protect us against foreign foes, WHICH ALONE WE HAVE TO FEAR."

I have been groping around under the delusion, as it now appears, that the real enemies of this republic, according to the democratic party, were the imperialists—Hanna, McKinley, Roosevelt, and that set. But here comes the chief (and newest) organ of Bryanism in these parts with the information that our "foreign foes" are the only ones "we have to fear." This insidious enemy of republican institutions, imperialism, is, after all, only a scarecrow of rags. So we will encourage and "demand" that costly appendage of imperialism on the seas, the "greatest navy of the world"! That is a noble ambition for the beginning of the twentieth century! Encircled by a belt of five-million-dollar battleships,

what perfect repose and serenity will be ours in the thought that we, the working slaves of America, have no foes to fear at home! Hurrah for DEMOCRATIC PROTECTION!

Creelman has discovered that the Socialists "threaten and harass the democratic party." In this condition of affairs he sees an ominous sign of catastrophe to the country. Annoyed by the uncompromising attitude of Socialists and seeing no way by which the third party can be tricked and absorbed by the democratic tiger, he proceeds to earn his salary by heaping abuse and epithets upon its adherents. They are "cowards," "hypocrites," "poltroons," "degenerates" and "traitors." This is good democratic argument. Bankrupt in principle, with no policy of its own save that of opposition to the party in power, "threatened and harassed" by the growing spirit of Socialism, in which the working class is now coming to see its only hope of emancipation from capitalistic exploitation, this spurious political aggregation in which the spirit of democracy is also as dead as Julius Caesar, vents its wrath through its hired penmen and splutters about the "civic treason" of a voter who fails to support the absurd, out-of-date and reactionary policies advocated in a confused sort of way by Mr. Bryan, Governor Stone of Missouri and Jim Creelman the penman. The latter obviously has no conception of what the Socialist movement is, although he is afraid it will "overwhelm and engulf the moderate policy of the democratic party." I should say that nothing more truly beneficial to the world could happen than the complete defeat of a party that has been one of the principal instrumentalities in this country for the promotion of political jobbery and the debauchery of civic honor. A party whose agents and emissaries (and even its journalists, excluding Creelman) try to entice and seduce voters into its bailiwick with the assurance that Bryan himself is a "Socialist, too"; a party that only a few days ago claimed through some of its Chicago leaders (was Creelman one?) to have influence enough with the Social Democrats to arrange for the withdrawal of their presidential candidate about October 1; a party that systematically strives to turn voters away from the only movement that can help them by hypocritical profession and cowardly slander; a party that prates about a "great national peril," and in making its appeal to the conscience of the people has the brazen effrontery to say: "IT IS NOTORIOUS THAT MR. HANNA, THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE, IS ASSISTING MR. DEBS, THE SOCIALIST CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT," such a party deserves to be swept into oblivion instead of into the White House.

If there is any degeneracy in this country more pitiable than that of democratic politicians and writers, we shall have to look for it among the politicians and writers of the republican party. It has never yet been found in third party movements. The statement by Creelman appeared editorially in Hearst's Chicago American last Sunday. It is, of course, a premeditated and malicious lie; but what the degenerated democratic party lacks in argument it must make up for in lying, and Creelman, who must earn his salary, seems to be equal to the requirements.

If in the approaching election this party shall be defeated, and its defeat so thorough and complete as to forever extinguish it and its capitalistic lackeys, leaving the Socialists to confront the banded lords of plunder (with Creelman thrown in) some progress will have been achieved and a flagrant evil will be removed from the arena of politics. No wage earner should help to galvanize this dead body of democracy.

When Creelman prattles about "individual liberty" he simply repeats nonsense that was exploded long ago—but he doesn't know it.

When Creelman asks the people to study the political lessons of the republics of the past, he gives them dangerous advice for his paltry cause, but I hope they will do it. When he undertakes the role of fabricating lies to deceive the people he is a genuine democratic success. When he essays the part of a public educator he is a genuine democratic failure.

A statement made recently in The Herald to the effect that Comrade J. W. Kelley, who is a member of the city council at Marion and our candidate for governor of Indiana, was the first Socialist elected to office in that State, was not strictly correct. Comrade W. J. Croke was elected to the Marion council at the same time and is now candidate for State Auditor, and Sebastian Fezier, of Alexandria, the party's nominee for Court Reporter, was elected to the council in Alexandria on the same day.

Subscribe for "The Herald"

SUMMARY OF MARX'S CRITICISM CONTINUED

Difference Noted Between "Cost of
Production" and "Price of
Production"—The Com-
position of Capital

THE SUBSTANCE OF VALUE

How the Law of Competition Continually
Forces the Individual Producer to
Give Way to the Syndicate
and the Trust

By A. F. Hazell

Marx, in his examination of the growth of capital, deals with "price of production" and "cost of production" of commodities, which clears up many seeming difficulties to the lay student. By "cost of production" is meant the actual time spent on or incorporated in a commodity. By "price of production" is meant the amount of money asked for it.

Marx, to show the divergence arising between "cost of production" and "price of production," enters into an analysis of the relative quantity which constant capital bears to variable capital: the one representing the instruments of industry and the other labor-power. These two factors comprise what he calls the "composition of capital."

The composition of capital shows that price of production corresponds with the rate of profit which is common to any particular industry. In some industries there is a great amount of capital paid out in wages. And vice versa. The proportion that the one portion of capital bears to the other is always changing. For instance, a capitalist is always trying to sell cheaper than his neighbor. To do this he obtains labor-saving machinery. He employs more capital but less labor. Though there may be less value because less labor, he still wants the same rate of profit on the whole of his capital. It is nothing to him whether his capital employs one hundred more men or one hundred less, so long as full interest is secured on the employment of his larger capital. In one industry much labor is used and but little raw material, in another industry exactly opposite conditions obtain; but they both exact the same rate of profit on the capital employed. Each industry may be regarded as having an "evolution of its own" and varies with the relative composition of its capital accordingly. Thus we see a disturbing factor in the rate of profit and in the composition of capital which does not allow the true value of any individual commodity to express itself by labor time, though in the mass such commodities necessarily conform to their real cost of production.

Custom and convention is responsible for the interference with the cost of labor as represented by the standard of comfort. Social custom enables one class of workers to demand a price quite out of proportion to what they produce. They secure a purchasing power at the expense of their fellows. What they receive over their own efforts their more unfortunate brethren have to supply. And thus a further disturbing factor is introduced into the composition of capital. These arbitrary deviations from labor become crystallized, as it were, in a commodity. Given these crystallized forms of priced labor, and alter the quantity of labor in the commodity, and it falls and rises in accordance with the decrease or increase of the quantity of labor, showing that labor is the determining factor of value.

Sometimes objection is taken to Marx reducing labor to an abstract quantity

A CHRISTIAN EMPEROR TO HIS SOLDIERS

If you close with the enemy, remember this: Spare nobody. Make no prisoners. Use your weapons so that for a thousand years hence no Chinaman will dare look askance at any German. Open the way for CIVILIZATION once for all. The blessings of the Lord be with you. May the blessing of God rest on your banners, and may He vouchsafe to you to find a path for CHRISTIANITY in that far-off land.

—William of Germany to Troops about to leave for China.

to explain the seeming anomaly between "price of production" and "cost of production," but Marx in doing this conforms to the principle of the scientific truths. Herbert Spencer, in his "Data of Ethics," Sec. 104, writes: "Scientific truths, of whatever order, are reached by eliminating, perturbing or conflicting factors, when (by dealing with fundamental factors in the abstract, not as presented in actual phenomena, but as presented in ideal separation, general laws have been ascertained) it becomes possible to draw inferences in concrete cases by taking into account incidental factors. But it is only by first ignoring those and recognizing the essential elements alone that we can discover the essential truth sought."

And in illustration of the above principle he quotes the following: "The course of projectiles having being theoretically settled as though they moved through a vacuum, are afterwards settled in more exact correspondence with fact by taking in account atmospheric resistance." We are shown that no scientific establishment of relative truth is possible until the absolute truths have been formulated independently.

Before we can understand the price form of value, which is the concrete expression of value, we must first of all get a clear conception of what the underlying substance is which forms value so as to enable us to recognize any deviation on infringement of that law by arbitrary social influences.

Marx thus found it necessary first of all to give his attention to the actual substance of value. In resolving it into abstract human labor he conformed to the methods adopted by the most eminent scientists in their search for scientific truth. In adopting this method, Marx no doubt made his subject somewhat difficult for the ordinary reader to follow who has never perhaps troubled to make himself acquainted with any single scientific truth. The apparent conflicting phenomena in economics are not greater, however, than what present themselves in any other science, and the cry of "difficult to understand," "dry and abstruse" are poor excuses for neglecting to maintain the argument adduced by Marx.

Marx goes on to point out that the law of competition continually gives the victory to the larger capital, the individual capitalist having to give way to the joint-stock company, the latter giving way to the combine or syndicate, and the syndicate giving way to the trust—the trust in its turn giving way to the collective control of wealth by the municipality and community. This principle of competition destroys itself when it reaches the stage of monopoly, giving way to collectivization of wealth. The State has already taken over the manufacture of weapons and the manufacture of clothes for its soldiers; and controls the telegraphs, postage, carriage of parcels, and runs railways; while the municipalities supply their own water, gas, build their own schools, baths, and wash-houses, libraries, erect dwellings, and bid fair to become serious competitors to capitalists in many industries. Complete collectivism means universal co-operation, which in its turn involves social equality.

Commodities will disappear with the realization of collectivism, because exchange will no longer exist. Competition will also have exhausted itself and given way to universal co-operation. The economic value of an article will then be openly expressed by the number of hours taken to produce it.

Price will no longer conceal the labor time of individual commodities; cost of production measured by time will then be the recognized standard measure of economic value.

NINETEENTH CENTURY DECALOG

Thou shalt have one God only: who Would be at the expense of two?
No graven images may be
Worshipped, except the currency;
Swear not at all: for, for thy curse
Thine enemy is none the worse;
At church on Sunday to attend
Will serve to keep the world thy friend:
Honor thy parents: that is, all
From whom advancement may befall;
Thou shalt not kill: but needs not strive
Officially to keep alive;
Do not adultery commit:
Advantage rarely comes of it;
Thou shalt not steal: an empty feat
When it's so lucrative to cheat;
Bear not false witness: let the lie
Have the time on its own wings to fly;
Thou shalt not covet; but tradition
Approves all forms of competition.
A. U. CLOUGH.

Those comrades who have received copies of the Debs campaign portrait are so well pleased with it that they are ordering. The campaign committee has fixed on the following prices: Single copy, 10 cents; 5 for 20 cents; 10 for 35 cents, and 20 for 60 cents.

26 weeks for 20 cents.

COMMON WEAL AND PRIVATE INITIATIVE

Socialism Does Not Threaten to
Suppress but to Elevate Individu-
ality—Striding Toward it
with Seven-League Boots

COMING SOLIDARITY OF MAN

Philosophy of Socialism in Accord with that
of Evolution—The Conscious Socialist
Movement a Rebellion of Free
Individualities

By W. C. Owen

In the long debate that mankind has held over its history it has hammered out one type as its ideal; a type uniting the virility of self-assertion with the femininity of self-abnegation; a type vehement in its insistence on the right of private initiative, and persistent in the subordination of its own conduct to the common weal. The womanly tenderness and the pronounced manhood of Christ bear each their equal charm, and Napoleon the egoist is tolerated for the sake of Napoleon the patriot. The judgment of the world at large is clear upon the subject, and the world has not passed its judgment in a hurry.

Every movement has, therefore, a double task before it; it must prove that the measures it proposes will elevate the type, and it must prove that it will not be careless of the single life. If it threatens to be a disintegrating force it will alarm the gregarious instinct, which is very strong; if it threatens to suppress individuality the instinct of self-preservation will immediately take fright. In proportion as one or other of these instincts is unduly developed there is also developed the tendency to exalt the claims of society at the expense of the individual, or vice versa. The understanding that the claims of each are in every way identical and inseparable comes only after long debate.

Such a debate the whole Socialist movement has been passing through from the time when Marx and Bakunin quarreled over the conduct of the International. Looking backward we can see that the split was unavoidable; looking forward we can also see that a reunion is as certain. Of the near approach of that reunion the presence in the movement of such men as William Morris and Oscar Wilde is a very obvious sign. Both have a world-wide reputation as interpreters of that art whose breath is individualism, and whose essence is harmonious combination.

The gregarious instinct will not be denied; and today, when the possibilities of solidarity are such as the past had never dreamed of, it proclaims itself more imperiously than ever. For all to whom opportunities of study have been afforded the intellectual horizon has expanded, within this century, beyond the power of computation, and largeness is inevitably the prevailing note. We no longer grope our way with timid steps we stride with seven-league boots to our conclusions. The toil of countless generations has put a mass of details at our disposition, and the task of this generation is to sum them up. This tendency shows itself everywhere. The closest investigator of the age, Charles Darwin, is also its boldest generalizer, and the researches of a Pasteur or a Koch rivet attention through our comprehension of the role of the infinitely little as infinitely great. Our commerce circles the globe, and the markets of both hemispheres, in spite of reactionary protective tariffs, rise and fall in unison. In politics we still play at patriotism to wheedle the mob, but the thoughtful are all internationalists at heart. We ransack the god-cupboards of every age and race, seeking materials for the construction of a religion of—Humanity, which, in the face of Philistine sneers, we practically, in our hearts, all spell with capitals. The intense individuality of a conspicuously restless epoch is everywhere alive, with the instinct of solidarity, and the veriest hermits of us all—the Thoreaus, the Ruskins and the Tolstoys—far from being mere disinterested spectators of the game, are feverishly anxious that it should be played in accordance with the only rules which, in their judgment, can lead to universal success.

All this splendid individuality, it is said, Socialism would crush; putting hu-

(Continued on Fourth Page)

Social Democratic Herald

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board Chairman
FREDERIC HEATH
Secretary
REYNOLD STEEDMAN
EUGENE V. DEBS VICTOR L. BERGER
CORINNE S. BROWN

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, \$5.00. Six months, \$3.00. No papers sent to any one on credit. If, without having subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and no bill will follow. Foreign subscriptions \$1.00.

Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

A. S. EDWARDS, Editor
THEODORE DEBS, National Sec'y-Treas.
130 Washington St., Chicago.

109 is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 110 your subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, AUGUST 4, 1900.

WHAT HISTORY TEACHES

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRAT

History shows man for centuries trying to adjust himself to a government or to associate himself with his fellows without giving up any rights he enjoyed in the wild forests as "monarch of all he surveyed." Out of the first associations grew despotism and military life, resulting in the slavery of one class to another of superior force. Slavery without industry would have been an expensive luxury for the victor, so industry followed—the slaves were put to work building tombs and monuments. Finally industry became specialized and the slave became a free man by purchase or as a reward. Increasing numbers of free men threatened and eventually overthrew despots and, by slow but steady progress, passed through the feudal system and the age of hand manufacture, or apprenticeship. The people then were of greater importance and the rulers less powerful, until the French and American revolutions opened a way for representative forms of government.

Hand craft is no longer possible, and the heirs of past great estates and kingdoms have taken the advantage offered by this modern machine age to organize industries into gigantic trusts. Government has changed accordingly the old despot formerly controlling ten thousand slaves is now an industrial organizer or machine owner, controlling ten thousand men by means of wages, which they must have, for running the machines he controls. Government is now a shield behind which the machine owner entrenches himself, and continues in his power.

Economy of production and distribution is the plan of the machine age, of trusts and industrial organizations. This is not yet perfected. Department stores of today far excel in their completeness the state fairs of a few years ago, but the delivery wagons of a dozen different department stores hourly pass along the same thoroughfares, perhaps to the same apartment house to deliver goods. This is a great waste of labor, as are also the duplicate stores, show goods, clerks, advertisements, managers—and profits. A few years only are required to centralize these into one management. Like the manufacturing trusts of sugar, ice, iron, coal, and even a money trust. The next step is for the people who make these things and depend upon them for a living to take control instead of allowing one man to rule as a despot the entire product or distribution of any article.

Education is teaching the people to rule themselves and that the only humane solution to the industrial organizing and centralizing system is to place the combined product of men's genius and labor for centuries at the command and within the reach of all by the people owning and operating the machines and doing away with the wage enslaving system.

Evolution along this line is now going on, yet so noiselessly that one who would advocate private letter carrying, private parks and life saving stations, private railroads, parcel posts, telegraphs, etc. (in Europe), or private gas, electric and car lines in various American cities would be considered a century behind the times, or crazy.

Conviction is growing among authors, poets, scientists, business men, students, and all classes of people, that the outcome of centralizing can only be public ownership, dividing among all the people the benefits of centralized production and systematic distribution, by shortening hours of toil and entirely doing away with wages.

Political parties are different; there is the Capitalist party standing for private ownership and the wage enslaving system and subdivided into the two parties known as Republican and Democratic. Opposed to this Capitalist party, but in line with the general evolution of society as above outlined is the Social Democratic party. The presidential candidate of this party is Eugene V. Debs. It declares that the present system inevitably

separates society into two classes, the Capitalist class and the propertyless working class. Its object is:

First—The organization of the working class into a political party to conquer the public powers now controlled by capitalists.

Second—The abolition of wage-slavery by the establishment of a national system of co-operative industry, based upon the social or common ownership of the means of production and distribution, to be administered by society in the common interest of all its members, and the complete emancipation of the socially useful classes from the domination of capitalism.

No other party stands for the interests of the working class, because all others are divisions of the Capitalist party.

LABOR AND WAR

The capitalist press announces that the Chinese difficulty has already affected American industry. The Pepperell cotton mills of Biddeford, Me., are already cut off. In recent years their shipments have been largely to the Orient, and what is true of these mills is also true of mills in the South, where there are 414; Maine has 23, Massachusetts 187, and Pennsylvania 158. China alone in 1899 purchased over 205 million yards of uncolored, and 15 million yards of colored cloth from us.

In many of these mills machinery has been especially constructed and adapted to the manufacture of goods which the Chinese desire, and if the demand is shut off, the mills being obliged to close, will throw out of employment about 300,000 operatives.

Capitalism can only live by new markets. The inability of labor to consume the wealth it creates leaves a surplus which must be disposed of. When labor receives in return for its labor power compensation equal in value to what it creates then it will be able to purchase and consume its products. Then foolish men and women of America will not suffer because Chinese refuse to be clothed by them.

NOTES AND COMMENT

A severe lesson in the power of trade unionism has just been taught the Lincoln Guardians, says the Westminster Budget. The local medical officer asked for an increase of salary from £45 to £80. This was refused and he resigned. The guardians, saying they objected to be dictated to, sought a new officer at the lower salary, but in vain, as the local doctors boycotted the board. The salary was raised to £60, with the same result, and then to £70, but still nobody offered. At length an Edinburgh doctor was imported, but immediately after being elected he resigned and went home again. Last week the guardians acknowledged themselves beaten, and decided to appoint a local doctor at £80—if any will accept.

When the blast furnaces in the steel industry are blown out and the mills shut down you get an indication that the bottom is going to drop out of industries generally. The Iron Age says: "Restriction of production is proceeding quite rapidly, more blast furnaces having recently blown out, while others are fast getting into shape for suspending operations. It is likely now that the Western bar mills will remain closed for considerably longer than had been expected. The closing of so many mills should have an effect on prices of bars, but steel bars have sold within the week at lower rates than the previous week."

With Eugene Debs' denial of the Democratic canard about his withdrawal before him, one Creelman, an editorial writer on Hearst's Chicago American, impudently declares that "It is notorious that Mr. Hanna, chairman of the Republican National Committee, is assisting and encouraging Mr. Debs, the Socialist candidate for president." This is the journalism of "the twentieth century," amended to meet the exigencies of a campaign of slander and hypocrisy by the Democratic party. Jim Creelman would be howled down and kicked out by any decent body of workingmen in the country.

"Lèse majesté" is as serious an offense in Japan as in Germany. For a Christian native paper having gently ridiculed certain queer ceremonies in connection with the recent wedding of the Crown Prince, notably the simultaneous drinking of bride and bridegroom from a double-spouted teapot, the editor has been sentenced to three and a half years' imprisonment with hard labor, while even the unfortunate compositor who set the article in type is to have a year in jail.

A few days ago there were assembled in a room in the Rookery building, Chicago, four men identified with the iron and steel industry, who represented \$304,000,000 of capital. They met together to declare that the only way to control prices, which, by the way, is their principal business, is to lessen the output by stopping production for a month. No doubt it will lessen the output; it will also lessen the provisions in the pantry of the workingman.

A bit of information that will interest dollar-a-day workmen comes from New York. It is that the state has 14,000 guardsmen fully armed and equipped to man the sixteen army posts within its borders, if the regulars are sent abroad. Adjt.-Gen. Hoffman is ready to co-operate with the national government—to protect the property pilfered from the labor of wage-slaves under the capitalist system.

Charles B. Spahr, author of "The Present Distribution of Wealth in the United States," says that for the \$4,650,000,000 of railway stock now in existence the original investors paid no more than \$465,000,000, or only 10 per cent of their face value. A railway that pays 3 per cent is actually paying 30 per cent upon the real invested capital. Labor creates wealth; capital appropriates it.

The war in China is the outcome of commercialism, not of hatred of Christians, but of hatred of capitalism from which Christians as well as others profit. The "powers," forced by the greed and necessities of modern capitalism, are massing troops and arranging to murder Chinamen in the interest of the capitalist class under the cloak of religion and civilization.

The czarina of Russia has gained the gratitude of her subjects by organizing to aid women in reduced circumstances. They are almost constantly employed in making embroidery for court dresses and ecclesiastical garb. That is, they are used to uphold and perpetuate the old order of cant and rulership.

Swift & Co., meat packers of Chicago, Kansas City, East St. Louis and St. Joseph, also Cudahy Bros. of Cudahy, Wis., have been declared unfair by organized labor because of their refusal to employ anyone belonging to a labor union.

FABLE OF THE SILLY OLD DRAGON

There was once a Silly Old Dragon who lived all by himself, and enjoyed his own society immensely, and cultivated the fad of haying everything about him yellow.

There was no one to question his taste in colors, until one day he was visited by a Cinnamon Bear, a Tame Lion and a Trick Elephant, and some other animals who had traveled with a circus and called themselves "civilized."

They insisted that he ought to wear a red necktie and cock his hat on one side of his head, the way they did, and smoke cigarettes. To this last he offered strenuous objections, but they whipped out their revolvers and made him smoke their "dope," until he got under its influence and rather liked it.

They argued with him about God, and told him he must say some words and go through some performances that they would teach him, or he would be eternally damned.

They all had different words and forms to teach him, and quarreled among themselves, and as he took no interest in their controversies, they called him an ignorant old heathen.

They told him he had no enterprise, and they proposed to build a railroad through his garden, and to erect factories with greasy machinery and disagreeable noise and suffocating smoke, in place of his flower beds.

They told him it was a shame to live in such a lazy manner, and that he ought to borrow money and buy a lot of things he didn't want, and pay interest and rent, so that he would be obliged to cultivate habits of industry and thrift.

They offered him money—yellow money, too!—on first mortgage security, at 6 per cent interest.

They sat down on his front porch and talked about dividing up the place into town lots, and quarreled among themselves as to which should get the biggest slice.

As a result, the Silly Old Dragon lost his temper, and went to thrashing his tail right and left doing considerable damage to "foreign interests." Of course, he must be punished for his ill temper and discourteous manners, and made to pay an "indemnity"—which is just as good for the purpose of establishing a claim to his place, as getting him to borrow money.

Moral: The gospel of peace and good will must be promoted at all hazards.—Straight Edge.

REVOLUTION ON THE WAY

What a Very Small but Remarkable Invention Promises to Do in a Single Industry

A new and wonderful invention is going to cause a revolution in the spinning industry. One Victor Belanger has succeeded in perfecting a rotary spinning ring which with a new application of compressed air will double the capacity of all the cotton, silk and woolen mills of the world. This is said to be the greatest invention in spinning machinery in one hundred years.

The new spinning ring will do in eight hours what the old one does in sixteen. And it costs about a cent.

The Boston Times says: "When the frame is perfected to meet the great speed of the new ring, thread will be spun probably four times faster than at present, quadrupling the capacity of the mills, and, of course, cheapening the product."

Belanger's invention will force itself upon every one of the millions of spinning spindles all over the world. It will revolutionize the industry everywhere.

Belanger was a poor man. Now he is rich. A company was organized, capitalized at \$5,000,000. Belanger was given for his invention \$2,500,000 of the company's stock; he also received what must have been a very large sum of money besides. He is now living luxuriously in an elegant summer home upon a splendid estate.

The new ring will not be sold to mill operators. It will be leased, and the income is conservatively estimated at one million dollars a year. Manufacturers are said to be jumping at the chance of making one of their spindles do the work of two.

There are many other details in connection with this invention, but they are immaterial, though interesting. What we want to call attention to is the effect of this invention upon labor.

In all the reports we have read in the press about this wonderful spinning ring, a great deal is said about the invention, the prospective profits, the cost of the ring, the increase in production caused by the ring and the ring itself. All this and more about this invention, but little, very little about what to us is its most important feature—its effect upon labor.

Somehow in the excitement over this wonderful discovery, labor has been almost forgotten. This is because the capitalist press are not interested in labor, although labor supports the capitalist press. And the press is not anxious to have labor interested in labor; so the press concentrates labor's attention upon the increased omnipotence and power of those who own the ring and all the other factors in the production and distribution of the necessities of life.

One stray paragraph, however, tells us in two lines what the invention's effect will be upon labor. Here it is: "Half of the workers now toiling either may be thrown out of employment or new markets must be created."

There you have it in a nutshell.

The workers in the mills will not have shares of stock in the new company, nor have summer homes with beautiful estates, and onyx bath tubs annexed. Only in one particular will they resemble Monsieur Belanger and the owners of the stock in the new company—they won't have to work. At least, half of them won't. The other half will have to work twice as fast as before to keep pace with the increased speed of the spindles, and they will not receive any more pay for their increased exertion. Instead, they will receive less, because the number of unemployed being increased one-half, the price of labor will decrease and production will be cheapened that much more again, in addition to the lowering of the cost through labor being displaced in the first instance.—Exchange.

IS THIS PROSPERITY?

I admit that there is an apparent prosperity, but it is a prosperity caused by a foreign war, by the expenditure of \$65,000,000 for warships, by the flooding of the country with millions of watered stocks, but I deny that our economic system is a reliable and safe one, and I deny that we have any abiding prosperity, and I assert that the working people are growing poorer and poorer each year. Taking the statistics of the government we find that:

In 1850 the wealth of the nation was \$8,000,000,000. The producers' share was 62½ per cent; non-producers' share, 37½ per cent.

In 1860 the wealth increased to \$16,000,000,000. The producers' share fell to 43¾ per cent; non-producers' increased to 56 1-3 per cent.

In 1870 the wealth was \$30,000,000,000. Producers' share was 32 2-3 per cent; non-producers' share, 67¼ per cent.

In 1880 the wealth increased to \$48,000,000,000. The producers' share went down to 24 per cent, while the non-producers' share increased to 76 per cent.

In 1890 the wealth was further increased to \$61,000,000,000. The producers' share fell to 17 per cent, the non-producers' increased to 83 per cent.

And now in 1900 it is estimated that the wealth of the country is \$100,000,000,000, while the producers' share has fallen to 10 per cent and the non-producers' has gone up to 90 per cent.

As the amount of wealth production increased, the producers' share in that wealth decreased.

According to the last census report, 52 per cent of our population are born in poverty and consigned to a life of servitude. Half of our nation own but 3 per cent of the national wealth, practically all of which the labor of their class has created. This class is increasing rapidly in numbers, and the middle class is being constantly crowded down into the already congested ranks of labor.—Dague's Plain Talk.

A joint meeting of Branches 4 and 7, Illinois, held Friday evening, August 27, nominated Comrade A. S. Edwards for congressional candidate in the Fifth district, and Comrade Wm. C. Horgan for the state legislature from the Nineteenth legislative district.

BATTLE SONG OF FREEDOM'S ARMY
Marching down to Armageddon, brothers bold and strong,
Cheer the cheerless way we tread on, with a soldier's song!
Let the armies of the old flags march in silent dread,
Death and life are one to us, who fight for quick and dead.

We are they who will not falter—many swords or few—
Till we make this earth the altar of a worship new;
We are those who will not take from palace, priest or code,
A meaner law than brotherhood—a lower lord than God.

We are those whose unpaid legions, in free ranks arrayed,
Massacred in many regions, never once were stayed;
We are those whose torn battalions, trained to bleed, not fly,
Make our agonies a triumph—conquer, while we die.

We are they whose bugles ring that all the wars may cease,
We are they who'll pay the kings their cruel price for peace;
We must slay in perfect pity those who must not live,
Conquer and forgive our foes, or die and still forgive.

Therefore, down to Armageddon, brothers bold and strong,
Cheer the glorious way we tread on, with a soldier's song!
Let the armies of the old flags march in silent dread,
Death and life are one to us, who fight for quick and dead.

—Edwin Arnold.

WHAT EDITORS ARE SAYING

Courier, Pueblo, Col.
The Chinese racket don't fool quite as many people as was hoped for by the imperialist party. The great majority of Americans don't care a tinker's swear word about the entire job lot of invading heroes be sent to the happy hunting grounds. The Chinese scare stories are a pack of lies.

Union Guide, Danville, Ill.
The rise in the price of sugar this year has netted \$30,000,000 for the trust. It amounts to nearly \$2 a family. If a tax of \$2 a year had been laid by law on each family for the sugar trust, we would have a tax riot in this country. Yet we concede without grumbling any extortion they demand. We are an intelligent, free people!

The Exponent, Saginaw, Mich.
The workman might better have no vote at all than to use that vote to enslave himself. If deprived of the right to vote at all he would at once realize that his economic masters used all the machinery of government for selfish purposes, a condition he is slow to see because at intervals he goes through the form of voting for men and measures proposed by his masters.

Farmers' Review, Bonham, Tex.
When the universal reign of commercialism is complete the world will come to one universal economic level. Through modern machinery and improvement, the nations will be knit together with steamships and wire or wireless telegraph. A few capitalist masters will direct the supreme dictators of the commerce and industry of the world. Their wealth, and power to absorb the wealth will be unbounded, and the masses will become pariahs and surfs.

Herald, Warren, Mass.
All England is by no means indifferent to the famine in India. But it is doubtless true that the taxes which bear heavily on her poor people, added to the concentration of wealth in the hands of native princes, prevent the masses from having any resource in case of drouth. Besides, everybody is thinking of the awful waste of money, and worse, of the wicked Boer war. At the rate the cost of this war is piling up, the expense of conquering Boers, it has been estimated, will be raised from \$5,000 to \$15,000 apiece.

The Toller, Terre Haute.
Workingmen are the most generous and free-hearted people that ever lived. They build palaces and rent hovels. They build mills, factories and railroads; and then with that generosity so common with them, turn them over to capitalists for the latter's benefit. They dig gold and silver and hand it to the capitalists, who in turn give a small portion back to them. One good turn deserves another, you know. In fact, they produce the wealth of the world and then let the other fellow enjoy it. Truly this generosity is killing.

Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kan.
The Democratic party is as much capitalist as the Republican party. It is opposed to socialism. Its leaders believe in private property. Bryan denies that he believes in the common ownership of the means of production and distribution. Some of the Democrats foolishly think he is entitled to socialist votes. No more than Debs is entitled to Democratic or Republican votes. Men who want socialism should vote for Debs—those who do not want socialism should not vote for him. Bryan is a reactionist. He wants to hold the present system and keep it from becoming more oppressive so that the people will be willing to bear it; he is therefore more against the coming socialism than those who would push it to its logical end and thus force people to see that the private capital system is bad and should be abolished. Vote for a great socialist party.

Justice, London, England.
"The crime of the century" is how one paper describes the massacre of Europeans at Peking, and certainly it was a very terrible and very horrible manifestation of human savagery. But have we any reason to pride ourselves upon being so very superior to the heathen Chinese? If any members of the dread association of "Boxers" have been reading our reptile press, and have instructed their co-religionists in the ideas and philosophy they have gathered therefrom, it would be quite sufficient to account for a rising for the extermination of foreigners in China. For not only have our yellow journals called for the extermination of the Boers, who have certainly not inflicted the injury on us that the foreign invaders have inflicted on China, but they have hounded on our native "Boxers," the hooligans of our great cities, to the assault and murder of all and sundry who disapproved of this war of extermination being waged against the Boers.

Bohemian picnic Sunday, September 2. Don't forget.

COMMON WEAL AND PRIVATE INITIATIVE

(Continued from First Page)

manity in irons; squeezing us all through the self-same mould; sending us all wriggling through life, dressed, shaped and colored alike, as so many tadpoles in a ditch.

Since we do not expect to gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles, the best method of examining this charge is to consider what manner of men those whom we have known as Socialists have hitherto proved themselves to be. For, as it is only the most pronounced individualities who wed themselves to a movement in its first unpopularity, so it is always these early pioneers from whom the movement draws its character. In the first place, then, the Socialists have all, without exception, been rebels against authority. As such they have been persecuted, imprisoned, exiled, hanged. In the second place they have been all, without exception, evolutionists, and he who is an evolutionist is also a revolutionist, since the acceptance of the evolutionary philosophy is the profoundest mental revolution conceivable. It inverts the whole picture of life; or rather, to speak more accurately, it opens our eyes to the fact that the whole picture has been hitherto presented topsy-turvy. The fable of a fancied fall is replaced with the proof of a continuous ascent; for the pessimistic caricature of man as a degraded creature, conceived in sin, there is substituted a figure glowing with life and hope; an individuality with a matchless record of triumphs over hostile environments; a being pre-eminently capable of selecting from and absorbing all that is best in his environment; a being therefore essentially fitted for self-government. This is unquestionably the teaching of evolution; this is the ideal it holds up as that which alone is worthy of the dignity of man. This is the ideal which, instinctively, Democracy is struggling to realize in every country, and for that struggle, which has but just begun, the Social Democrats—the Socialists—are preparing all along the line.

This central note of self-government dominates the whole of their philosophy, and their actions are the best proof of the assertion. The world, which is wedded to custom and consequently hates the rebellion of free individualities, has accused the Socialists of revolt against every venerable respectability in existence, and the accusation is unquestionably just. They are pitiless critics of existing institutions, and the criticism is very far indeed from being confined to our existing economic system, though the Socialists are peculiar for their steady insistence that it is the economic system that gives the shape to all other institutions. To this system, under which the means of production and distribution are the property of a class, they trace directly the entire system of class rule, representative government being necessarily, in their eyes, the sorriest of farces so long as this endures.

It would be easy to show, did space permit, that the whole democratic movement, of which Socialism is the advance guard, has had its rise in an altered conception of the origin and destiny of man: a conception that has slowly dawned upon the world, that flamed conspicuously into life during the period of the Renaissance, and has received an enormous impetus of late through the scientific investigations of the evolutionists. As this proud conception is directly opposed to the humiliation doctrine that the Church still teaches, the question of the future attitude of the Church toward the democratic movement in general, and Socialism in particular, is full of interest.

In reality a far more important question is the attitude of Socialism toward the Church. The Church is on the defense; she will shift her ground perpetually according to the fierceness of the attack, and yield position after position as she has already yielded them. Indeed, as regards a large proportion of our Protestant clergy, the charge recently made by Father Ignatius that they are clergy only in name, and free-thinkers in reality, is strictly true. Hitherto, however, Socialism, having its hands full with the elucidation of the economic problem, has been content to accentuate the point on which it finds itself in harmony with all existing religions. That point is the solidarity of the race, the brotherhood of man; an individualistic as well as a collectivist truth that all religions, dependent as they are on the masses for support, have always found it necessary to advance as the fundamental basis of their teaching. Unfortunately, all existing religions have immediately proceeded to undermine this principle of solidarity by dividing mankind into the lost and the saved, the sinners and the saints; by the abominable calumny that we were conceived in sin; by the grossly immoral doctrine of vicarious atonement, the most flagrant inducement to the abuse of life ever imposed upon human credulity. As Socialism gathers strength and clearness, and takes its stand more firmly on the solidarity of the race—achievable only through the conception of the individual as a being of infinite capabilities—it will find it necessary to join in a general movement for the explosion of

these dogmas, a movement in which it will have for allies all those who are saturated with the evolutionary philosophy of the age. It will preach to the masses the most inspiring sermon they have ever heard, and they will be greedy listeners; for it will stir to the depths the enormous body of discontent already engendered by the palpable injustices of society. It will follow a method the direct opposite of that so laboriously pursued for ages by the Church. It will say, with the historian Froude, that "the patience of the poor is the wonder of the world," and, "and," it will add, "its greatest crime." Disobedience will necessarily be its text; for, speaking from the standpoint of the natural as opposed to the supernatural, it will be forced to condemn tolerance of unnatural conditions as the most intolerable of vices. It will say with Oscar Wilde: "The virtues of the poor may be readily admitted, and are much to be regretted." It will tell them that class rule and liberty cannot possibly be co-existent; that in the existence of class rule is to be found the source of all their ills; that its abolition is therefore the sternly paramount duty of the hour. It will point out that all class rule depends exclusively on the power of the purse, which rests in its turn, on the monopoly of the instruments of production and exchange; and that, to abolish class rule, there is but one thing to be done, viz., to place such instruments in the joint possession and control of the united people. It will justify this startling change not only on grounds of expediency but on grounds of abstract justice, by showing that the earth, and the inventions by which we make the earth obedient to our will, have come down to us as a joint heritage, to be administered for the commonweal. It will go much further than this. Pointing to man's achievements in the past, it will give the masses the most positive assurance of their capacity to complete the conquest, and, by firing them with hope, it will supply the one thing needed to make a revolution successful and complete. For hope and self-confidence are the parents of all great changes, and the glory of evolution is the optimistic gospel it proclaims.

In all this it is clear that the clergy must either abandon completely their view of man as a degraded being, destined forever to a leading-string existence, or they must throw in their lot with the reactionists. That such of them as choose the latter course will have no lack of company among the so-called evolutionists themselves is, unhappily, certain, if Mr. Herbert Spencer's name is to have the weight in the future that it has carried in the past. Mr. Spencer has been steadily educating a school to the delusion that evolution is at all times a gradual and slow-paced process that moves with even foot. Against this will be set, proof overwhelming that the teachings of all history are: slow preparation followed by the quickest action; a lengthy incubation and a sudden birth.

Throughout this century a debate has been in progress such as the world has never seen, and history invariably repeats itself. The hour inevitably arrives when men decide that they have talked enough; the general understanding is complete, and action is in order. How soon that hour shall come, how deep the action decided on shall reach, must necessarily depend on the thoroughness of the discussion; for solidarity of thought is only possible where the leading propositions have been boldly submitted and candidly discussed. I believe that the major premise round which the fight must rage is the evolutionary doctrine of the dignity of man; his limitless capacity for self-government of every kind—industrial as well as religious and political. The two latter are, indeed, today in theory conceded, thanks to the Protestant Reformation and the French and American Revolutions. The first, which is the next and by far the most important link in the chain of evolution, has yet to be established.

While regarding the orthodox Church as a reactionary force, I am far from regarding her as a great one. In her organization, in the gifts she can bestow, in the prestige she can confer on those who openly attach themselves to her, and in the aesthetic attractions with which she surrounds herself, she has an apparent strength that makes a brave showing in fine weather, but it is ill fitted to stand the tempest that is coming. She will find herself, if she continues obstinately to oppose democracy, pitted against both the intellect and the interests of the age, and the combination will be irresistible. Every public upheaval we have had since the Reformation has proved the truth of this position. The French Revolution is a notable case in point, and the French Revolution took place a hundred years ago in a country where the densest ignorance prevailed, and slavish obedience to the priest had been the rule for centuries. Twenty years ago the same phenomenon presented itself, though far more conspicuously, in the Paris Commune, and the stand that Parnell was able to take single-handed, against the clergy in Ireland—the Church's modern Gibraltar—is pregnant with instruction. It will be observed that I have taken all my illustrations from the history of the Roman Catholic Church. The Protestants have too much rebel blood in their veins to

be able to play the part of reactionaries with effect, and many of their sects have practically long since rejected the superstitions I have criticized.

(To be continued.)

FARMER AND WAGE EARNER

In a recent report the State Labor Commissioner of New Hampshire says of the shoe industry in that state that there are employed, in round numbers, 13,000 hands, whose annual wages per certified returns aggregate over \$5,000,000, an average of \$385 each. This includes salaries of superintendents, bookkeepers, and the higher salaried officials of the great companies. The factory or jobber's price of the product of this labor for the same year was \$23,000,000, while the retail price or cost of the same to consumer was \$35,000,000. The cost of raw material (virtually labor, \$5,000,000; margins, \$10,000, of other industries) was \$15,000,000, which, with the wages paid as above, leaves a balance of \$15,000,000 to \$25,000,000 cost of product to the consumer (which includes the factory hands) over and above the labor cost of the same. In a word, labor receives one dollar's worth and capital at least three dollars' worth of the product of this great indispensable industry. Hence, labor is able to buy back, at best, only one dollar in four of that which it produces, and the other three dollars' worth of product must seek a market elsewhere than in the United States. Hence, the constantly increasing demand among our commercial men for foreign markets. Hence, too, the present inadequacy of the home market that once made the American farmer the most independent agriculturist in the world. This state of things is true in every avenue of productive industry. Invention and machinery have so taken the place of skilled hand labor in all these lines, as in the shoe industry, that, largely, cheap labor is more and more in demand, and the skilled artisan finds it more and more difficult to secure steady and remunerative employment in his chosen vocation. In the meantime, his wife or boys or girls are holding the machine down and receiving nominal wages therefor.

The direct influence of these changes upon agriculture is the restriction of home and local markets, and consequently reduction of prices. This is not so noticeable in the staple productions (as wheat, etc.), which are subject to world-wide conditions, as it is in the side lines of production, which heretofore have been the most profitable sources of the farmer's income. New conditions need new adjustments. As each succeeding adjustment opens the way for never and more advanced conditions, it is useless to look for a panacea good for all time to come for the ills to which agriculture is exposed. The progressive, the intelligent farmer is the one who is ever on the alert to adjust his methods and enterprises to the manifest progress of the age. What is true in these respects in the United States is equally true in other lands, and the "pauper labor of Europe" is already an open question here.—F. E. Miller in Topeka Farmers' Advocate.

Happenings in Washington

The terrible street railway accident in Tacoma on the Fourth of July, where forty-two human beings were ushered into eternity, and more than three score were injured, because the company in the lust for greed overloaded its defective car and its inexperienced motor-man, who was employed to make trips. Human life and safety being a secondary consideration, makes a strong argument for Socialism. Such a catastrophe couldn't have happened under proper supervision by the municipality. Now comes the Seattle strike among the poorly paid telephone girls; they are getting the sympathy of the whole community. Corporate greed is killing its votaries; things are coming our way with lightning rapidity. Then further east there is the St. Louis strike, which shows that the corporations are trying to do with wage-earners; the day is breaking over head; our masters are doing themselves to a finish.

It is to be regretted that our followers are so few, apparently, out here. Many say our theories are all right, but that the time is too soon. They forget that it is never too early to do right.

M. CUNNINGHAM.

The degeneracy and corruption of modern representative government are attributed in large measure by Prof. John R. Commons to the fact that our representatives today, instead of being specialists, claim to represent "the whole people." "When all classes of voters," says Prof. Commons (writing in the Independent)—"capitalists and laborers, Catholics and Protestants, educated and ignorant, natives and foreigners, whites and blacks—are thrown into one district or ward and are commanded to elect one man who shall represent all, plainly they can elect a colorless candidate who represents none." What is needed, according to Prof. Commons, is representation according to interests, and he claims that this basis of representation is sustained by historical, as well as by logical, reasons.

Persons living in Nebraska and accepting the principles of Socialism are requested to communicate with T. A. Edwards, 3220 California street, Omaha, with a view to the organization of branches of the Social Democratic party.

Social Democratic Party Leaflets

FOR CAMPAIGN PURPOSES

The National Campaign Committee of the Social Democratic party will issue for the campaign a series of well-written, effective four-page leaflets, two of which are now ready for delivery. These leaflets will be sent to branches and individual workers at cost of printing and postage.

LEAFLET NO. 1 is an address to unorganized Socialists; contains information concerning the Socialist movement, the party and its methods, object and program.

LEAFLET NO. 2—"An Open Letter to the Average American Workman," by Ben Atterbury. This is an admirable and convincing paper on the wage question, production, distribution of wealth and an appeal to the intelligence of the working class.

Put Them Into the Hands of Every Workingman

PRICES.

50 Copies	\$.10
100 Copies .....	.15
250 Copies .....	.25
500 Copies .....	.50
1,000 Copies	1.00
5,000 Copies	5.00

POSTAGE PAID.

Send orders to Campaign Committee Social Democratic Party, 126 Washington street, Chicago, Ill.

SPRAVEDLNOST

(JUNITE)

BOHEMIAN WEEKLY PUBLISHED BY THE BOHEMIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC BRANCHES OF CHICAGO

Subscription, \$1.50 a year

Address, 700-702 Loomis Street, Chicago, Illinois

THE PLATFORM

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness depend upon equal political and economic rights.

In our economic development an industrial revolution has taken place, the individual tool of former years having become the social tool of the present. The individual tool was owned by the worker who employed himself and was master of his product. The social tool, the machine, is owned by the capitalist and the worker is dependent upon him for employment. The capitalist thus becomes the master of the worker and is able to appropriate to himself a large share of the product of his labor.

Capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people; but the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system will necessitate the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare.

The present system of social production and private ownership is rapidly converting society into two antagonistic classes—i.e., the capitalist class and the propertyless class. The middle class, once the most powerful of this generation, is disappearing in the mill of competition. The issue is now between the two classes first named. Our political liberty is now of little value to the masses unless used to acquire economic liberty.

Independent political action and the trade union movement are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its political, the other its economic wing, and both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system.

Therefore the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be:

First—The organization of the working class into a political party to conquer the public powers now controlled by capitalists.

Second—The abolition of wage-slavery by the establishment of a national system of co-operative industry, based upon the social or common ownership of the means of production and distribution, to be administered by society in the common interest of all its members, and the complete emancipation of the socially useful classes from the domination of capitalism.

The working class and all those in sympathy with their historic mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America.

The control of political power by the Social Democratic party will be tantamount to the abolition of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting the millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international Socialism, the brotherhood of man. As steps in that direction, we make the following demands:

First—Revision of our federal constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to complete control of government by the people irrespective of sex.

Second—The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

Third—The public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones; all means of transportation, and communication; all water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

Fourth—The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal, and other mines, and all oil and gas wells.

Fifth—The reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

Sixth—The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

Seventh—Useful inventions to be free, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

Eighth—Labor legislation to be national, instead of local, and international when possible.

Ninth—National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.

Tenth—Equal civil and political rights, for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

Eleventh—The adoption of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

Twelfth—Abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

SPLENDID LIFE-LIKE PORTRAIT

EUGENE V. DEBS

CANDIDATE OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

SIZE—21 X 28 INCHES, ON GOOD PAPER

Price, 10 Cents, Single Copy

Sent by mail, securely enclosed in tube to insure safe transmission, on receipt of price.

Address, CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY, 126 Washington St., Chicago

THE FULL STRENGTH OF APPEAL TO REASON

WILL BE GIVEN TO

DEBS AND HARRIMAN

the ensuing campaign. For purposes of propaganda the following prices are named on bundles to one address:

25 copies weekly, 3 mos., \$ 1.50
50 " " " " " 3.00
100 " " " " " 6.00
250 " " " " " 14.50
500 " " " " " 27.50
1000 " " " " " 49.00

ADDRESS,

APPEAL TO REASON GIRARD, KANSAS

Pocket Library of Socialism

1. Woman and the Social Problem. By MAY WOOD STODOLSKA. Shows that the emancipation of woman will only come with the emancipation of man through socialism.
2. The Evolution of the Class Struggle. By WILLIAM H. NOYES. A historical study showing how socialism is coming.
3. Imprudent Marriage. By ROBERT BLATKOPF. A masterly answer to the argument that "prudence" would help the laborer.
4. Packingtown. By A. M. SIMONS. A study of the Union Stock Yards, Chicago; how nature and man are alike scientifically exploited.
5. Morals and Socialism. By CHARLES H. KERR. Shows how popular ideas of morals are manipulated in the interest of the capitalist class.
6. Single Tax vs. Socialism. By A. M. SIMONS. Shows the inadequacy of the Single Tax as a remedy for the evils pointed out by Henry George.
7. Wage-Labor and Capital. By KARL MARX. The essence of the great philosopher's theory, in his own words.
8. The Man Under the Machine. By A. M. SIMONS. Tells how wage slavery began, what it is today and how the workers are going to free themselves. A condensed handbook of socialism.
9. The Mission of the Working Class. By REV. CHARLES H. VAIL, author of "Modern Socialism," etc.
10. Morals and Socialism. By CHARLES H. KERR. Shows how popular ideas of morals are manipulated in the interest of the capitalist class.
11. Socialist Songs. Sixteen good ones, fit tones every one knows.
12. After-Capitalism What? By REV. WILLIAM T. BRADY. A logical historical study showing that socialism must come as the result of forces now at work.
13. A Political Quack Doctor. By W. A. CORREY. A socialist view of the "Prohibition" movement.

Daintily printed, five cents each, post-paid.

SPECIAL OFFER—For one dollar we will mail forty copies of the Pocket Library, all of one kind, as asserted as preferred.

SEND ORDERS TO

THEODORE DEBS

126 Washington St., CHICAGO

The Book You Need

PRINCIPLES OF

Scientific Socialism

By Rev. Charles H. Vail

Author "Modern Socialism" and "National Ownership of Railways."

CONTENTS:

The Industrial Revolution. The Analysis of Value. The Origin of Surplus Value. The Advantages of Socialism: Production, Distribution, Elimination of Unnecessary Expenses, Prevention of Waste, Elevation of Woman, Proper Care and Training of Children, Efficient Directors, Solution of the Monetary Question, Abolition of Taxation, Simplification of Government, Benefits to Capitalists, Benefits to Laborers. The Evidence of the Moral Strength of Socialism: Its Aims and Aim: Abolition of Business Dishonesty; Restriction of Divorce; Prevention of Prostitution; Elimination of Crime; Prevention of Intemperance, Insanity, etc. Poverty—Its Cause and Cure. Wage Slavery. Chattel Slavery. Rent and Interest. The Law of Wages. The Law of Progress. Industrial Depression and Commercial Crises. The Problem of Labor-Saving Machinery. Popular Economic Errors: That Value is Determined by Capitalist Cost of Production; that the Interests of Laborers and Capitalists are identical; that Labor is Better Off To-day Than Ever Before; that Cheap Prices are Beneficial to Labor; that Foreign Markets are Beneficial to Labor; that Luxury is Beneficial to Labor; that Land Nationalization Would Solve the Social Question; that Extravagance is the Chief Cause of Economic Want; that Socialism Would Destroy Individuality, Conclusion and Index.

12mo, 236 Pages; Paper, 50c; Cloth, \$1.00.

SEND ORDERS TO

THEODORE DEBS, 126 Washington St., CHICAGO

BRANCH SUPPLIES

Membership Cards (per 100)	1.00
Membership Applications (100) .....	.25
Constitutions (each) .....	.45

Send orders with cash to Theodore Debs, 126 Washington Street, Chicago. No supplies sent on credit.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

THIRD YEAR. No. 8.

CHICAGO, ILL., U. S. A., SATURDAY, AUGUST 11, 1900.

Whole No. 110.

DAWN OF FREEDOM DOOM OF CAPITALISM

Miseries of the Masses are Rather
Increasing than Diminishing, in
Spite of the Parrot Cries
of Prosperity

BLINDED BY FALSE PATRIOTISM

Labor Class Advancing to Knowledge that
All Commodities are but Crystal-
lized Forms of Labor

By Charles Trench

Clear proofs are not wanting that the working classes are, at length, serious and earnest in their determination to claim a better share in the moral and material inheritance of the human race. Large masses of wage earners distinctly perceive that, notwithstanding the enormous development of industry and of national wealth, the miseries of the masses are rather increasing than diminishing in spite of the parrot cries of prosperity which subsidized newspapers and knavish politicians are now dinning into the heads of the people.

Though we are incessantly reminded from pulpit, press, and platform that capital and labor are inseparable, and that Socialism must be a foolhardy leap in the dark, still incontrovertible evidence is abundant to prove that industry, on a large scale, and with all the appliances of modern science, can be carried on without the assistance of capitalist masters. There are, for example, 337 different kinds of industries and institutions in the civilized world which are managed and owned by the people; 54 governments in Europe own their own railways; 68 governments own their telegraphs, and 25 their own savings banks!

These are impressive, as well as instructive, figures, and serve to show how we are duped and besotted by shams and swindles which a large majority of the people are taught to believe are necessary for the well-being of our so-called "glorious institutions." The fact of the matter, my friends, is that many of you are so blinded by vain glory and false patriotism that you cannot mentally see the organized gangs of knaves that are taking the bread out of your mouths and the clothes off your backs. Though the fact is too obvious to require illustration, still I will repeat, for the hundredth time, that, with the development of the capitalistic system, machinery is more and more perfected, and that improved devices render human labor superfluous, throwing it out of employment and exposing the wage earners to enforced idleness and destitution. As the mechanism improves, the productive power of industry increases, and continuously tends to exceed the demands of the market. Hence come the periodical gluts and overstocked warehouses, brought about by overproduction. We all know the dreadful results that follow in the wake of cut-downs, shut-downs, and industrial stagnation.

The manufacturers, having accumulated enormous profits, can of course afford to cheerfully wait for better times, but their poor white slaves are often compelled to face famine and all its accompanying horrors.

It must be, therefore, obvious from these premises that a revolution and the introduction of an entirely new industrial system, based upon the principles of Socialism, are imperatively necessary to prevent the moral and physical ruin of our whole industrial population.

Just look, my friends, at the industrial muddle which threatens us with a tremendous crisis in the not far distant future! We behold at this very hour capitalist appropriators of the product of labor contending desperately for the possession of the markets, without systematic regard to market requirements. Each competitor strives to secure a market according to the dictates of his own interests. He accordingly endeavors to overreach his rival by adulteration, bribery, and other sharp practices now become recognized and inseparable adjuncts in the mad scramble for dividends which is debasing and impoverishing our entire population.

As an object lesson, which will better illustrate my meaning: Not long ago the manufacturers of Fall River were in a state of ecstasy over a machine which had been devised in that city for stretching cotton cloth. It was claimed, I believe with truth, that every yard of fabric could be elongated to the extent of from 15 to 20 per cent. I could relate quite a number of similar ingenious de-

ceptions which are practiced upon our patient and submissive people by greedy and unscrupulous manufacturers, who regard a capacity for clever swindling as the highest of intellectual attainments.

Such, my friends, is capitalism. It not only depraves the rich but strangles wholesome existence and self-respect among the masses upon whom it preys. It, in fact, degrades, enervates, and stupefies a people till they become degraded to nothing better than a herd of docile and industrious cattle, of which the capitalists and their lackeys are the drivers.

No rational being who has examined this matter with any degree of acumen can doubt for a moment that the interests of humanity are cruelly sacrificed in favor of class privilege and selfish interests. Furthermore, the intelligent investigator must be forced to the conclusion that wage slavery is equivalent to murder, inasmuch as it destroys all that is valuable and desirable in human personality. It must be further apparent to him that capitalism is robbery, inasmuch as it appropriates the value produced by the labor of others without rendering an equivalent. Under the system of chattel slavery the appropriation of the product of human labor was undisguised and compulsory, but under the competitive system the capitalistic class enriches itself on the profits of white slavery skulking under the guise of "free contract."

But, thanks to the genius and to the astonishing courage and self-denial of the founders of the Socialistic philosophy, the dawn of industrial freedom is breaking, not only in this country, but in all the leading civilized countries of Europe. The laboring classes are now advancing with giant strides to the knowledge that all commodities are but capitalized forms of labor, and that it is labor applied to natural objects that gives them their entire value. When once the great majority of wage earners are imbued with these simple and important truths, capitalism and its hideous accompaniments—strikes, bloodshed, and anarchy—are doomed. It is for this reason that it is a primary object for capitalism and its army of satellites, pensioners, and luxurious loafers, to keep the producing masses in perpetual subjection and at the lowest possible level of contented ignorance. The drones that ride on the back of labor are too well aware that, when once the searchlight of reason and knowledge is let in upon capitalism, that mighty fabric of iniquity will be shattered to fragments. It cannot adhere together much longer on such infamous terms. In the words of a distinguished writer, "the situation is becoming terribly original." The masses are discovering that capitalism and its pliant tool, McKinleyism, constitute a cunningly devised system of iniquity in all its basest forms. Hence the danger that menaces the whole framework of society. Indeed, it must be obvious to whoever has studied the train of events during the last few years that unless a radical change be inaugurated there will be no remedy but revolutionary violence, to which sensible men can be only driven in the last extremity.

JACK POTTS' OBSERVATIONS

Be Sure to Vote for McKinley or Bryan
Mr. Workingman, so as to "Save
Your Vote" and the Country

The following are the head-lines over a special article in last Sunday's Times-Herald from Jeypore, India: "Animals Eat but Babies Die in the Roads—Pierre Loti Paints Fearful Pictures of Famine in Old India, Contrasting Luxury With Dire Need—No Hope and No Pity—Little Children, Mere Human Rags, Strew the Streets at Nightfall, Perishing—Crocodiles Palace Pets—King and Church Flaunt Waste in the Pinched Faces of Want's Ghastly Victims."

The dignitaries fed the crocodiles but offered nothing to the starving human beings. Yet if Great Britain had spent a very small part of the money in relieving this famine that she spent in her latest war, death from famine would be unknown in India. Hurrah for the Commercial Instinct and the competitive system of this glorious civilization of the nineteenth century! "Competition is the life of trade"—and the death of human beings.

Be sure to vote for one of the old party candidates and for the same old competitive system which recognizes no "incentive" for man's progress, but the accumulation of material wealth. You would "throw away" your vote if you should vote with the Social Democracy for something that you really want, you know!

We are all on the "same dead level" so far as the need of food, clothing and shelter are concerned. The competitive system puts thousands below that level and under the sod. Don't you think

THE FORWARD CRY OF SOCIAL EVOLUTION

To Eugene V. Debs, Social Democratic Candidate for President of the
United States

Written by Daniel Peters

Advance! Advance! the voice of Agés cries;
Broad future lies before us unexplored.
Advance forever! thunders from the skies.
Though past misdeeds full deeply are deplored,
Ne'er swerve! Ne'er faint! Press ever onward, toward
The brighter vista just within our view;
Though mountains we must climb and rivers ford,
Yet look not backward. Aim—strike for the new!
And we shall win at length, because our hearts are true.

Assyria, Greece, Rome, Carthage, where are they?
Byzantium, Venice, and Phoenicia, where?
Egypt and Spain, the Ottoman, obey
The law of time, for they must pass, and there
Will be but relics that the world may stare
At what once was and never shall be more;
Napoleon, Charlemagne, Charles of Sweden—bare.
Remembrance speaks of wondrous feats of war—
They rose through blood and drowned themselves in seas of gore.

Time sealed the fate of empires and of kings:
He freed the vassal from the landed lord.
Time cut the chain—and it no longer clings
About the black man. Tho' the sharpened sword
Has often been Time's instrument, the broad
And sober mind of man's a better tool.
Time! teach mankind to think—first of their God,
Then of their fellowmen! and do thou school
The laborer to study much, nor be a fool.

We chase no rainbows over fields of thought,
Although our bow hangs over us all bright
With promise, great works have been wrought;
But greater far shall be the deeds of might,
When from the darkness mankind gains the light
Of health and pleasure, honor, love, and fame;
When jealousy, dishonesty, the blight
Of war, shall fade forever; and the name
Of God shall stand for goodness unto all the same.

that people would still have some "incentive" to make progress if possibility of the almshouse were removed? A

The greed, folly, hypocrisy, knavery, and misery begotten by the competitive system are almost beyond belief.

Motto of the competitive scheme: "Devil take the hindmost!" Motto of the co-operative plan: "Equal rights for all, special privileges to none." Take your choice!

Mr. Workingman, did you notice those figures again in last week's Social Democratic Herald? For fear you did not—look: In 1850 the wealth of the nation was \$8,000,000,000; the producers' share was 62½ per cent and the non-producers' share was 37½. By 1890 our wealth had increased to \$61,000,000,000, but your share had fallen to SEVENTEEN PER CENT, while the non-producers' share was EIGHTY-THREE per cent. Both of the old parties can "point with pride to these figures—which are government statistics—for since 1850 we have given both of them many trials. If you don't like it you can "throw your vote away" for a party which tells you that it wants what you want—co-operation instead of competition in our social system. It may be a good idea also for you to remember that this year it is estimated that our wealth is \$100,000,000,000 and that the producers' share has gone down to TEN per cent, while the non-producers own NINETY per cent. Be sure to vote for McKinley or Bryan, so as to "save the country" again this year!

And Mr. Churchman, you might run your eye over these figures and see if you think the kingdom of heaven on earth will be hindered or helped by longer sticking to the old parties!

Bully for Mammon! Hurrah for the "sacred rights" of Property!

ENGLISH LIBERALIST ON SOCIALISM AND MILITARISM

I stood year after year with my back to the wall against the Socialists, not because I did not respect the fervor of the men, not because I did not sympathize to my heart's core with their pity for the toiler's lot, or with their resolution to make the toiler more intelligent and his home more secure, but because I thought their means were ill chosen. But, really, if I were unfortunately called upon to choose between the Socialist and the Militarist, with all his random aims, his disregard of the natural resources, his disregard for the rights and the feelings of other people, I declare to you that the Socialist's standards are higher and his aims are not more wild.

—John Morley, of England,
in a public address.

COMMON WEAL AND PRIVATE INITIATIVE

Socialism Does Not Threaten to
Suppress but to Elevate Individu-
ality—Striding Toward It
with Seven-League Boots

COMING SOLIDARITY OF MAN

Philosophy of Socialism in Accord with that
of Evolution—The Conscious Socialist
Movement a Rebellion of Free
Individualities

By W. C. Owen

If, however, the future of the church does not excite one's apprehensions, the attitude taken by the reactionary wing of the scientific party, under the lead of Herbert Spencer, is greatly to be deplored, for the world is only too anxious to follow the lead of those whom it believes to be earnest seekers after truth, and to follow without being at the pains of making an investigation of its own. One needs but to recall the thoughtless enthusiasm with which this century has allowed itself to accept as infallible authorities Adam Smith, and the other prophets of laissez faire, the magnitude of whose fallacies we are only now beginning to realize. As Mr. Spencer, who brings to the support of their tottering theory the enormous weight of his reputation as an evolutionist, has again appealed to the public in "A Plea for Liberty," the subject is just at this moment specially apropos.

Mr. Spencer's position is exceedingly simple. He believes in individuality, and so do we. He believes that militarism crushes individuality, and so do we. He believes that the evolution from compulsory militarism to voluntary co-operation lies along the laissez faire lines marked out by Adam Smith. There we unquestionably differ, since we look on laissez faire—the each for himself alone theory—as being in itself militarism incarnate. After premising that "social life must be carried on by either voluntary co-operation or compulsory co-operation," he boldly states that "the system of voluntary co-operation is that by which, in civilized societies, industry is now everywhere carried on. Under a simple form we have it on every farm, where the laborers, paid by the farmer himself, and taking orders directly from him, are free to stay or go as they please." To us the liberty to throw off one and hunt another master, is the sorriest of satires upon freedom. He states further that "this voluntary co-operation, from its simplest to its most complex forms, has the common trait that those concerned work together by consent." In the same essay he speaks of "the existing system under which each of us takes care of himself, while all of us see that each has fair play," and he gives us his definition of the whole competitive system in the striking phrase "the regime of willing-hood." To all which I have only to reply that unfortunately the matter is beyond the sphere of argument; that it is an established certainty that, so far from living under a "regime of willing-hood," the masses are driven to work—for abnormally long hours, at dangerous and unwholesome occupations—by the whip of hunger, a whip in the hands of those who have succeeded, as the result of our grab-all policy of industry, in getting a corner on the means of life. On this all radical reformers are agreed, and the statement of Bedel, the German Socialist leader, that "the basis of slavery is economic dependence on the oppressor," is everywhere accepted as self-evident.

Having given this extraordinary rendering of the present, Mr. Spencer passes to the yet more dangerous ground of prophecy, and he treads with no uncertain foot. The management by the people of their own industrial affairs is to him an impossibility save under the administration of a colossal directorate wielding unprecedented power, and he supports his argument with illustrations drawn from our unhappy political experience, and the admitted tyrannies of trades unions. Herein he shows an ignorance of the whole philosophy of Socialism that is inexcusable in one who is making it a special object of attack. To make my meaning clear I quote from Frederick Engels' preface to the famous manifesto written by Karl Marx and himself in 1847, a document continuously, to this day, distributed wherever Socialist agitators are at work. He says: "The manifesto being our joint

(Continued on Fourth Page)

PSYCHIC SIDE OF SOCIALISM

By H. S. Geneva Lake

Nothing is more important than our relations one to another.

Equity is the everlasting problem. Its solution is the task of the ages. Rectitude is the result of centuries of moral evolution.

Criminal and capricious conduct lie at the base of the race structure.

To be really aggrieved is to have planted cruelty somewhere.

What we call "destiny" is the deed we have done.

Get out of the transient into the eternal.

Republics have gone down when tyranny arose.

An epoch like this is the fruit of false thought.

The day will succeed; but now is the night.

In the darkness people huddle together and inquire.

He who speaks clearest, reasons best, and loves most will be heard.

Base men cannot stop the course of a thought.

Whoever will not listen learns by the force of events.

Suffering either arouses or stupefies. People do not always sleep. We are now awakening.

The sleep has been long—since the dawn of history.

We have begun to reflect—presently we will act. That action will be chronicled by the name of Socialism.

Men make things today in squads, in brigades, in battalions. They man a manufactory, or a mine, or a mill, or a farm, and execute the will of the firm—of the combine—of the partnership. This is a trust.

Men move on the social board like chess in the hand of a great player.

The mistake that is made is to suppose the game is played by mankind only. God is also a factor and must be reckoned with.

When the game is in progress there are always unexpected happenings; this has occurred several times in history.

When the colonies rebelled, for instance; when John Brown's raid resulted in the reading of a proclamation; when electrical currents rotted impacting vegetation.

Always there is an adjunct unprovided for. So when combines commence there is something else coming.

Men are not driftwood; they are thinking things.

In God's Providence we have sufficient life left to inquire.

That inquiry is the Social Democratic Party, and that question is the slowly accumulating indignation of the stomach without a meal, the back without a coat, the worker without a tool, the teacher without a calling, the man without a country.

That interrogatory is being heard.

By whom?

By those who can no longer stop their ears—the mob and the philosopher.

For the rest—they are stupefied, but these, too, will awaken when the crash of the coming commonwealth shivers the atmosphere.

Social Democratic Herald

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board
FREDERIC HEATH Chairman
SEYMOUR STEDMAN Secretary
EUGENE V. DEBS VICTOR L. BEIGER
CORINNE S. BROWN

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, \$2.00. Six months, \$1.00. No papers sent to any one on credit. If, without having subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and no bill will follow. Foreign subscriptions \$3.00.

Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

A. S. EDWARDS, Editor
THEODORE DEBS, National Sec'y-Treas.
126 Washington St., Chicago.

110 is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 111 your subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, AUGUST 11, 1900.

THE KILLING OF KINGS

In these days of strenuous living and lying, when to be vicious is to be good, and brutality is gentleness; when patriotism means murder and murder means love and Christianity, nobody is surprised at what happens next, and the assassination of a king the other day would have fallen flat but for the ferocious and fantastical efforts of yellow journalism, smudged with red ink and illuminated with daggers and guns. The killing of a king is an incident in human affairs neither new nor surprising. And, if you will only pause to think, you will see that nobody really is surprised. The whole world knows that the rule of kings has always been mainly force and fraud; that there is not a king living today whose succession to power was not the culminating act in a long series of brutal acts against the common people. The reign of kings has been the reign of dungeon, gallows, torture, banishment, and murder. Whenever a king has made any approach to a relinquishment of his kingly prerogative of consigning decent and innocent people to the dungeon and the torturing chamber, he has been either an imbecile or a good man, and always a surprise.

But if the world is used to king killing, and sees in such acts as Humbert's assassination only a resort by desperate human beings to that brutal force by which it has been too long governed, no rational man who understands the fundamental causes of human misery and social degradation will for a moment approve the murder of individuals, whether kings or not, as a wise or effectual means toward remedying social conditions and establishing justice in the earth. The king is dead; but the king lives again! Kingcraft in general has had notice served on it that there is a deep-seated aversion among the people to its particular business. But through all the centuries of the past, with the growing spirit of democracy always in evidence, kingcraft has never been unaware of the forces that contended against it, neither has it failed to increase its body guards and multiply its soldiery to protect its person and retain its special privileges. Its guards and its soldiery are the visible manifestations of its class-consciousness. There is not a single branch of this class-conscious gang of kings in the world that is not inextricably involved in the grossest antagonisms with its own code of morals, yet an unctuous though atheistic class of spiritual hangers-on, always mindful of its class interest, is ever ready to condone the acts of its royal masters in the name of religion and lends its sinister influence to the subjection of the people in this world, "in the hope of a blessed relief hereafter."

However great the provocation may be to kill a king, the fact which should be pressed home upon the minds of the people is that the mere death of all the kings that curse the world would not improve the economic condition of the people who do the world's work. Humbert is said to have been a good king; perhaps he was; but as a man he belonged to the same class as our American millionaires. His death brought to light the fact that he was a millionaire twelve times over. That is, besides being a king and possibly a "good" one as kings go, he was a human sponge, an exploiter of labor, an appropriator of unearned wealth created by slaves in Italy. In this respect he was no worse and no better than a thousand kings of industry in the United States, and his taking off has bettered the world or the condition of the Italian people not a particle.

While Humbert was engaged in accumulating a vast private fortune, how were his "subjects" faring? What were they subject to? To a fearful burden of taxation that Humbert saw continually increased; in some of the provinces the increase was six-fold during his reign; the government laid its rapacious hand upon every necessary of life; there was and is a government monopoly of salt and matches—a kind of "Socialism" that some people in the United States with the commercial instinct favor; there was and is an octroi levying taxes on imports from the country at the gate of every city; there was corruption, jobbery, and oppression, resulting in bread

riots not long ago, when thousands of poor people were shot down by the king's soldiers for no other crime than being hungry. And in addition there was militarism and imperialism with their monstrous armaments and insane enterprises of conquest.

With these and similar conditions prevailing elsewhere as in Italy, not the killing of a king is a matter to surprise us, but the wonderful patience of the people and their supine indifference to the real cause of their sufferings and misery. That cause is rooted in the class ownership of the means of life, the exploitation of labor by the wages system, the appropriation by capitalists of the fruits of human toil. As long as this system remains political assassinations there will be and no good done. What Italy and the world most need is an arousing of the people to the hopelessness of adjusting the wrongs to which they are subjected by supporting institutions and parties that in turn support capitalism. Get away from capitalist parties of whatever name, in Italy and America.

The hope of the world is in the triumph of Social Democracy.

NOTES AND COMMENT

The editor of the Indianapolis Press labors through a column of space to show that the Metal Workers' International Union organized last week in that city is "taking the wrong road to Socialism." But he fails entirely to sustain the contention. Among other things this presumptuous man says: "We have no fixed limitations for classes here." Does he think that the workingman whose economic dependency compels him to accept the terms and pay which a capitalist employer chooses to impose, merely to live, is not in a class entirely separate from the capitalist? Does he not know that the class limitations for a vast majority of wage earners the world over are as absolutely fixed as any natural law? Well, probably not; capitalist editors are the supporters of more exploded political economy than all the trades unions in the universe.

The Democratic party favors self-government for the negroes in the Philippines, so it does; but the other day it denied self-government to the negroes in North Carolina. And this is the party that boasts of being the party of freedom! It asks for the votes of workingmen because it believes in freedom! Will it get yours?

The competitive system "beggars description" and beggars the people. A vote for the Social Democracy is a vote to remove that possibility. Don't forget that!

The competitive system and our old friend the "Commercial Instinct" are making a grand international aggregation of moral cowards and skulkers.

THE FAMINE IN INDIA

The appeals for aid in behalf of the sufferers of India are becoming so numerous that almost every grown person in this country is aware of the conditions prevailing over there.

The latest circular of this character that has fallen into my hands is one issued by the "Committee of One Hundred on India Famine Relief," containing views of starving groups of people and of the places where help is so greatly needed. At the head of this circular is a list of the hundred men who constitute this self-appointed committee. It is to the personnel of this committee and to the wording of their appeal that I wish to call your attention.

Such well known men as Geo. Gould, W. F. Havemeyer, Seth Low, Whitelaw Reid, Jno. D. Rockefeller, Russel Sage, and many more of New York's Wall street representatives fill out the list of those who volunteer to handle our money contributions for us and to distribute to India's famishing people the grain they so much need. In their call for aid they acknowledge that grain enough for everyone is already in that country and only waits to be paid for by someone, so the people may eat. Their appeal is therefore for money not food or clothing.

The American people most given to charitable acts are those whose wealth is in the products of the land and which they freely contribute when asked to do so, but to give money they must first obtain it, which takes time and forced sale of their products at greatly reduced prices.

These millionaire committeemen are so used to manipulating the people's gold for them in business, that they ask their charity to also be in the same precious commodity.

Bankers keep your deposits for you free of charge, and it is no act of charity for them to do so, as they do not lose thereby, neither do these men serve on this committee free of charge, indirect though their compensation may be.

The asking of money from the producing class of this land under the guise of famine relief, to enrich moneyed men who have grain to sell at famine prices is only a cloak under which to hide a like extortion at home.

Monopolies are robbing the people

every day, and the New York Ice Trust and Standard Oil Co. (whose representatives are prominent on the list), are just brother concerns with those who are holding India's grain and starving her people and never a word is said against the actions of such men.

Who owns the present wheat crop of this country today? Who will own it in December?

Ye farmers who sell your grain at present prices to send the money to India will see your own fellow-citizens paying a greatly advanced price for flour, when the wheat barons get the supply in their hands; and that, too, after another crop is harvested.

Men do not deny that India now has as much grain locked up in her barns as her people require; even the committeemen ask you not to send more grain, but cash to pay for what they already have.

How can these heartless, gilt-edged, wholesale extortionists face this people and under the mask of charity ask them to pay for grain once stolen from a helpless people by a capitalistic combine of which they themselves are a part.

You are asked to buy back stolen food stuffs to feed India. Are you going to recognize the plunderer's right to the property by paying them an exorbitant price for it? Ransom it for the people without a word about its theft?

No indeed! Far better carry our food to them direct, even though it cost more to do it, than to buy of the supply that has been refused its producers.

Let it be distributed by careful missionaries direct to the sufferers, who will surely fare better at their hands than if fed by the hard rule of business men's methods. Such a committee as this should turn its attention and strength toward the breaking up of that monopolistic power that holds in a grip of steel the very lives of millions of people.

If the American millionaires are powerless against British monopoly in such a cause let us keep away from their stronghold, and when going to feed a hungry brother take food with us so that it cannot be diverted from the desired course.

Many more "Hundreds" are giving their attention to this subject, but not a word do we hear in disapproval of the methods used, nor do we see any one who is striving for the removal of the cause of the trouble.

Was there ever a civilized government which allowed her subjects to starve while there was abundance of food in her possession? The government of India is today making mighty efforts to relieve the people, but hampered by monopolistic powers her efforts are almost in vain; therefore helplessly she succumbs to the enemy and asks us to contribute to them also.

Governments must control such matters, and the only safe means of control is absolute ownership—Socialism.

A people who will sit quietly and starve while his neighbor holds his food from him needs education in the first principle of citizenship. India is only an index to the future of what private ownership will accomplish if we allow it to rule. Socialism is her only means of life except by charity's bounteous hand.

V. Homer Cragin.

HISTORY REPEATING ITSELF

Mr. Workingman, I presume you have often heard that old phrase, repeated by so many, that "history repeats itself." This statement is made in order to convey the idea that certain facts, conditions, or institutions, having existed in some past age, have a tendency to recur in the same, or possibly in a slightly modified, form again. Whether this is true or not, I do not presume to say. However, I want to give you an example which, to a certain extent, seems to prove the truth of the assertion. The following is from a history of Egypt and refers to a period over 2,000 years ago:

"The Egyptians, like many of the present inhabitants of the Nile valley, were expert thieves, and so fond of using the skill necessary to successful robbery that no manner of banishment was found sufficient to prevent these persons who possessed this peculiar talent from the exercise of it. Therefore, as robbery could not be entirely checked, laws were made for regulating it. Those who decided to follow thieving as a profession gave in their names to the chief of the robbers. He was considered as not other than a respectable citizen and a man of the greatest integrity and honor. Those who joined his force agreed that he should be informed of all that they had stolen whenever they had committed a successful burglary. The owner of such goods or articles as were stolen went about the recovery of his property by sending a letter to the chief of the robbers, giving a minute description of the articles. If the goods were identified they were returned to their owner upon his paying to the chief of the robbers a sum of money equal to one-fourth of their value."

Now, my fellow workers, read that extract over carefully again and tell me if you cannot think of an institution existing at this very moment which is in almost every respect identical with these ancient Egyptian robbers. That institution is nothing more or less than the modern trust, about which so much is being said at present. Let us trace the analogy. You will agree with me that

those who possess the "peculiar talent" necessary for "successful robbery" in modern times are those in control of the trusts. They, like the Egyptian robber of old, are "experts," as the historian would say. You will also agree with me that "no manner of banishment" (Prof. Hadly would say ostracism) has succeeded in destroying these trusts. Therefore, the democratic and republican parties have decided to treat these modern robbers with the "peculiar talent" in the same manner that the ancient brigand was—that is, by regulating it. In other words, they would legalize it after for years trying to outlaw them. You will also note a further resemblance between the ancient and modern robbers from the fact that the owner of trust stock and his ancient brother are considered to be "respectable citizens" of the "greatest integrity and honor." They belong to the cultured class and go to make up the elect of "society."

Again, you will also note that those from whom goods were stolen could by identifying their property obtain it again by paying to the robbers one-fourth of their value. But today, on the contrary, it is the robbers who get three-fourths and more, as statistics will show. It is evident that the modern brigand is more of an "expert" than the old Egyptian type. This is one instance of "progress" at least. Now, I want to ask the working class who are victims of this "peculiar talent" what difference does it make to them whether they are robbed by bold Egyptians or "timid capital"? The robbery exists the same as ever. The only difference is a change in the methods under which the "peculiar talent" operates. But this is not all. The Republican and Democratic parties do not say that this robbery shall stop. Oh, no. On the contrary, as both have a "finger in the pie," they boldly tell you that they will do as was done 2,000 years ago. They are going to regulate it, which means they will make it more systematic and scientific. They will have the trusts report to the government (the chief robber) and then you will have the satisfaction of knowing how much you have been robbed of.

What sweet dreams will come to you at night, after leaving mine, forge, and factory, when you are made aware of this fact! Think of the beaming face of your wife next morning as she turns away from a hot stove on which she has been striving to fry a hand-leather, by courtesy called a beefsteak, when you inform her that you are able to tell where the wealth which you produce, but did not get, has gone!

What joy will spring up in your breast when you have the figures before you which tell of your ignorance and your master's "peculiar talent"!

What a pleasure it will be to know that you, by voting for Bryan or McKinley, thus take a hand in regulating the conditions under which you are to be robbed! On the other hand, should you determine to be a man for once, you will join with the Socialists and with a class-conscious ballot, seek to bury this "peculiar talent" that has cursed the world so long, and keep for yourself the product of your labor that you have up to the present handed to those who "toil not, neither do they spin."

Should you decide to do this, then you will vote the Social Democratic ticket, with Eugene V. Debs as candidate for president of the United States.

James Oneal.

MACHINERY SAVES WORK AND STARVES THE WORKER

Forty years ago, when one man was engaged in perforating bank checks, he took 750 hours to do 150,000, at a labor cost of \$150; while now, with machinery, six men are employed, but do the work in nine hours and fifteen minutes, and although they get about double the wages per hour, the labor cost is only \$1, instead of \$150, says the Scientific American.

In ruling paper, the worker, using quill and ruler, seventy years ago took 4,800 hours to do work now done by chine in two and three-quarters hours. The old-time workers got \$1 a day, now the two men employed earn \$7 a day between them, and yet the labor cost of producing a given quantity is 85 cents, against \$400. It is easy to understand from this how it is possible to use so much more material and to keep a great army of workers going instead of an individual.

Machinery is now extensively used in bootmaking, making 100 pairs of men's cheap-grade boots in 1543 hours, against 1,4363 by hand, while the labor cost is reduced from \$400 to \$35. In women's boots the case is equally marked, for instead of one man being employed to do everything, there are 140 engaged, each on a different machine operation; but not only is the time taken to 100 boots reduced to less than a tenth what it was, but the cost is also reduced. Thus what was accomplished in ten hours to thirteen hours forty years ago is now done in an hour.

Again, in breadmaking, less than a third of the time is now taken. One thousand pounds of dough for biscuits is rolled, cut and prepared for baking in three hours and fifty-four minutes, as against fifty-four hours by hand.

Subscribers will find their expiration number on wrapper. Prompt renewal is requested.

"UNIONISTS" ENDORSE THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC TICKET

Springfield, Mass., July 18, 1900.
Eugene V. Debs, Esq.,
Terre Haute, Ind.

My Dear Comrade: It is with profound pleasure I advise you that, by the treaty of union formulated by the unity committees elected at the Rochester and Indianapolis conventions, and which was approved by the majority of the membership of both parties on the referendum vote, of the ratification of your nomination as candidate of the Social Democratic party for the office of president of the United States. With best wishes very fraternally,

Wm. Butscher,
National Secretary.

Terre Haute, Ind., July 31, 1900.
Win. Butscher, Esq.,
National Secretary Social Democratic Party,
Springfield, Mass.

My Dear Comrade: Your communication of the 18th inst. has been received and I note that by the action of the unity committee elected at the Rochester and Indianapolis conventions, approved by referendum vote, my nomination has been ratified as candidate of the Social Democratic party for the office of president of the United States.

Permit me to return my thanks to the committee and to the comrades they represent for the ratification of my nomination, which I esteem a signal honor.

Having responded to the call of my comrades in accepting the nomination their confidence and partiality bestowed upon me, I am deeply sensible of the responsibilities which rest upon me as a Socialist candidate for the office of president of the United States.

Fully imbued with the philosophy of Socialism, I seek no personal preferment and I claim consideration only as a representative of the principles of international, class-conscious Socialism. In that capacity, and that alone, I appeal to the working class and to my countrymen at large for support.

The confidence implied by the unanimous action of my comrades moves me to regret my limitations and to wish myself a worthier representative of the principles so sacred to them because fraught with such grave import to the countless victims struggling in the grasp of economic bondage.

But all the strength and ability I have are at their service. Long since I consecrated myself to the cause, and all I have is laid with joy on the altar of Socialism.

As we look abroad we behold the steady march of transformation. Capitalism, which has written its record in the tears and blood of the human race, is staggering to its doom, while Socialism, herald of light and freedom, quickened by the spirit of the new revolution, is sweeping over all the world.

Here in the United States of America we are on the eve of our first great battle. Let us gird on our armor and press forward to meet the enemies of freedom, the oppressors of the people, the exploiters of the working class and the foes of all humanity.

Let us dismiss all minor considerations and unite in every state and territory, from end to end of the land in one mighty effort to hasten the end of capitalism and the inauguration of the co-operative commonwealth.

Thanking you again, and through you the members of your committee and all your comrades, for the honor conferred upon me, I remain, Yours fraternally,
Eugene V. Debs.

TAKE NOTICE

We desire to call the attention of Socialists and friends of the movement to the following facts:

The headquarters of the Social Democratic Party are located at 126 Washington street, Chicago.

The national secretary of the party is Theodore Debs, same address.

The national official paper of the party is the Social Democratic Herald.

The National Executive Board consists of Frederic Heath, chairman; Seymour Steadman, secretary; Eugene V. Debs, Victor L. Beiger and Mrs. Corinne S. Brown.

The National Campaign Committee of the party was organized July 22 at Chicago, Comrade Robert Meister of Milwaukee being elected chairman, and Comrade Seymour Steadman, of Chicago, secretary.

At the meeting of July 22 a finance committee for the campaign was elected as follows: Edward Zeigler, chairman; Joseph R. Finn, treasurer; James Wright, secretary.

Acknowledgment of all contributions received will appear in this paper.

The National Finance Committee of the Social Democratic party desires the name of an energetic Comrade, with the recommendation of his branch, to solicit contributions to the Campaign Fund. Send to James Wright, 336 N. Avers Avenue, Chicago.

NOMINATION CALLED FOR

The Executive Board requests the Branches to make nominations for a new board, to consist as provided for by the constitution, of nine members.

NOTES FROM THE FIELD

Comrade Eugene V. Debs is engaged to speak at Canton, Ohio, on Labor Day.

An Iowa comrade writes: "I am well pleased with The Herald and couldn't do without it at all."

Comrade Seymour Stedman has been taking a course of training in the country for a week preparatory for the work of the national campaign upon which he is about to enter.

All comrades at Rockville, Conn., are requested to attend a joint meeting on Friday evening, August 31, to consider business of importance in regard to the campaign.

All branches of the Social Democratic party in New York are requested to send delegates to a State Convention to be held at Seminole hall, 414 Grand St., New York City, on August 26.

Following is the Indiana State Executive Board of the Social Democratic party: R. Greuling, chairman; Hugo Miller, treasurer; Thomas Catton, secretary; A. Babcock and Chas. A. Thornton.

The state committee of the Social Democratic party of New Jersey places in nomination for the national executive board the following: Eugene V. Debs, Seymour Stedman, Victor L. Berger, Mrs. Corinne Brown, W. E. Farmer, G. R. Gordon.

The Socialists of Chicago have had the pleasure of getting acquainted and exchanging views with Comrade Irene Ashby of London, England. Miss Ashby has spoken here several times and is enthusiastic in declaring that the field of work for Socialists in Chicago is most inviting.

The Second Congressional District Convention was held on Sunday, Aug. 5, at Uhlhorn's hall, corner 63rd and Center Ave., Chicago. The following were nominated as candidates for office: For Congressman—Gus Bartlett.

For Board of Equalization—Chas. Wistrand.

For State Representative (Fourth Senatorial District)—J. J. Florian.

NEW JERSEY CONVENTION

The Socialists of New Jersey will co-operate politically under the name of the Social Democratic party in the support of Debs and Harriman for president and vice-president in the coming campaign. The state convention was held at Newark. About ninety delegates were present.

State Secretary Weigel opened the convention, and organization was perfected with J. W. James of Trenton and J. H. Strobel as presiding officers and E. C. Wind and John P. Weigel as secretaries.

A full electoral ticket was nominated and a campaign committee elected consisting of Comrades James, Neben, Bucksath, Posern, Weigel, Gilliar, Jones, Godel, Lavin, Strobel, Doubleaar, and Gilman. The committee will have its seat at Newark.

W. H. Wyatt of Rutherford was nominated for Congress in the Fifth district. John W. James of Trenton was the choice of the Sixth.

Thomas Jones of Newark was the choice of the Ninth.

THE PLATFORM.

We, the representatives of the Social Democratic party, in state convention assembled, hereby indorse and ratify the nomination of Eugene V. Debs and Job Harriman for president and vice-president of the United States.

The Social Democratic party of the state of New Jersey hereby reaffirms the national platform adopted at the Indianapolis convention and declares its uncompromising adherence to the principles of international Socialism.

We demand the enactment of a law providing for the ownership and operation by the state and municipalities of all utilities requiring public franchises.

We demand the direct employment of labor by the state and municipalities on all public work and the employment of the unemployed on state and municipal improvements.

We demand that adequate school accommodations shall be furnished, such as sufficient school room, trained teachers, free school books, and food, clothing, shelter, and medical attendance.

We demand the enactment of a law providing for the eight-hour work day, the entire abolition of the contract system, and the employment of organized labor on all public work.

We hereby call upon the voters of New Jersey, irrespective of past political affiliations, to work and vote for these principles and to elect the candidates of the Social Democratic party.

RESOLUTIONS.

We recognize that all wars are initiated by capitalists in their own interests, and that the workers are not interested in them, but are the main sufferers thereby. We are, always were, and always will be opposed to imperialism.

We also emphatically denounce the use of military power to suppress organized labor both by Democratic and Republican administrations; and we denounce the decisions of our judiciary against labor organizations in their inalienable right to protect themselves by the aid of numbers and financial contributions.

The New York People's report says a

"strong union resolution was also adopted." This is untrue. No such resolution was adopted. There was one offered which almost turned the convention into a long and bitter fight. All the members of the Social Democratic party were on their feet at once and protested.

The campaign committee of the state of New Jersey issues the following call and urges that the members should at once abide by the resolution adopted by the state convention offered by the committee on ways and means:

Each comrade should be requested to pay 5 cents a month during August, September, October, and November as a source of income for the campaign committee. All locals should attend to the above at once and forward the same to Comrade Edw. M. Dobbelaar, Port Lee, N. J.

It is hoped that every Branch will contribute \$10 to the Campaign Fund; some can do better; some have done so and will make a canvass for individual subscriptions as well. What is your Branch doing? Send all money to the treasurer of the National Committee, Joseph R. Finn, 126 Washington street, Chicago.

GIVE US PROOF, OR REST

If Comrade F. G. R. Gordon was chosen by the Eastern "unionists" to write nonsense on the "union" proposition, the choice was a very poor one; if he is a self-appointed censor of the acts of those with whom he agreed until he returned East, then his impudence is equal to his consistency. That any comrade should be able to find things to criticize is not to be wondered at; but one of the most regrettable and surprising features of the "union" controversy is the persistence with which those Eastern folk have resorted to misrepresentation and appeal to the prejudices of members. In this matter Gordon has distinguished himself. He has given repeated illustrations of a total disregard for truth and reckless perversion of facts. For instance, in the last issue of the Saginaw Exponent, without offering a particle of evidence to sustain it, he makes the charge that the national executive board costs from \$6,000 to \$8,000 a year. This is in line with another statement made some time ago to the effect that the members of the present board are "in the movement for revenue." Such wild and absolutely untruthful declarations (known to be false by the persons making them) are not made to enlighten anyone, but rather to deceive, and, incidentally of course, to promote a bad cause; a cause which had its beginning not in a sentiment for peace but in a determination for war, and which has depended upon duplicity and double-dealing—to come to an inglorious end. We challenge Comrade Gordon to show up the figures to sustain his foolish charge. It will be a decided relief from the monotony of his twinkle twaddle if he will produce a bit of proof. In the meantime, we are glad to be in accord with him when he says: "There is little sense in claiming a union when we have two N. E. B.'s. one in Chicago and one"—somewhere else, only it is necessary to remind him that such a claim is not made by us. There is no union.

NOMINATIONS FOR NEW NATIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

The constitution adopted at the Indianapolis convention, and since approved by a referendum vote of the branches, provides for a national executive board of nine members, "five of whom shall be chosen from territory convenient to the national headquarters and shall be called 'resident members,' and the remaining four shall be chosen, as far as possible, from other parts of the country." The present executive board on July 21 requested the members to make nominations for the new board. In response the following have been named up to this time:

Allman, James, New York
Brown, Corinne S., Illinois
Burger, Victor L., Wisconsin
Clemens, G. C., Kansas
Cox, J. J., Illinois
Debs, Eugene V., Indiana
Farmer, W. E., Texas
Gordon, F. G. R., Massachusetts
Greer, J. H., Illinois
Hale, Margaret, Massachusetts
Heath, Fredrick, Wisconsin
Horgan, W. C., Illinois
Kelley, J. W., Indiana
Ludlow, Isadore, Wisconsin
McCartney, F. O., Massachusetts
Miller, L. E., New York
Miller, Hugo, Indiana
Ricker, A. W., Iowa
Riley, Geo. W., Illinois
Roney, Eugene H., Wisconsin
Stedman, Seymour, Illinois
Stedman, G. O., New Jersey
Stedman, Seymour, Illinois
Sweetland, G. A., Connecticut
Uhlhorn, Henry, Illinois
Winneba, Jacob, Illinois

METAL WORKERS START RIGHT

An international union of the metal workers of the United States was effected last week at Indianapolis, of which C. O. Sherman of Chicago is general secretary. That the new organization starts right appears from the declaration of principles adopted, which read in part as follows:

"Society at present is composed of classes whose interests are highly antagonistic to each other. On the one side

we have the proprietary class, possessing almost all the soil, the houses, factories, means of transportation, machines, raw material and all necessities of life. In comparison to the entire people this class represents a small minority.

"On the other side we have the workmen, possessing nothing but their intellectual and physical power with which to labor, and which they must sell to the possessors of the means of production in order to live. The workers represent the millions.

"The interest of the possessing class consists in buying the productive power of the laborer as cheaply as possible, in order to produce as much as possible and to amass wealth. The few hundred thousand proprietors arrogate to themselves the larger part of the wealth produced by the workers. The laboring millions receive from the product of their labor only as much as is necessary to live a life of misery and starvation.

"Every improvement in machinery, every new discovery of hitherto unknown forces of nature, the proprietary class arrogates to itself for the exclusive purpose of increasing its possessions. Through this process, human labor is more and more displaced by machinery.

"The workers, having become superfluous, are compelled to sell their labor at any price in order to save themselves from starvation. The value of labor gradually decreases; the laboring people are being impoverished more and more; their consuming power is more and more lessened, and the consequence is that the commodities produced remain upon the market without being bought by any one. Commercial stagnation sets in; production is decreased, and even partially suspended. The crisis has arrived.

"The proprietary class presses into its service the power of the state—the police, militia, and press, to protect the possessions produced by others, and to declare for the 'sacredness' of property. While the millions of the working people are left without the means of existence, without rights, and unprotected, betrayed, and sold out to their enemies by the state and by the press, the arms of the police and of the militia are directed against them."

ANNALS OF THE POOR

Speaking of child labor in the south, Mr. Travis says: "A larger part of the work is done by children. There is no restriction on child labor in the south, and attendance upon school is not compulsory. I saw children 8 and 9 years of age working from 6 o'clock in the evening until 6 o'clock in the morning for 10 cents a night. One of the mills in Concord, N. C., has increased its capacity threefold in thirteen years and has paid regularly 10 per cent dividends. In Charlotte there are fifteen mills doing as well."

In some of the southern mills the windows are frosted so that the facetious outsider shall not behold the hell within, and operatives are docked and even fined when they are absent for a few minutes in response to sanitary requirements.

Let us look into one of these hells: dusty floors, flying wheels and swaying frames, and in this din, for twelve long hours, babes toil.

You pick one up; its little hand lays on your arm, and it meets your gaze with listless and wondering eyes. It has a heart, and you can feel it throb, and then you stand it down on the floor and it moves to feed the machine—with its fingers, eyes, arms, its life and its soul, for what? For profits—to per cent dividends and national honor!

When most of you go home your darlings greet you, throw their arms around your neck, place their lips upon your cheek, their eyes are bright, and they thank you so good, so big, so great.

If some one should pick up your babe, "you well-to-do," and drive it for twelve long hours at night, what then? Oh, it's not your child that moans? A brutal subterfuge!

Wm. McKinley and Wm. Bryan, the coming generation asks a question; the child appeals; it has no silver to coin, no foreign markets to exploit. What is your reply?

The Socialist will answer: All children belong to society and by it must be fed, clothed and educated. The sunlight shall fall upon its smiles and its laughter fill the bowers, the world shall be its playground, humanity sharing the radiance of its joy.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

HEADQUARTERS—126 WASHINGTON ST., CHICAGO

National Campaign Committee—Robert Meister, chairman; Joseph R. Finn, treasurer; Seymour Stedman, secretary.
Finance Committee—Edward Zeigler, chairman; Joseph R. Finn, treasurer; James Wright, secretary.

Committee on Literature—A. S. Edwards, chairman; Christian Mickelson, secretary.
Committee on Printing—Jacob Winneba, chairman; Philip Brown, secretary.

Committee on Organization—Seymour Stedman, chairman; Arthur Dennison, secretary.

Committee on Speakers—Oscar Loebel, chairman; Seymour Stedman, secretary.

All communications for the secretary of the National Campaign Committee should be addressed to Seymour Stedman, 126 Washington street, Chicago.

LOCAL BRANCHES

Notices of Branch Meetings Inserted for 25 Cents per Month

CALIFORNIA

Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evening, commencing at 8. Admission free. Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening.
Membership, Social Democrat's Herald free to each member, 25 cents per month.
Apply to the secretary, John C. Wealey, 117 Turk street.

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock at Woodman's Hall, 1234 Spring St. J. Frank, 20 Dayton Ave., Secretary.

Branch No. 5, Alameda, California, holds free public meetings every 2d and 4th Sunday, 8 p. m. at Foresters Hall, 608 Park St. and Santa Clara Ave. Business and Educational meetings (for members) 1st and 3rd Sunday, 8 p. m. at 2405 Encinal Ave. Allan A. Crockett, Secretary, 1810 Walnut St.

Branch No. 1, Denver, meets every Sunday at 3:30 p. m. at 1715 California Ave. Chas. M. Davis, Secretary, 1829 17th Street.

Branch No. 3, Goldfield, meets every Sunday at 7:30 p. m. at City Hall. Chas. La Camp, Secretary.

CONNECTICUT

The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at Turn Hall, Rockville, L. Schaff, Secretary.

Branch No. 1, New Haven, meets every Wednesday evening, at 8 p. m., at Aurora Hall. C. Volmer, Sec.

Branch No. 4, Rockville, Conn., meets first and third Thursday, 8 p. m. at Turn Hall meeting room, Village street. Secretary, Richard Underwiler, Box 780.

ILLINOIS

Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesday of each month at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 32 Dearborn St.

Branch No. 1, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening, Thomas Kirwin, Secretary, 2504 Westworth Ave.

Branch No. 2 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets first and third Saturday at 8 p. m. at Nagli's Hall, 735 Blue Island Ave. Ferdinand Svoboda, Secretary, 684 West 18th Street.

Branch No. 3 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Monday at 8 p. m. in Dunder's place, 1080 W. 18th place, Joseph Dunder, Secretary.

Branch No. 5, Chicago, meets second and fourth Sunday of each month at Piskin's Hall, cor. Centre and 15th St. J. Cerny, Sec., 3-0 W. 18th St.

Branch No. 6, Chicago, meets every first and third Saturday each month at 8 o'clock at Nagli's Hall, 535 Blue Island Ave. near 18th St. Albin Geisler, Secretary, 725 W. 20th St.

Branch No. 8 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets second and fourth Sunday at 8 p. m. at 505 Lincoln Street. J. A. Ambros, Secretary, 4940 Wood Street.

Branch No. 9, Chicago, meets at 1145 W. 62nd St. first and third Sundays at 8 p. m. Gus Larson, Secretary, 623 Center Avenue.

INDIANA

Branch No. 6, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichwein's Hall, corner Market and Noble Sts.

Branch No. 2, Hitman, meets every fourth Friday in the month at opera house. S. H. Jamieson, chairman, James Fisher, organizer, Joseph Schollcutt, secretary.

IOWA

Branch No. 4, Bellevue, meets 1st and 3rd Sunday, at 2 p. m., and 2nd and 4th Wednesday at 8 p. m., at 91 Fairfield Ave. We will make it interesting for all. Henry Listerman, Sec., 1-2 Foote Ave.

KENTUCKY

Branch No. 1, Louisville, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m. at Carpenter's Hall, 500 E. Baltimore St. Public invited.

Branch No. 2, Baltimore, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at Wenzel's Hotel, 228 W. Camden St. Good speeches. Public invited. Levin T. Jones, Secretary, 202 W. Harre St.

MASSACHUSETTS

The Massachusetts State Committee meets the first Saturday of each month at 724 Washington St., Boston. All dues and moneys intended for the State Committee should be sent to the Finance Secretary, A. McDonald, 12 W. Springfield St., Boston. All other correspondence should be addressed to the Corresponding Secretary, Margaret Hall, 6 Glenwood St., Roxbury.

Branch No. 2, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Tuesday of each month at Springfield Turner Hall. Gus Geisler, Organizer, 413 Main St.

Branch No. 6, Lynn, permanent headquarters 71 Monroe St. Business meeting every Monday night at 7:30. Open house. Public invited. Harry Gotimer, Sec., 42 Essex St.

Branch No. 9, Brockton, meets Friday nights at 8 p. m. for business at Socialist Hall, Clark's block, corner Main and Center Sts. Every comrade is expected to attend one meeting a month. Mrs. Annie Busworth, Secretary, 51 Prospect St.

Branch No. 15, Boston, meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 90 Chelsea St. Miss Jenny Segal, Secretary, 90 Chelsea St.

Branch No. 20, Roxbury, Mass., meets at 24 Warren St. at 8 p. m. every month. Public invited.

Branch No. 21, Chelsea, permanent headquarters, Room 2, Postoffice Building. Open every evening. Business meetings every Thursday at 8 p. m. Public invited.

MICHIGAN

Branch No. 1, Battle Creek, Mich., meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of each month, at 3 p. m. at 10 W. Main Street, in the International Congress Hall. All are cordially invited. L. C. Rogers, Secretary.

NOTICE TO COMMITTEEMEN

The meeting of the County Campaign Committee on Sunday, August 12, will be held at Central Labor Union Hall, 55 North Clark street, near Michigan avenue. The meeting will be called to order at 10 a. m., and every comrade elected to serve on the committee is expected to attend.

NEW BRANCHES

Illinois, one.
Massachusetts, one.
Nebraska, one.
South Dakota, one.
Wisconsin, three.

FORGING AHEAD IN IOWA

It is a great gratification to all Socialists to read in the columns of The Herald the names of new branches organized, and thus to know that the movement is having rapid and substantial growth. We, of Iowa, are also proud of the additional fact that in no place has the cause shown greater growth than in our own state. At the beginning of the year Social Democracy was practically unknown in Iowa. The writer at that time was a member of another party organization, as were the host of able supporters who are now enrolled under the banner of Socialism.

Today we number thirteen branches, located in six congressional districts. There are as many more in process of formation and the writer is in communication with active Socialists in every congressional district in the state and in sixty per cent of the counties. The membership of the party here is as varied as our population. Two of the branches are in coal camps. Two of them are composed of farmers and the balance are in the big cities of eastern Iowa. The circulation of Socialist papers has increased from something over 500 last fall to 5,000 now. In one railroad division of a line traversing the

MINNESOTA

Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Gesswein, on Main St. A. Kingsbury, Secretary.

MISSOURI

St. Louis headquarters, Room 7, 22 N. Fourth St. Address all communications to E. Val Putnam, Secretary. For information concerning ward branches, inquire at the above address.

Branch No. 7, Kansas City, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1200 Union Ave. G. J. Stort, Secretary, 1200 W. 12th St.

MONTANA

Branch No. 1, Butte, meets every Thursday, at 8:30 p. m., Engineers' Hall, Owsley Block. G. Frankel, Sec. 71 E. Park Street.

Branch No. 2 meets first and third Sundays of each month at G. W. Wood's home, Chisno, Mont.

NEW JERSEY

Branch No. 1, Secretary, Michael W. Schor, 51 Livingston St.

Branch No. 5, Camden, N. J., meets every 2d Sunday of the month. For particulars address Paul Eberding, 1204 Kaugh's Avenue.

Branch No. 3 (German) Newark, meets every third Saturday, at International Hall, 7 Bedford St. Hans Harwig, Secretary, 7 Bedford St.

Branch No. 8 (German), Paterson, N. J., meets first and third Monday, 8 p. m., at Horstia Hall, 54-56 Van Houten St. Karl Linder, Secretary, 245 Edmund St.

NEW YORK

The City Central Agency Committee of Greater New York, meets every second Tuesday at 412 Grand street, Windsor Hall. James Ahman, Secretary, 32 Outlook street. Care of "Forward."

East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every first and third Thursday, at 113 Clinton St. A. Guyer, Secretary, 113 Suffolk St.

Branch No. 3, 24th Assembly District, meets second and fourth Wednesday of the month at 1059 Second Ave., at the "Central." Henry Lang, Secretary, 234 E. 60th St.

Branch No. 4, West Side Branch, New York, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of every month at headquarters, 128 W. 50th St. Elizabeth H. Thomas, Secretary.

Branch No. 5 Brooklyn, New York, meets every Saturday at 8 p. m., at 56 Moore St. Visitors welcome. Committee organized to organize and publicize with Secretary Sol. Pressman, 190 Soerum St.

Branch No. 10, New York, meets every Friday, at 8 p. m., 20 E. Broadway. Lectures and discussion. Public invited. Organizer, Joseph Williams, 56 Henry St.

OHIO

Branch No. 2, Cleveland, meets in Ohlsen's Hall, 65 York St., second and fourth Sundays at 3 p. m. Lectures, discussions, business meetings, first and third Fridays at 8 p. m.

Branch No. 3, Cleveland, meets first and third Sundays in each month. Public invited. Ohlsen's Hall, 65 York St. Lectures and discussions.

Branch No. 4, Cincinnati, meets at American Hall, corner 6th and Plum Sts., every Sunday at 2 p. m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Joe Jasen, Secretary, 1410 Central Avenue.

Branch No. 5, Dayton, Ohio, meets every 2d and 4th Friday evening, in Hall 27, Central Trades Council Block. Everyone interested in Socialism invited. J. C. Schwabe, Chairman, W. Harringer, Secretary, P. O. Box 231.

Branch No. 8, Cincinnati, meets every second and fourth Saturday in Workingmen's Hall, 113 Walnut St. F. Hamel, Secretary, 1824 Fifth St.

Branch No. 11, German, Columbus, Thomas May, Jr., Secretary, 852 3rd St.

PENNSYLVANIA

Branch No. 1, Philadelphia, meets every Monday, at 8 p. m., at 423 S. 3rd Street, until further notice.

Branch No. 2, Erie, meets every Sunday, 3 p. m., at K. of L. Hall, 716 State St. Chairman, Joseph Stain, Secretary, J. E. Perry, 119 Sassafras St.

Branch No. 4, Pittsburg, meets 2nd and 4th Wednesday evening at 7:30 p. m. at Funk Hall, 8 1/2 Ave. and Josephine St. W. Bonn, President, 24 Addison St. J. H. Lewis, Secretary, 213 Jan St.

Branch No. 4, Coudersport, meets every second and last Wednesday of each month in K. of L. Hall. Chas. Knapp, C. chairman; L. H. Morse, Secretary, Ben. Coddington, Treasurer.

Branch No. 5, Philadelphia, meets first Friday of each month—Executive meets every Sunday morning at S. D. P. Club Rooms, at 421 S. Third St. Organizer, M. Jolin, 1001 S. Third St.

Branch No. 10, Williamsport, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m., in Social Labor hall, No. 4 East 31 St. G. B. Smith, chairman; Joe. Lyon, secretary, 43 Second St. Public invited.

WASHINGTON

Branch No. 5, Tacoma, meets every Monday evening at 8 p. m., 415 11th Street.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee Central Committee, S. D. P., meets second and fourth Monday of the month at Brewers' Hall, southeast corner Fourth and Chestnut sts.

Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets at Keller's Hall, Fourth Street, between State and Prairie, every second and fourth Thursday evening.

Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Friday in Geatke's Hall, corner Green Bay and Concord Ave.

Branch No. 3, Sheboygan, meets every second Thursday of the month at Emil Henschel's place, 111 Michigan Ave. Secretary, Eugene J. Kichelberger, 170 N. 11th street.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday, each month at Miller's Hall, corner 2d and Brod Sts. George Moerschel, Secretary, 331 25th St.

Branch No. 5, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at R. Sigel's Hall, southeast corner Orchard St. and 9th Ave. O. Wild, Secretary.

Branch No. 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of each month at Kraus Hall, 21 and Center Sts., at 8 p. m. Secretary, Randolph Loeschman, 1128 23rd St.

Branch No. 23, Milwaukee, meets second and fourth Wednesday of each month, at 524 Clark street. Henry Harbicht, Sec., 1074 7th Street.

Have your card inserted in the

BRANCH DIRECTORY, 25 Cents per

Month. It will help you in the work

in your locality.

state there are 215 subscribers to the

Appeal to Reason. Nearly all of them

are for Debs and Harriman. In one

county there are over 600 copies of the

NATURE AND SOCIALISM

It is the Co-operation of the Forces of Nature that Enables All Things to Exist

When you argue Socialism with a man who knows nothing of social economics, his last resort for a reply is, "Your theories look all right, but they won't work." This reply is the last resort of the ignorant. Any system is practical that the ruling power can conceive, and Socialism to the man who understands its principles is the most practical and reasonable social system that has yet been offered for the consideration of intelligent people. The theory is based upon the laws of nature and life, and being based upon the primary law of life it is the most natural and practical.

The masses have been so long taught by their ignorant leaders that the law of individualism is right, that it is hard for them to conceive the unity of the law of life. If there was no sun there would be no moon, and if the sun was not fed from other planets it would cease to exist. Were it not for the heat forces that operate this planet it would probably become an iceberg—a barren waste, and animal and vegetable life would cease to exist. So it is the co-operation of the forces of nature that enables all things to exist. Without this natural co-operation, what we call existence would cease, and chaos would reign supreme. This is the beautiful lesson taught by nature of which humanity has learned so little. Under civilization no man lives alone. There could be no civilization without the social organism. But no civilization has perfected the organism. What has been accomplished in this direction is only superficial. Society has only learned to produce and concentrate. It has not learned to adopt a perfect system of distribution. The result is the wealth is congested; the many become surfeited with the things they don't need, while the many who produce the wealth are impoverished. All this occurs on account of the lack of a system in accordance with the laws of nature.

If the sun were to continue to be fed without throwing off any of the force absorbed, the other planets would become dead and be consumed by the terrible force concentrated by the sun. But this is not the order of nature. But through the distribution of forces each planet is held in equilibrium and serves its purpose in the planetary universe.

The evils of which society complains, such as labor troubles, prostitution, murder, theft and all other social evils, only result from the violation of the laws of nature. The inordinate desires of many is only the evidence of an abnormal condition of society produced by an incorrect economic system. This condition is no less to be found among the extremely rich than among the extremely poor. All are affected by the same common cause, and all suffer as a common result of the violation of the law of life. We are only paying the penalty of violated law, and we find the same destructive principle operating in human society as would occur in nature should the law of co-operation be impeded in nature.

The magnitude of this great question is incomprehensible to many, and when they oppose Socialism they never think that the movement is based upon scientific principles and is in accord with the law of life—existence.

Now let me lay the question before the readers of this paper that "he who runs may read."

First: I will assume that under our present system of machinery in this country which represents the labor power of 800,000,000 men, enough can be produced to feed and clothe and house every human being, not only in comfort, but in opulence. This, I assume, will not be denied by any one of ordinary intelligence. Then the assumption must necessarily be reached that we have found the solution of the question of production. But notwithstanding we have found through machinery progress the solution of production there are millions of people no better off than the serfs and slaves of medieval ages. And it is a question as to whether the condition of the masses have been bettered by this material progress. Many advanced thinkers and writers assert that barbarism presents to us a more favorable condition for the masses than the present intensified civilization, ruled by capitalism. If we have found the solution of production, there can be no reason why poverty and want can't be made to disappear by adopting a natural system of distribution. A system in which the forces of production and distribution will be based upon natural law.

If the sun being fed by other planets gives back to the planets light, warmth and vitality, why should the organism called society, not adopt the plan of nature and erect the co-operative commonwealth based upon the same principle. This seems to me, would be the enlightened system that appeals to the intelligence of the race.

Through the co-operation of the cosmic forces hydrogen, nitrogen, oxygen and so on, are produced which sustain animal and vegetable life. So, through a perfected system of industrial and commercial co-operation, a social sys-

tem would obtain in which there would be perfect order.

Each planet in the cosmogony is purely unselfish, and renders such assistance as is necessary to produce and hold in place, the universe, and when each individual shall be forced in the co-operative commonwealth to fulfill the function necessary to the existence of others then social order will obtain and not before. This will be the order which will succeed the present capitalistic and competitive systems.—W. E. Farmer, in Farmers' Review.

Contributions for the National Campaign Fund of the Social Democratic Party should be sent to the treasurer, Joseph R. Finn, 126 Washington Street, Chicago. Acknowledgment will be made in the Herald.

COMMON WEAL AND PRIVATE INITIATIVE

(Continued from First Page)

production, I consider myself bound to state that the fundamental proposition which forms its nucleus belongs to Mark. That proposition is that, in every historical epoch, the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organization necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that epoch." To miss this—and how often it is missed!—is to misapprehend the whole position of the Socialist movement, for it is his clear comprehension of the truth that all social forms take their shape from the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, which makes the Socialist a revolutionist instead of a reformer, which makes him the uncompromising advocate of a total change of system, and the uncompromising foe of those who seek, by tinkering makeshifts, to prolong the life of the existing chaos of selfish competition and selfish combination. He therefore refuses to act with the Democrat or Mugwump, who professes enthusiasm for economy, because he recognizes that, so long as every man has to play for his own hand, every politician will make hay while the sun shines, just as every storekeeper, when trade is brisk, uses the opportunity as though it were his last. He refuses to believe in the protestations of the free-trade bourgeoisie, because he knows that at heart all traders, working on a selfish basis as they must, yearn for monopoly so far as their own markets are concerned; and he points to the record of the English manufacturers, whose pseudo-enthusiasm for freedom of exchange expired the instant they secured the free importation of the materials which their particular factories required. When he looks at trades union, composed of individuals each of whom has his own bread and butter fight to make, and sees that union in desperate war with employers whose very existence it threatens, the Socialist does not expect to see in it a model of voluntary co-operation. He expects to find it a military organization, following the tactics usually observed in the industrial warfare that everywhere prevails. In short, the Socialist sees sordid, selfish warfare everywhere the accepted method of production and exchange, and sordid, warlike tactics therefore the accepted rule in every walk of life, be it the workman's in his shop, the tradesman's in his store, the preacher's in his pulpit, or the so-called statesman's in office or on the stump. It is the soil of which this channel is composed that gives the color to every stream.

What warranty does history give for Mr. Spencer's dictum that the people cannot administer their own affairs, save under the autocratic imperialism of a bureaucratic ring? It gives us none whatever. His is the cry invariably raised by every monopolist the instant it is proposed to transfer his power to the people's hands. It was the cry of the pope that the people were incapable of looking to their own salvation in the great beyond, and the Bible was therefore locked between covers, the priest alone being the holder of the key. It was the cry of Louis XIV.—and all the crew of rulers by the grace of God that took their cue from him—not merely that "I am the state," but that without me the state would fall to pieces." It was the cry of the slave-owners of the South that they fed and sheltered their slaves, just as today pathetic letters appear in the London Times from Irish landlords reciting the charities extended in the past to tenants who now bite the hand that fed them. It is today the cry of the capitalists that the regularity with which the wants of our cities are supplied is proof positive of their fitness for administration. But the people are not asking to be fed. They are tired of their position as wards under a trusteeship that is perpetually abused. They wish for liberty to feed themselves, as they wished, four hundred years ago, for liberty, to select their own spiritual food; as they sought a hundred years ago for the right to manage their own political affairs. This is the great historic evolution that Herbert Spencer, himself the victim of a class environment and an early training acquired when the principles of laissez faire were thought to be impregnable, finds it now convenient to ignore.

That the evolution is directly along these lines is palpable to all who have even the most superficial acquaintance with the platforms of the various reform parties of the day; and, although it is true that there is such a thing as retrogressive evolution, it has never yet occurred that retrogression has occurred during an era of invention. Far more than all its predecessors has this been a century of discoveries, and we are still unquestionably on the advance. The line of the advance is very clearly marked. Number off the various movements, one by one, and note their universal trend. Everywhere there is a struggle for home rule, for the right of the municipality, the state, or the nation, to manage, as an integral whole, its own affairs, unhampered by dictation. It is along these very lines that Nationalism in this country is making its most effective propaganda—a propaganda that is probably insinuating itself more extensively into general thought by the very quietness with which it works. The women have an intensely active agitation. They are tired of "taxation without representation"; they wish at least for a voice wherewith to protest against being misgoverned, and all their leaders are active in the ranks of other movements, having distinctly for their aim self-government. Trades-unionism is a movement that, as yet, has lacked the courage to declare itself, but the employers construe it correctly. "These people," they say, "object to our running our business as we choose," and, indeed, that is precisely the objection. They do object to being "run," they object to being run while they are at work, to being run out of employment when they would gladly be employed. That they do not clearly comprehend that their employers, like themselves, are the victims of a vicious system that makes this industrial dictatorship a necessary evil is the gravest of misfortunes, but one that Socialist agitation is doing its best to rectify. Upon certain definite planks all sections are practically today agreed, as, for instance, that the great distributing arteries of the country—the railroads and the telegraphs—should be brought under the general control.

The inter-state commerce act was a confession of the thought of the times upon this subject, and its notorious failure has merely added fuel to the fire. To multiply instances would be tedious. The general drift is easily discernible, and the movement toward a self-governing solidarity; that the tyrannies engendered by a misapplication of individualism has started, shows no sign of balking at the spectre of a colossal dictatorship that Mr. Spencer has raised. With equal show of reason might it be urged that to invest women with the suffrage would be to multiply offices and to add further complications to our already over-tangled politics. The suffrage is claimed as a right, and so is the joint possession of our joint inheritance.

The curse of this generation is that we are afraid. Anxiety and the fear of want are necessarily the constant companions of the poor, but no class is today exempt. Everywhere there is an easiness, everywhere there is a growing sense of insecurity, everywhere men dread they know not what. Granted that a storm is coming, how will it result? Will it tear society up by the roots to land us again at the point from which we started centuries ago? Are we in for a period of lawlessness to be followed by the iron rule of a dictator? Men do not know; the future is more than ever misty, and therefore they are afraid. But we have the means of knowing. We are able today to take stock of our resources as we never were before, and the most cursory examination shows that the resources are practically infinite. The history of the world is at last an open book, and the task of summing up is trifling. We see that the old myths of the impotence of man are laughable monstrosities, interesting only as mementoes of his early helplessness. A thousand arts have picked him up out of the isolation of the past, and brought him into the closest contact with his fellows. Thus he has learned his strength and theirs; he has mastered the virtue of self-reliance and discovered the power that combination gives. That character, forged in the furnace of a long and sturdy struggle, will never desert him; that knowledge, so laboriously acquired, he will never forget. It may be that a sharp shock or two will be required to wake the sleeper; that the chrysalis may be burst with painful effort. But that it will be burst is as certain as tomorrow's dawn. The momentum already acquired by the human race is irresistible; ni pre tre ni maitre, neither priest nor master, can hope to bar the way. An immense solidarity of thought, and consequently an immense solidarity of action; a universal acceptance of the common-sense teachings of evolution, and the consequent harmony of a universal life conducted upon principles in which all the actors are agreed; such is the forecast of a future which is probably far nearer than even the most sanguine of us suppose. That the masses are today completely skeptical of its attainment is nothing, for it has been the fate of all great changes to be mocked at beforehand, and to be regarded as inevitable when once accomplished. "Before 1789 we were but a handful of Republicans in the whole of France," said Camille Desmoulins.

Social Democratic Party Leaflets

FOR CAMPAIGN PURPOSES

The National Campaign Committee of the Social Democratic party will issue for the campaign a series of well-written, effective four-page leaflets, two of which are now ready for delivery. These leaflets will be sent to branches and individual workers at cost of printing and postage.

LEAFLET NO. 1 is an address to unorganized Socialists; contains information concerning the Socialist movement, the party and its methods, object and program.

LEAFLET NO. 2—"An Open Letter to the Average American Workman," by Ben Aterbury. This is an admirable and convincing paper on the wage question, production, distribution of wealth and an appeal to the intelligence of the working class.

Put Them Into the Hands of Every Workingman

PRICES

50 Copies	.....\$ .10
100 Copies	......15
250 Copies	......25
500 Copies	......50
1,000 Copies	.....1.00
5,000 Copies	.....5.00

POSTAGE PAID.

Send orders to Campaign Committee Social Democratic Party, 126 Washington street, Chicago, Ill.

SPRAVEDLNOST

(JUSTICE)

BOHEMIAN WEEKLY PUBLISHED BY THE BOHEMIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC BRANCHES OF CHICAGO

Subscription, \$1.50 a year

Address, 700-702 Loomis Street, Chicago, Illinois

THE PLATFORM

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness depend upon equal political and economic rights.

In our economic development an industrial revolution has taken place, the individual tool of former years having become the social tool of the present. The individual tool was owned by the worker who employed himself and was master of his product. The social tool, the machine, is owned by the capitalist and the worker is dependent upon him for employment. The capitalist thus becomes the master of the worker and is able to appropriate to himself a large share of the product of his labor.

Capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people; but the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system will necessitate the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare.

The present system of social production and private ownership is rapidly converting society into two antagonistic classes—i. e., the capitalist class and the propertyless class. The middle class, once the most powerful of this great nation, is disappearing in the mill of competition. The issue is now between the two classes first named. Our political liberty is now of little value to the masses unless used to acquire economic liberty.

Independent political action and the trade union movement are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its political, the other its economic wing, and both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system.

Therefore the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be:

First—The organization of the working class into a political party to conquer the public powers now controlled by capitalists.

Second—The abolition of wage-slavery by the establishment of a national system of co-operative industry, based upon the social or common ownership of the means of production and distribution, to be administered by society in the common interest of all its members, and the complete emancipation of the socially useful classes from the domination of capitalism.

The working class and all those in sympathy with their historic mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America.

The control of political power by the Social Democratic party will be tantamount to the abolition of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting the millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international Socialism, the brotherhood of man.

As steps in that direction, we make the following demands:

First—Revision of our federal constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to complete control of government by the people irrespective of sex.

Second—The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

Third—The public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones; all means of transportation, and communication; all water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

Fourth—The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal, and other mines, and all oil and gas wells.

Fifth—The reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

Sixth—The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed; the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

Seventh—Useful inventions to be free, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

Eighth—Labor legislation to be national, instead of local, and international when possible.

Ninth—National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.

Tenth—Equal civil and political rights, for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

Eleventh—The adoption of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

Twelfth—Abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

SPLENDID LIFE-LIKE PORTRAIT OF EUGENE V. DEBS

CANDIDATE OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

SIZE—21 X 28 INCHES, ON GOOD PAPER

Price, 10 Cents, Single Copy

Sent by mail, securely enclosed in tube to insure safe transmission, on receipt of price.

Address, CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY, 126 Washington St., Chicago

THE FULL STRENGTH OF APPEAL TO REASON

WILL BE GIVEN TO DEBS AND HARRIMAN

the ensuing campaign. For purposes of propaganda the following prices are named on bundles to one address:

25 copies weekly, 3 mos.,	\$ 1.50
50 " " " "	3.00
100 " " " "	6.00
250 " " " "	14.50
500 " " " "	27.50
1000 " " " "	49.00

ADDRESS, GIRARD, KANSAS

APPEAL TO REASON

GIRARD, KANSAS

Pocket Library of Socialism

1. Woman and the Social Problem. By MARY WOOD SIMMONS. Shows that the emancipation of woman will only come with the emancipation of man through socialism.
2. The Evolution of the Class Struggle. By WILLIAM H. NOVES. A historical study showing how socialism is coming.
3. Imprudent Marriages. By ROBERT BLATSPORN. A masterly answer to the argument that "prudence" would help the laborer.
4. Pockington. By A. M. SIMMONS. A study of the Union Stock Yards, Chicago; how nature and man are alike scientifically exploited.
5. Realism in Literature and Art. By CLARENCE S. DARTON. Shows how the workers of modern art and literature are helping on the new social order.
6. Single Tax vs. Socialism. By A. M. SIMMONS. Shows the inadequacy of the Single Tax as a remedy for the evils pointed out by Henry George.
7. Wage-Labor and Capital. By KARL MARX. The essence of the great philosopher's theory, in his own words.
8. The Man Under the Machine. By A. M. SIMMONS. Tells how wage slavery began, what it is today and how the workers are striving to free themselves. A condensed handbook of socialism.
9. The Platoon of the Working Class. By REV. CHARLES H. VAIL, author of "Modern Socialism," etc.
10. Morals and Socialism. By CHARLES H. KERN. Shows how popular ideas of morals are manipulated in the interest of the capitalist class.
11. Socialist Songs. Sixteen good ones, 8¢ each, every one knows.
12. A For Capitalism What? By REV. WILLIAM T. BROWN. A logical historical study showing that socialism must come as the result of forces now at work.
13. A Political Quack Doctor. By W. A. COLE. A socialist view of the "Prohibition" movement.

Daintily printed, five cents each, post-paid.

SPECIAL OFFER—For one dollar we will mail forty copies of the Pocket Library, all of one kind, as assorted as preferred.

SEND ORDERS TO THEODORE DEBS

126 Washington St., CHICAGO

The Book You Need

PRINCIPLES OF Scientific Socialism

By Rev. Charles H. Vail

Author "Modern Socialism" and "National Ownership of Railways."

CONTENTS:

The Industrial Revolution. The Analysis of Value. The Origin of Surplus Value.

The Advantages of Socialism: Production, Distribution, Elimination of Unnecessary Vocations, Prevention of Waste, Elevation of Woman, Proper Care and Training of Children, Efficient Direction, Solution of the Monetary Question, Abolition of Taxation, Simplification of Government, Benefits to Capitalists, Benefits to Laborers.

The Evidence of the Moral Strength of Socialism: Its Spirit and Aim; Abolition of Business Dishonesty; Restriction of Divorce; Prevention of Prostitution; Elimination of Crime; Prevention of Intemperance, Insanity, etc.

Poverty—Its Cause and Cure. Wage Slavery vs. Chattel Slavery. Rent and Interest. The Law of Wages. The Law of Progress. Industrial Depression and Commercial Crises. The Problem of Labor-saving Machinery.

Popular Economic Errors: That Value is Determined by Capitalist Cost of Production; that the Interests of Laborers and Capitalists are identical; that Labor is Better Off To-day Than Ever Before; that Cheap Prices are Beneficial to Labor; that Foreign Markets are Beneficial to Labor; that Luxury is Beneficial to Labor; that Land Nationalism Would Solve the Social Question; that Extravagance is the Chief Cause of Economic Want; that Socialism Would Thwart Inventions and Improvements; that Socialism Would Destroy Individuality. Conclusion and Index.

12mo, 228 Pages; Paper, 25¢; Cloth, \$1.00

SEND ORDERS TO THEODORE DEBS, 126 Washington St., CHICAGO

BRANCH SUPPLIES

Membership Cards (per 100).....1.00

Membership Applications (100)......25

Constitutions (each)......30

Send orders with cash to Theodore Debs, 126 Washington Street, Chicago. No supplies sent on credit.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

THIRD YEAR. No. 9.

CHICAGO, ILL., U. S. A., SATURDAY, AUGUST 18, 1900.

Whole No. 111.

IMPERIALISM FROM A SOCIALIST STANDPOINT

**Capitalism Has Reached that Point
of Development in the United
States Where it Must Ex-
pand or Burst**

THE REACTIONARY DEMOCRACY

**Interests of the Class Represented by the
Social Democracy Can Not be Served
by Either of the Old Parties**

By Charles H. Vall

We are again in the midst of a national campaign and every man is asking himself, or should be asking himself, to what party he should give his allegiance. Unfortunately, however, the majority accept without question the policy of the party to which they happen to belong, and instead of endeavoring to ascertain if the party represents their interests, are rather endeavoring to find arguments to bolster up their partisanship. It is to those that are willing to think that I would speak.

THREE CLASSES, THREE PARTIES

The political situation is exceptionally clear in this campaign. The three parties are distinct and stand equally for the interests of the classes into which modern society is economically divided. The Republican party represents the interests of the large capitalist class, the plutocracy; the Democratic party represents the interests of the middle class, the small capitalists, small producers, and traders; and the Socialist party represents the interests of the proletarian class, the class of wage and salary workers. A careful examination of the platforms of these parties will show the class interests they are intended to subserve. The populist and Silver Republican parties are virtually in accord with the Democratic party and so do not need special consideration, while the Prohibition party has only a moral base, and so need not be considered in an examination of the political situation from the economic standpoint.

The rapid economic development of the last few years has resulted in the concentration of capital, together with the outcome of the Spanish-American war, has given rise to new issues. The Democratic platform declares imperialism or expansion to be the paramount issue of the campaign. Conditions have been forming for years which were bound sooner or later to bring this question to the front. To understand the underlying causes for this, we need to comprehend the nature of capitalist industry.

FLEECING AND OVERPRODUCTION

Under the wage system the product created by labor is divided into two nearly equal parts; one goes to labor in the form of wages, the other to capitalists, landlords, and other gentlemen at large in the form of rent, interest, and profits. To be exact, the laborers receive in this field but 47 per cent of the values they create.

The workers can, then, buy back but 47 per cent of the product. Nor even that, for the value here given is the factory price. But workmen do not buy at factory prices but at retail. To the factory price is added the profits of a long series of middlemen and retailers which results in doubling the factory price. The laborer, then, when he goes to the markets to purchase the things he has produced, finds that instead of purchasing 47 per cent, he can only purchase about 23 or 24 per cent of the things he has made, and even this estimate is perhaps excessive. When we take into consideration money spent for rent, doctors' bills, insurance, pleasure, etc., it is evident that he cannot purchase over 15 or 16 per cent of the goods he has produced.

The capitalists on the other hand, being comparatively few in number, are unable, by their best efforts, to consume "their" portion of the product; and thus a large surplus is left on their hands for which there is no commercial demand.

How to procure an outlet for this surplus product which they have compelled laborers to give up is the great question of the capitalist class. The use of machinery has so increased the productivity of labor, that unless some outlet can be found, production must cease at intervals until the excess is consumed. The question, then, is for the capitalist to turn this surplus value into cash. How can they secure purchasers?

The laborers would gladly consume more, but their wages will not permit them to do so, and all the while the tools

are becoming more gigantic and are turning out an ever increasing product, while wages, if not remaining stationary or declining, at least do not increase in proportion to the increased product. Laborers are less and less able to buy back the product of their toil.

FOREIGN MARKETS

The only outlet, then, is in foreign markets. Capitalism has reached that point of development in this country—a point long since reached in Europe—where it must expand or burst. We must teach heathen peoples the blessings of civilization and compel them to wear "pants" so they will buy them—and "pants" with pockets, too, else how can we pick them?

To show that this is not merely the theory of a Socialist, but a cold and solid fact, let me quote from a few capitalists and their representatives. Chauncey M. Depew said at the Philadelphia Republican convention:

"What is the tendency of the future; why this war in South Africa? Why this hammering at the gates of Peking? Why this marching of troops from Asia to Africa? Why these parades of people from other empires and other lands? It is because the surplus production of the civilized country of modern times is greater than civilization can consume. It is because this over-production goes back to stagnation and poverty."

"The American people now produce \$2,000,000,000 more than we can consume. By the providence of God, by the statesmanship of William McKinley, and by the valor of Roosevelt and his associates we have our market in Cuba, we have our market in Porto Rico, we have our market in the Philippines; and we stand in the presence of 800,000,000 people with the Pacific as an American lake, and American artisans producing better and cheaper goods than any other country in the world."

It could be shown, if space permitted, that the shrewdest of the capitalist class have realized for some years the necessity for expansion. At the banquet of the American Manufacturers' Association, Jan. 27, 1898, Hon. C. E. Smith, McKinley's postmaster-general, said:

"The past century has been the age of internal upbuilding; we approach now the age of external activity. From 1840 to 1890 the population of the United States more than tripled, but the mighty tide of its manufactures expanded eighteen fold. A greatly increased capacity of consumption has followed this magical advance, but it has not kept pace with the magnified power of production, and the economic problem of the world today is the distribution of this surplus. Under this stress the great nations of Europe are struggling for empire and trade. They are scanning the whole horizon for new fields to conquest, colony and commerce. In this strenuous rivalry are we to stand with folded hands and let the prizes slip? High national policy and broad commercial expansion go hand in hand. Trade follows the flag the world around. We have come to a point in our national development where we must decide. The end we aim at is clear; the means within our reach. We must have among other things, a navy that shall command respect for the voice of our authority. China and Japan are the surpassing and magnificent revelations of these latter days. There around the Yellow sea and the adjacent waters is a population of 500,000,000 and a potential trade of thousands of millions. Why should we not play for our legitimate share of the great stake?"

Representative Bromwell of Ohio, recently spoke to the same effect. He said:

"If the (Chinese) empire has to be divided, I am certainly in favor of getting the proportion of territory that

BELONGS TO THIS COUNTRY

The fact that we have the Philippines will not insure us full economic advantages if China goes into the hands of Europe. We may be sure that those countries are not risking everything to get some Chinese territory for the fun of the thing. It is commerce and trade they are after, and we cannot afford to be a minute behind in the same course, except that ours can be done under restrictions, and in keeping with our policy of going alone and independent of other nations."

Preparations have been making for this "expansion" for some time, and the Spanish-American war merely gave the capitalists an opportunity for which they had been looking. It gave them an excuse for seizing the Philippines which they were not loathe to accept. It is often suggested that Dewey should have sailed out of Manila bay after destroying the Spanish fleet. But the administration knew the interests it was there to serve—the Philippines were needed as a base of operations in China, and they were retained. Anyone who knows of the doings of the American China Development Company knows why the islands are kept and also the hypocrisy

(Continued on Third Page)

THE CHILDREN OF THE POOR IN ITALY

**Their Desires and Faculties are
Sharpened, Turned and Directed
to Protect and Preserve
Their Existence**

THE SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST

**Conditions that Could Not Prevail Under the
Beneficent Reign of Socialism are In-
evitable Result of Capitalism**

By Paola Lombroso

In the last two years I have frequented the sessions of what we call in Italy a "family school," where the poorer children from the elementary schools were gathered, and have had the opportunity to constantly observe a great number of children, to hear them talk and see them act.

One of the things which struck me most forcibly in comparing them with the children of the wealthy classes—whose instinctive egotistical tendencies are marked by a certain charm, piquancy and subdued good breeding—was to see their struggle for their own self-preservation reduced to a simple eagerness and free from any artificiality and varnish. Unconsciously they are dominated only by one instinct—to drink, to eat and to lay hold of existence; their desires, affections, tendencies and faculties are sharpened, turned and directed to protect, preserve and fill their empty little stomachs.

For example, I asked about fifty of the smallest children: "Whom do you love the most?" "My mamma and papa." And why? "Because they earn the pennies to support me." "Because they work and buy me something to eat." "I love my mamma because she makes pottage for me." "Because she gives me something to eat." "Because she makes polenta," etc.

And to the question, "What do you like to eat best of all?" one child gave me this answer, which contains the whole of a philosophical principle: "Pottage, because I always have it to eat."

One infant talked about the hospital where he had undergone an operation for the rickets as if it were a most delightful place, because he got good things to eat there. Two little brothers, eight and nine years old, told me that what they liked to do best of all was to look in the windows when going for a walk. "But what windows?" I asked. "The bakers' windows," they answered, "where there are so many beautiful loaves of bread."

The little proletarians group all their desires around bread, pottage and clothing. They love whoever gives them something to wear; their most ambitious dreams are to eat pottage and sweet omelettes, and their most brilliant recollections are of full stomachs. The most noble and shining faculties, desires and affections are thus reduced, under the pressure of misery, to an almost brute-like instinct of the survival of the fittest.

But something truly admirable in these children is their ingenuity, their quickness and comprehensive knowledge of practical life. There is not one of them who does not know the price of food, salt, farinaceous foods, rice and kidney beans; who could not do the marketing with discretion, bake a cake, light the fire, prepare the soup, make the beds and mend the clothes. It is especially pleasing to note their desire to be useful and not depend entirely on their parents, as if they considered the cost of every mouthful of bread which they ate and tried to make themselves useful in a thousand different ways.

In the winter the larger children sweep the snow; in spring, during vacation and sometimes during the school term, they go out into the fields around the city to look for greens and eatable roots. One little fellow of eleven, who came to school, got up in the middle of the night three times a week in order to drive a cartful of herbs to market, earning a few cents each time; he was not forced to go by his parents, but did it of his own accord and for his own satisfaction.

But a more common industry, and a rather comical one, is that of going to church with a great show of piety. In each parish there are a great number of chapels, mission-houses and schools where the catechism and doctrine are taught. Each attendant receives a ticket, and according to the number of tickets which a child may present at the

end of the season he receives either a coat, a pair of shoes or a small amount of money. One little fellow told me that in a single Sunday he went to two masses, one at 5 in the morning and another at 9, to the school catechism, and to a benediction and to hear two sermons; each one of these functions represented a tiny emolument in money or its equivalent. For instance, the parish of St. Anna gives each tiny devotee a pair of shoes at the first communion; the chapel of Don Bosco gives a coat or a hat, according to the regularity of the attendance.

Another day I went to inquire for a child who had been absent from school for some time, and found him in bed with the measles, together with two younger brothers. They had all taken it from nursing a little sister nine years of age. Their father was in prison, their mother worked from morning till night in the factory, and could not come home to nurse the little baby girl, only four months old, except at noon. Thus the little creature was completely abandoned during the whole day to the care of a nine-year-old sister, who took charge of her, fed her, etc. But what made me really tremble was to see her with a sort of terra-cotta warming-pan full of coals, which she handled with the greatest possible nonchalance, shoving it between the mattress of straw and the sheets, causing constant danger of fire. This child could neither read nor write, for she had been able to go to school only five or six months.

Is it not an indication characteristic of our age to find a little school of children (who, it seems, should be protected by their very youth from the contrasts of fortune) the phantom of the social question in one of its most miserable forms? When one studies this little world, doomed to an infancy of misery, to which a life of suffering, passive labor and submission must necessarily succeed, and find so many germs of enterprise, courage and human dignity, one feels in truth not only pity for the injustice of blind fate, but also regret that the accumulation of this precious energy must remain useless and be wasted on account of a vicious social condition.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

Simon Dereure, who was a member of the Commune and an old member of the International, is dead.

The Belgian chamber of deputies has been electing its officers, and Defnet—a Socialist deputy—has been elected one of the secretaries of the chamber.

The bakers at Madrid have gone on strike for higher wages and better inspection of bake houses. The government is very unfairly throwing impediments in the way of the strikers and is also facilitating the employment of blacklegs.

The Chinese troubles are already seriously affecting the state of industry in Germany. Many factories have closed, and more are expected to follow, and the emperor apparently thinks that he will improve matters by instructing his soldiers not to give quarter to the Chinese.

A meeting was held at Brussels to open the campaign in favor of universal suffrage in Belgium. Vandervelde proposed and carried a resolution in favor of granting the vote to women. This is quite a new departure in Belgium. It would, however, given the power of the clergy, be a very hazardous experiment.

The Swedish government has voted a large sum of money for the purpose of enabling intelligent workmen to proceed to the French capital, and there glean new ideas from an inspection of the manufactures and goods exhibited. As a result, some scores of mechanics, draughtsmen and engineers have been granted traveling allowance varying in amount from fifteen to thirty guineas, and have been dispatched to the exhibition.

According to the annual report on the railways of the United States, there is much less risk for a man in a twelve months' campaign in South Africa than in riding about on American trains. In 1899 7,123 persons were killed and 44,620 injured. The casualties in South Africa are: 3,463 killed, and 11,905 wounded. This does not include those who have died of disease or by accident.

At a certain cloth factory in Scotland it was the custom to fine the workpeople for turning out bad work. One day a workman brought a piece of cloth to be examined, and the manager found two little holes about an inch apart. He then showed these to the man and demanded two shillings fine, a shilling for each hole. "Is it a shilling for each hole?" asked the man. "Yes," said the manager. "And is it the same for every hole, big or little?" "Yes," exactly the same," said the manager. "Well, then, I'll save a shilling," and putting his fingers in the holes, he quickly made the two holes into one.

TIMELY DISCUSSION OF TRUSTS AND SOCIALISM

**An Examination of Some of the Fund-
amental Factors in Modern Cap-
italism—Private Ownership
of the Means of Life**

THE RELIGION OF HUMANITY

**The Solution of the Trust Problem is Found
in the Facts Themselves—Social-
ism the Only Solvent**

By James Onal

It is a sad mission to cut through and destroy with the scissors of analysis the delicate and iridescent veils with which our proud mediocrity clothes itself. Very terrible is the religion of truth.—Prof. Lombroso.

Thus speaks the great Italian criminologist in an instructive volume entitled "The Man of Genius," in which he has compiled a mass of facts to prove that the giants of the past were to a certain extent mentally unbalanced. However, whether we agree with Prof. Lombroso's conclusions or not, it is certain that many of the "giants" in the political arena today come under his classification, judging from the methods which they advocate in dealing with the modern trust problem.

The Socialist realizes with Prof. Lombroso that "it is a sad mission to cut through and destroy with the scissors of analysis" opinions and doctrines held by the orthodox world, especially concerning the trust problem. Nevertheless he is equal to the task, even though it runs counter to "public opinion," for he is well aware that this same public opinion is in itself vitally connected with the problem.

Now what is the problem before us? I shall try and state it in as few words as possible. A trust is a combination of a number of capitalists or corporations who combine their wealth in a common fund for the joint purpose of securing larger returns and destroying competition in order to exploit the market to their hearts' content. It is evident to everybody that this vast centralization of economic power in the hands of a small class is disastrous to those outside of it. Hence a cry comes from the middle class to destroy these combinations, for they are the ones who first feel their crushing force. This class does not question whether they can be destroyed or not; they take that for granted. On the contrary, the Socialist not only questions the possibility of destroying the trusts, but also denies that it is desirable to do so. The difference of opinion lies in the divergent class interests which each party to the controversy represents. This will be brought out later. The first requirement in the solution of any problem is the examination of the fundamental factors involved. Let us examine some of the fundamental factors in modern capitalist society, and see if we can find a solution of the trust problem from the facts themselves. We have:

1. Private ownership by the capitalist class of the resources and instruments of wealth production, that is of lands, mills, factories, railroads, etc.
2. Competition between these owners of land and capital, resulting from a desire to sell their products or services in order to secure profits.
3. A great class—the working class—who own but one commodity, their labor power, which they are forced to sell daily to the capitalistic class in order to secure a living.
4. Competition between these workers for jobs.
5. A class struggle between the capitalist class and the working class over the division of the product into wages and profits.

These are fundamental propositions that stare us in the face every day and cannot be denied. Let us take up the propositions in their order:

PRIVATE OWNERSHIP

1. Private property implies the right of the individual to acquire or accumulate as much as he can or wants. It implies sole dominion over the wealth in his possession and also the right to keep or dispose of it in any manner he sees fit. No one can interfere with his accumulations, for to allow such interference it would cease to be private property. If an individual desires to go in partnership with another individual, that is his business; he is exercising his right as a private owner of property to do with it as he pleases. Bearing this in mind, let me give an illustration. Jones

(Continued on Second Page)

Social Democratic Herald

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board
FREDERIC HEATH Chairman
SEYMOUR STEPMAN Secretary
EUGENE V. DEBS VICTOR L. BERGER
CORINNE S. BROWN

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, \$5.00. Six months, \$3.00. No papers sent to any one on credit. If, without having subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and no bill will follow. Foreign subscriptions \$10.00.

Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

A. S. EDWARDS, Editor
THEODORE DEBS, National Sec'y-Treas.
126 Washington St., Chicago.

is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 118 your subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, AUGUST 18, 1900.

WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

With Socialists the world over we learn with deep regret and sorrow of the death of Wilhelm Liebknecht, the "soldier of the revolution" and great leader of the Social Democrats of Germany.

Liebknecht was born in Giessen on March 29, 1826. He studied philology, theology and philosophy at the Giessen University, with a view to becoming an advocate, but became interested in Socialism through the writings of St. Simon, and in 1848 dropped his studies and went to Paris to take part in the revolution. He had already, in 1846, been charged with having a hand in the Polish revolutionary movements and had been expelled from Austria.

He took part in the attempt to establish a republic in Germany and was confined in jail for nine months. On his release he went to Switzerland and was escorted to the French frontier by the Swiss authorities for preaching Socialism. France sent him to England, where he remained until 1862, when the German amnesty proclamation allowed him to return to Germany. Three years later he was again banished from Germany for a period of several years.

While a candidate for parliament in 1867 he was arrested and imprisoned for three months, but was nevertheless elected.

In 1870 he, together with Bebel and others, was sentenced to two years' imprisonment for attacking the government's policy in the Franco-German war.

The passage of Bismarck's anti-Socialist law in 1878 deprived Herr Liebknecht of a sight of his family until 1890, when the law went out of operation with Bismarck's retirement. In 1896 he spent four months in prison for lese majesty in not rising when the emperor entered the hall of parliament. He cared little about a term in prison, and on this occasion returned from England, where he had been lecturing, to serve his sentence.

According to a German writer, Emperor William feared Herr Liebknecht more than all England. He represented Berlin in the reichstag, his honesty was considered incorruptible, and he was a power with the people. He was a profound student of social and political questions and an eloquent speaker. On a lecturing tour in the United States a few years ago he was greeted by large audiences everywhere.

He had been a journalist since 1862, and for a number of years, and up to his death was editor of Vorwarts, the leading Socialist paper of Germany.

The funeral occurred Sunday last, and 80,000 men marched through the streets of Berlin to the burial place. All traffic was stopped and the streets were packed with thousands of sympathizing onlookers. Nearly all the mourners wore the red carnation. American Socialist organizations were represented. No disturbance occurred.

Comrade E. V. Debs sent the following telegram to the German comrades: "Terre Haute, Ind., Aug. 8, 1900. 'Vorwarts, Berlin.

"American Socialists mingle their tears with the Socialists of all lands at the bier of Liebknecht, the apostle of Social Democracy.

"EUGENE V. DEBS."

DEBS IS ENDORSED

Comrade Eugene V. Debs, it will be recalled, accepted the nomination of the Social Democratic party at Indianapolis, March 9, 1900. His speech of acceptance on that occasion appeared in the Herald of March 24. In that speech he said:

"A few moments ago your committee advised me of the great honor conferred upon me by this convention in making me one of the standard-bearers of the party in the great campaign upon which we are now entering. Never in all of my life I so profoundly impressed with the conviction that there is a divinity that shapes our ends, rough hew them how we will. Yesterday I left this hall under the solemn belief that I could not, under any possible circumstances, accept the nomination tendered me with

such enthusiastic unanimity. But with your united voices ringing in my ear, and your impassioned appeals burning and glowing in my breast, and your eyes searching the very depths of my soul, I was soon brought to realize that in your voice in behalf of Socialism there was the supreme command of Duty—that I could not disregard it and decline the nomination without proving myself wholly unworthy of the confidence which inspired it. I felt that I could not decline this nomination, tendered me under such circumstances, without being guilty of treason to the cause we all love so well; and so I come to you this afternoon, obedient to the call voiced by your committee, to say that I accept your nomination, and with it all of the responsibilities that the great trust imposes; and with my heart trembling upon my lips, I thank the comrades, one and all, for the great honor you have conferred upon me."

From that time to the present there has never been a shadow of doubt among Social Democrats that he was a provisional or temporary candidate of the party; from that day to this there has never been a single moment of confusion in his mind as to what organization tendered him the nomination, and his course since then has been one of dignity and loyalty, entirely becoming to the position in which he was placed. His acceptance of the nomination of the Social Democratic party of America was given in March last and at no time has there been any question that, so far as the party was concerned, that act was final and determined his relation to the party until the polls close next November.

A high sense of duty to the cause of Socialism would admit of no other course at this time than the acceptance of the endorsement which came to him last week from Springfield, Mass. He was already the candidate for president of the strongest Socialist party in the country; for the sake of the cause in which we are all concerned, his acceptance of an endorsement from any other body of Socialists was incumbent upon him as a duty; his course is justified by the political situation and if other endorsements come from Socialist organizations we shall be glad to hear of them.

ALLEGED BARBARITIES IN CHINA

The part which has so far been played in the Chinese tragedy by the capitalist press of America has been one of the most ferocious and disgraceful which the present generation of men have been called upon to witness.

That press stands convicted of manufacturing and publishing absolutely false and misleading reports of the situation in China, reports conceived in a spirit of brutal disregard for truth or decency, and spread out before the American people with a frenzied abandonment quite characteristic of a social factor which has no sense of shame and has become morally impotent under the hypnotism of capitalism which controls it.

Ministers of the gospel employed, or alleged to be employed, as "special staff correspondents," men whose influence for good in the world long since ended, have sent reports couched in the most "solemn" terms of the awful acts of brutality committed by the Chinese and a few days later from other sources has come an express and authentic denial.

At one time reports from the missionaries and others had all the foreign ministers and their families butchered in cold blood.

We were told how the diplomats (who, with the missionaries, are responsible for the Chinese trouble) stood against the murderous Chinamen in a "hollow square," their wives and children within; how they fought hand to hand, and finding escape impossible, how they turned and with their own hands slew their own offspring. All this was given out in minutest detail, and all of it proved to be absolutely false.

We were told how the Russian minister and his wife were butchered, chopped up into convenient chunks for boiling and the pieces consigned to a huge kettle and cooked.

This was put in a "box" front-page display and heralded as the most fiendish crime of the age.

At the same time the talk at home was of more soldiers and guns and transports—for "revenge."

But the Russian minister was never murdered at all, and some days after a message from him declaring himself alive and well was given an inch of out-of-the-way space on an inside page.

Conger was "dead" a dozen times, and horrible reports, written usually by diplomats of the cross, were printed narrating the awful barbarities practiced upon him and his family.

All of it was untrue like the rest, and the American people have thus been imposed upon to a degree that one may well question the sanity of the impostors of the press, the "missionaries," and the people, too.

The latter have before had abundant proof that the press of these times is little more than an instrument to promote capitalist schemes of aggression and plunder, and excite the people themselves to hatred and revenge of wrongs that were never committed, as in this Chinese incident.

STUDY IN SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY AND THEORY

The outline for Socialistic study, prepared by Prof. Ladoff, which is introduced in this paper, seems to be worthy of more than mere passing notice. One great result of the present presidential campaign will be that Social Democracy will show itself so formidable that from this time forward capitalism, through its press and other means for the molding of opinions, will drop its old tactics toward us (that of either ignoring our existence, or of treating us with ridicule) and treat with the subject of Socialism seriously. When it once gets down to business on this line, the mere mumbling of set phrases on our part, much as one would use some witch's charm or "potent sentence," will only render us ridiculous. The mere assertion that the fathers of Socialism said this or that will not avail us at all. It will only make us appear superficial and sectarian.

Ask a republican or a democrat what are the principles of his respective party, and he will either show his ignorance or confess it, and we will expect nothing better. But it is different with the Social Democrat. The burden of proof is on him. If he shows himself an actual student of social science, he will be respected, even if not agreed with. He will command respect secretly if not openly. And it is his duty to command respect. Phrases were perhaps all right when we were working in obscurity, but we are now out in the open. The foe sees us and is coming at us with true capitalist ferocity. He will try hard to make mince meat of our contentions and postulates. We must be prepared to defend them.

We long ago disproved the claim that our party was a mere rival of the older Socialist party in this country. We showed that theirs was dogmatic Socialism—narrow, bigoted and hide-bound. Ours we showed to be progressive, broad-minded, dynamic. They wanted only such facts as agreed with their iron-clad formulas. We want all the facts. Their faith required a catechism; ours an unflinching investigation of present-day society, as well as that of the past.

The outline of study presented by Prof. Ladoff will be of great service to our branches. From it they can draw endless suggestions for discussions at their meetings. Better yet, they can actually, by its guidance, carry on a course of self-education, which cannot but make the members wiser men and more formidable antagonists of the great enemy, the capitalist system of exploitation. Certainly, there is greater danger ahead for our party than there is for a dogmatic party. We cannot tie up to certain phrases, and as we grow to nation-sweeping proportions we can only save ourselves from scattering our fire by impelling our more active members to be actual students of society. Knowledge is indeed power, and we will find it so when we have to look into capitalism's battery of guns. Chief among those guns will be the great and influential newspapers. All their craftiness, all their powers of subtle persuasion and artifice will be employed with ceaseless energy in the great effort to confound us. Educate is the watchword.

Don't be deceived when you read that branches of the Social Democratic party are "falling in line" with the repudiators of the East. They are "falling in" only for political co-operation and nothing more. In scores of places where organic union has been announced, no such condition exists.

"Open a school, you close a prison," says the Chicago American, quoting Victor Hugo. And, says the paper, education is the issue paramount to all others. This is all well enough, provided the education closes the mill, the factory and the mine to capitalist exploitation and socializes all the means of life. Teach children the right-usefulness of land and productive capital, upon which all life depends, or education will be a continuous failure.

The Chicago Union Stock Yards have a scheme for plucking the employees by the use of scrip paid to the men instead of "money," in exchange for which goods are obtained at the company's store and board at the company's hostelry. Prices of everything are, of course, regulated to yield a profit, and the men who "value their jobs take the scrip"! Meanwhile, the small merchants in the neighborhood realize the hopelessness of competition with such a scheme and are being driven out of business.

What will Bryan and his following do with the new device in the iron and steel industry that dispenses with the services of 260 men who have heretofore been able to earn a small wage and support a family in a niggardly fashion? Will he "smash" the device? And if not, how does he propose to deal with this constantly recurring problem of discovery and new invention upon which the trust rests and by which it is strengthened? Don't you see that the trust is the modern method of dealing with labor-saving devices, and that Bryanism is thoroughly reactionary?

WILHELM LIEBKNECHT THE PEOPLE'S TRIBUNE

Eugene Debs' Great Tribute to the Great Commoner and Social Democrat

HE BELONGED TO ALL MANKIND

When Emperors and Iron Chancellors Have Passed to Dust, this Man's Name Will Shine with Lustre in the Firmament of the Ages

A Titan has fallen. Liebknecht, the scarred warrior of the social revolution, lies pulseless on the field of battle. He fell in full charge, his face to the retreating enemy. For forty years he fought with dauntless valor, and where the fight was thickest the plume of Liebknecht like a banner, waved defiant. Great captain of the revolutionary hosts; his only title was the divine right of genius to lead, and the only arms he bore were truth and justice.

This immortal man was not Germany's alone. He fought for and belonged to all mankind. His name was known and honored in all the zones that belt the globe, and seven million socialists uncover and unite as one in reverent tribute to his memory.

With Marx, Lassalle and Engels, he plucked from fate the fadeless laurels of immortality.

"Thou art Freedom's now, and Fame's; One of the few, the immortal names That were not born to die."

At the bier of Liebknecht, Socialism bows and weeps. For her he was bruised by the contumelious stone; for her he languished long in prison cell; for her he bore the sacrificial cross.

Bismarck in the zenith of his autocratic power could not daunt him. With resolute mien and flashing eye he stood erect; he dared to challenge the king himself though death had been the penalty.

Intrepid soul, thou couldst proudly say:

"Out of the night that shelters me,
Black as the pit from pole to pole,
I thank whatever gods there be
For my unconquerable soul."

When the Williams, Bismarcks and all the titled tyrants of all times have passed to dust, or are remembered only for their crimes, our Liebknecht's name will shine with lustre in the firmament of the ages.

Of Wilhelm Liebknecht, too, some Hugo of the future may say: "He disappeared, but left us his soul, the Revolution." * * * * * and when socialism is triumphant, "I affirm it, up there, in the stars, Liebknecht will smile."

The worn and weary children of toil scarce know their benefactor. But their children, and their children's children, emancipated by the genius of Socialism he so truly typified, will weave garlands for his grave and sing sweet anthems to his memory.

And we who follow him will seize the standard he held aloft unsullied through all the years, until death relaxed his hold, and bear it on and on until it symbolizes humanity, disenthralled, the Universal Commonwealth.

EUGENE V. DEBS.

TRUSTS AND SOCIALISM

(Continued from First Page)

is a capitalist and an owner of several large mills—iron mills, let us say. Smith is also an owner of iron mills and desires to quit the business. Jones makes a proposition to Smith which is satisfactory to him and the mills pass into the hands of Jones. Neither does anyone deny that Jones has a right to form a partnership with another capitalist who also controls some iron mills. No one denies Jones the right to buy the property of Smith, and nobody denies the latter's right to sell his property to Jones. Neither does anyone deny that Jones has a right to form a partnership with another capitalist. Presently it is found that the partnership has bought out many other firms and combined with other capitalists. And so it goes. Buying out some and combining with others—not only iron mills, but cotton, silk, lumber, sugar, etc., until we have the trust, or possibly a complete monopoly. It is evident that the rights of private property have not been infringed upon by the gradual development from the small mills first owned by Jones to the trust of which Jones is now only a part. They have simply taken advantage of the right to buy what they pleased, and in combining with others they have simply exercised the right that two peanut-vendors on the street corner have in joining together for mutual advantage. The same principle is involved in both cases. The law has no power to step in and say Jones shall not buy or Smith shall not sell, for should it do so private property ceases to exist. But someone objects and says that when

a trust is formed the "sacred" principle of competition tends to be obliterated. Just why competition is sacred any more than any other economic factor I cannot understand, but as this question brings us to the second proposition which deals with this very principle of competition, I will now consider it.

COMPETITION

2. Competition is, to give the definition of Prof. Ely, "the struggle of conflicting economic interests on the basis of the existing legal and social order." Let us give an illustration of the working of this factor in modern capitalistic society and see where it leads us. Jones and Smith are each capitalists seeking to dispose of commodities on the market. Each desires to increase his wealth as much as possible, and to do this each one strives to secure the market for himself. Here we have "conflicting economic interests." Jones tries to drive out Smith and Smith tries to drive out Jones. Now the best method of driving out a competitor is to cut prices and hold them at a level so low that your rival must either meet those prices or go out of business. This is the "sacred" principle of competition. Let us carry the illustration a little further. Let us say Jones drives his rival out of business. He then turns his attention to other competitors and the same struggle begins over again. Some survive the struggle while others go to the wall. But this same struggle soon teaches these capitalists a lesson that they are not very slow to grasp. They reason somewhat in this fashion: "This competition is foolish in the long run. We capitalists, as a class, have a common interest to further. Each of us desires to gain wealth, but in fighting each other a whole lot of energy and wealth is wasted which, if properly utilized, could be used for the realization of our common purpose, the control of the markets and the enrichment of ourselves. If we can secure an agreement of some kind by which we can exploit the markets in harmony instead of fighting one another we can in time do away with a lot of advertising, traveling, salesmen, etc., thus doing away with this useless expense and by so doing increase our wealth at the same time." In a short time a meeting is called and after many failures the combination is effected. This combination is a powerful weapon for those who happen to be members of it, as the smaller capitalistic interests which are still competing soon come to know. The combination is able in time to drive the smaller competitors to the wall, owing to its more economical management and the elimination of useless waste of energy. The combine has demonstrated its "fitness to survive." These combines do not stop at this stage of development. Having once learned the lesson that co-operation pays more than competition they are sensible enough to carry the development to its logical conclusion which is seen in the modern trust and monopoly. Thus we see that in private ownership of the instruments of wealth production and competition there is a monopoly force that cannot be prevented, and those who believe in both these factors can make no objection to trusts or monopoly. Let us proceed.

THE WORKING CLASS

3. We now leave the capitalists; their private property, competition and monopoly of the tools of wealth production, and take up the third fundamental factor in modern society, the working class. This class is entirely divorced from the ownership of the tools of wealth production and have but one commodity for sale and that is their labor power. It is a commodity because the vendors of it have to take it to the labor market and sell in order to live, much the same as a merchant sells his wares in order to secure a profit on their sale. But it has this difference: The laborer cannot send samples of his commodity to the prospective buyer because it is inseparable from himself. When he sells his commodity, whether by the day, week or month, he sells himself with it. But this is not all. The laborer cannot hold his commodity for a raise in price, for on its sale depends the life of himself and family. As Prof. Davidson says: "The laborer must sell today; the employer need not buy till tomorrow." To the master it is only a question of profits; to the laborer it is a question of life." Thus we see that the sale of labor power is not a voluntary act on the part of the laborer, but a forced sale due to his position in modern society. His wants act as a lash just as effective as that formerly wielded in the hands of the southern slave owner a few years ago. If the laborer cannot find a market for his commodity there are only three alternatives left for him. He must either beg, starve or steal. He cannot become a capitalist because the wealth necessary to successfully compete with the large combines of capital is so large that it excludes the possibility of him becoming a capitalist. He is bound by circumstances and environment which are just as effective as though he were riveted by chains of steel to capital. Once a wage slave always a wage slave.

Leaflet No. 2 is a converter. Its cost should ensure for it a circulation of one million. One Dollar a thousand.

Portraits of Debs mailed to any address at 3 cents each in lots over ten.

A GIANT BANK TRUST FORMING IN NEW YORK

It Will be a Muster of the City Banks and Crack the Whip of Domination of Two Billions of Dollars

THE STANDARD OIL ITS CORE

It Will Stand at the Spigot of Loans and All Other Businesses Will Set Like Beggars at Its Gates

From the New York Verdict

Here be true news. This is a grave story. It is one of even near concern to small and great. Let it come unshod of simile, unbusked of imagery or rhetoric, unclouded of any mists of metaphor. In Wall street as this is read the giant trust of all is forming. It is to collect within itself the banks of New York city. Its core is to be Standard Oil. Its moving spirits are John Rockefeller and Pierpont Morgan. With them in full and close association are the Rothschilds and their American agents. It was to link the Rothschilds to the scheme that of late took Morgan Europeanward and brought him back again. This trust, at its consummation, which is close, will pull the reins of guidance and crack the whip of domination over two billions of dollars. It will, as stated, be a muster of the New York city banks. They are to be made into one, force—unified and brought under one word and one command. Thereafter they are to say "No" together or "Yes" together, or together stand motionless and mute. This trust of the banks is to be the dictator trust; to overlord all other trusts. The greatest among these latter will be dwarfed as they stand beside it. We, the people, are to become the subjects of bank conquest and suffer the feudalism of money. This bank trust is to be our William of Normandy. New York city is to be its Hastings without a blow. It will have, as it were, a Doomsday book, and the country is to be parceled among its followers.

This is a true tale. There is neither guess nor fancy in its telling. Naught but the bald facts are set forth. This trust expects to hold the nation in the hollow of its hand. Their plan is to be the grand bank of the United States; issue at the last its money and have custody of its credit. In a cruder day Jackson defeated a parallel conspiracy; crushed beneath his stern heel the head of a similar serpent. With this difference: That was a python of seven and one-half millions, a baby and a plaything to the one in hand. Now are we to confront a serpent of two billions, or one two hundred and fifty times as large. At a time, too, when the Jacksons seem gone from our midst. For a century and a quarter Europe, pointing to America, whether in hate or love, was driven to say with Job: "There the wicked cease from troubling, there the weary be at rest! There the prisoners rest together; they hear not the voice of the oppressor! The small and the great are there; and the servant is free from his master!" Once, this trust of the banks, and Europe will say this no more. There will be none to give tongue to it. The fact of freedom will have departed, the song would be a lie. In that day of gilded narrow fetters the spirit of true Americanism will be crippled, bent and broken. A sightless Samson, it will grind in the mills of the Philistines. It will long for destruction and dig for death as for treasures that lie hid.

Standard Oil is to be the heart of this bank trust. There is one known thing of Standard Oil. Its minimum profits are at least forty millions yearly. How much more they be is the jealous secret of Standard Oil, and none may pierce it. As stated, as captain-constructors of this bank trust are Rockefeller, Morgan and the Rothschilds. They will go to New Jersey for organization. That state has grown the Morocco of America. Its statutes are the merest shipyards to build and launch and outfit these trust pirates of commerce. New Jersey, to be consistent, should adopt the black flag as its banner. It should float the Jolly Roger with skull and cross bones from the dome staff of its capitol. Once this trust of the banks is afloat, it will have beneath its pennant every bank in New York. They must join or be destroyed. The old killing Standard Oil method will suffice for this. Then it will extend itself. Every bank in the country will become its gillie. There will be no limit to its sway. Its powers will find their last extension in the frontiers of the possible. It will fix the price of money and censor the markets to the last item of value. It will pick up the national debt and hold the country between its thumb and finger. It will demand bonds and get them, or it will force payment for them. It will stand at the spigot of loans. It will flow money on or off at its selfish interest or caprice. All other businesses will set like beggars at its gates.

SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST

In northern zones the raging bear Protects himself with fat and hair. Where snow is deep and ice is stark, And half the year is cold and dark, He still survives a clime like that. By growing fur, by growing fat. These traits, O bear, which thou transmittest, Prove the survival of the fittest.

To polar regions waste and wan, Comes the encroaching race of man; A puny, feeble little lubber, He had no fur, he had no blubber, The scornful bear sat down at ease To see the stranger starve and freeze; But, lo! the stranger slew the bear, And ate his fat and wore his hair! These deeds, O man, which thou transmittest, Prove the survival of the fittest.

In modern times the millionaire Protects himself as did the bear. Where poverty and hunger are He counts his bullion by the car. Where thousands suffer still he thrives. The wealth, O Croesus, thou transmittest, Proves the survival of the fittest.

But, lo! some people, odd and funny, Some men without a cent of money, The simple, common human race, Chose to improve their dwelling place. They had no use for millionaires; They calmly said the world was theirs; They were so strong, so wise, so many— The millionaire?—There wasn't any! These deeds, O man, which thou transmittest, Prove the survival of the fittest.

—Charlotte Perkins Stetson.

LIGHT, MORE LIGHT

A Suggestion to Socialist Societies and Branches of the Social Democratic Party.

By Isador Ladoff

"Human progress were a weak thing, could not its speed be accelerated somewhat, and the moral and material happiness of the majority be multiplied at a rate beyond that of the past."

N. P. GILMAN.

"A time arrives in the progress of social development when societies of men become conscious of corporate existence, and when the improvement of the conditions of its existence becomes for them an object of conscious and deliberate effort."

PROF. J. E. CAIRNES.

There was a time when the mental equipment of a Socialist in the rank and file consisted in a few ill (if at all) digested and parrot-like repeated shibboleths and maxims, borrowed on credit from some of the fathers and prominent leaders of the movement. These shibboleths and maxims were regarded somewhat in the same light as texts of the Bible by church people. For doubt, criticism and original thought there did not seem to be any demand among Socialists. Orthodoxy and dogmatism of the most rigid pattern were considered as essential qualities of a Socialist. Anybody who dared to think for himself and have his own ideas was considered either a fool or a knave, or more frequently as a fool and knave at once. Intolerance and heresy hunting were connected with great narrowness of mind. Some of these old-time Socialists were, to use the picturesque slang of David Harum, "so narrer in their views that fourteen of 'em c'n sit, side an' side, in a buggy." It was the golden age of self-appointed Socialistic popes, a la De Leon, and in uncrackable arrogant small bosses who "run the whole thing," while the rank and file said "yes and amen" to any antique capers of their scientific leaders. The Socialistic movement, instead of progressing, spreading and deepening, was retreating, petrifying and arousing more prejudices against the cause it pretended to represent than sympathy for it among outsiders. It was a time of petty quarrels and mutual abuse in choicest billingsgate among the "leaders," so-called, of useless hairsplitting and sectarianism.

Fortunately this time is rapidly passing away never to return again, and Socialism, rational and pure Socialism, is broadening and deepening with every day, sending its roots deep into the national soil, and spreading its vigorous branches far beyond the limits of one small class.

The marvelous growth of the S. D. P. is the most convincing proof of this change for the better. The time is approaching fast when the S. D. P. will be a great national power in the United States, a power to be felt and respected, a power before which all the old and new-fashioned tricks and crafty designs of the enemies of the toiling classes will prove of no avail.

This triumph of the cause of Socialism, however, has to be brought about by the persistent endeavors of the members of the S. D. P. And in order to be able to accomplish it the members of the S. D. P. have to prepare themselves for the battle royal against all the sinister powers of selfishness and ignorance. In connection with this grave problem, the writer of these lines takes the liberty to repeat here what he said long ago in his article, "Socialism and Sociology."

"As the knowledge of all the parts of

the human body is the condition sine qua non of a good physician, the knowledge of all the qualities, properties and laws of human beings is necessary for every Socialist, who deserves to be called so. Socialism is not an idle dream any more, it is not a panacea, a specific cure against a certain disease; it is not a science by and for itself—it is the application of all the results of human thought and noblest feelings to the problems of social life. Great is the dignity of a healer of the afflictions of the human body, and preserver of the health, but great are also their responsibilities. To be called a Socialist is the highest compliment that can be paid by one man to another. To be a true Socialist is the highest distinction a man can attain to on earth. But how many deserve to be called so, and how many pretend to be Socialists, without any shadow of right to be counted such? It is not enough to repeat thoughtlessly certain ready-made maxims and sentences in order to be a Socialist. It is necessary to study society in all its aspects and phases, to read, think and investigate much and long in order to have the right to call oneself a Socialist: One independent thinking man is worth thousands of thoughtless repeaters of other people's ideas. It is a great and noble thing to "make Socialists," but the proper way to do it is to make them study, think and judge for themselves, to put them on their own feet. Feeling alone, sincere and deep as it may be, is not a secure foundation for a soldier of Socialism. Knowledge and conviction coming from knowledge and independent thought, are the most precious qualities of a healer of social evils and a true reformer. The so-called leaders who are opposed to academic study, because they want "fighters," are false prophets. Socialism, in order to succeed, has to start an educational crusade. German Socialists owe their success to the systematic education of the masses, started by the genial F. Lassalle and kept up to our day. The Socialists of England try to do the same. The American Socialists have to adopt the same policy. An ignorant soldier is a poor fighter."

With this purpose in view we have worked out a three years' course of study of topics touching upon all social and economic problems which confront us today. This we will proceed to outline in the next issue of The Herald.

WHERE DO PROFITS GO?

Inquire of statisticians who are the beneficiaries of this alleged prosperity? Listen to the report by Hon. Carroll D. Wright, United States commissioner of labor, in his Thirteenth Annual Report, Vols. 1 and 2:

"A 3 1/2-inch farm wagon is made in 48 hours and 17 minutes, i. e., it equals the work of one man for 48 hours and 17 minutes. This man receives for making this wagon \$7.19. The same wagon costs the farmer \$75. Let some wise politician tell us how the farmer can afford to swap \$75 on the farm for \$7.19 earned in the factory."

A nice buggy made at a labor cost in time of 39 hours and 8 minutes; the laborer receives \$8.09 for his service. This buggy is sold in our market for \$100 to \$125.

A good substantial hack is made at a labor cost of 53 hours and 28 minutes, at a money cost of \$8.48. This hack is marketed at \$100.

A clock, mahogany, veneered, 26 inches high, 8-day movement, labor made it in 1 hour and 23 minutes, and received 25 1/2 cents for making it. This clock costs the user \$12.50.

A common straw carpet costs the housewife forty cents per yard, while it costs only nine cents per yard to make the best grade of Brussels carpet. The laborer in the factory gets eight cents a yard for making velvet carpet, and six cents a yard for making ingrain carpet. The one costs us \$2 per yard and the other \$5.

Where is the profit and who gets it? Let some laborer who voted for McKinley's prosperity or Bryan's 16 to 1 answer it.

It costs 11 cents to tan a side of leather, and labor gets 18 to 75 cents for making a pair of shoes.

A farmer sells his bale of cotton for \$25. The same bale of cotton turns out two thousand yards of calico gingham, for which the same farmer is forced to pay \$100, or more to get his own bale of cotton back, while the labor in the factory gets only \$22 for converting the raw cotton into manufactured cloth.

Labor gets 3 1/2 cents for making hose; gets 21 1/2 cents for the use of the machine to make them with.

Labor gets \$10.33 per dozen for making ash bedsteads 6 feet 4 inches high and nicely finished, while you have to pay more for one bedstead than labor gets for making the dozen.

The labor cost of making a 4 1/2 pound axe is 4 1/2 cents; selling price is \$1. Labor cost of making pitchforks is 5 cents each; selling price 50 cents.

Cassimere pants costs in labor and material 78 cents, while a Prince Albert coat costs less than \$3.

Labor gets 75 cents for making a bureau with four drawers; this bureau sells for \$8."

Subscribe for "The Herald" 26 weeks for 20 cents.

LOCAL BRANCHES

Notices of Branch Meetings Inserted for 25 Cents per Month

CALIFORNIA

Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evenings, commencing at 8. Admission free. Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening. Membership, Social Democrat free to each member, 25 cents per month. Apply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 111 Turk street.

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock at Woodman's Hall, 12 1/2 Spring St. J. Franc, 700 Dayton Ave., Secretary.

Branch No. 1, Alameda, California, holds free public meetings every 2d and 4th Sunday, 9 p. m. at Forester Hall, 100 Park St. and Santa Clara Ave. Business and Educational meetings (for members) 1st and 3rd Monday, 8 p. m. at 246 Escalante Ave. Allan A. Crockett, Secretary, 1610 Walnut St.

COLORADO

Branch No. 1, Denver, meets every Sunday at 3:00 p. m. at 1715 California Ave., Chas. M. Davis, Secretary, 1625 17th Street.

Branch No. 2, Goldenfield, meets every Sunday at 7:30 p. m., at City Hall. Chas. La Camp, Secretary.

CONNECTICUT

The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at Turn Hall, Rockville. L. Schaefer, Secretary.

Branch No. 1, New Haven, meets every Wednesday evening, at 8 p. m., at Aurora Hall. C. Vulmer, Sec. Branch No. 1, Rockville, Conn., meets first and third Thursdays at Turn Hall meeting room, Village street. Secretary, Richard Niederwerfer, Box 780.

ILLINOIS

Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 63 Dearborn St.

Branch No. 1, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening, Thomas Kirwin, Secretary, 2504 Westworth Ave.

Branch No. 2 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets first and third Saturday at 8 p. m. at Nagel's Hall, 335 Blue Island Ave. Ferdinand Srobocha, Secretary, 334 West 18th Street.

Branch No. 3 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets second and fourth Mondays at 8 p. m. in Dundas's place, 1000 W. 12th place. Joseph Dunbar, Secretary.

Branch No. 3, Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays of each month at Piazek's Hall, 100 Centre Ave., 2nd floor. Jos. Cerny, Sec'y, 530 W. 18th St.

Branch No. 4, Chicago, meets every first Saturday each month at 8 o'clock at Nagel's Hall, 335 Blue Island Ave., near 18th St. Albin Geisler, Secretary, 788 W. 20th St.

Branch No. 5 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets second and fourth Sunday at 9 p. m. at 3402 Line Street. J. A. Ambros, Secretary, 4940 Wood Street.

Branch No. 6, Chicago, meets at 1148 W. 63rd st., first and third Sundays at 8 p. m. Gus Larson, Secretary, 6243 Center avenue.

INDIANA

Branch No. 6, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichwein's Hall, corner Market and Noble Sts.

IOWA

Branch No. 2, Hittman, meets every fourth Friday in the month at opera house. James Baxter, chairman, Wm. Truman, secretary, Box 131.

KENTUCKY

Branch No. 4, Bellevue, meets 1st and 3rd Sunday, at 2 p. m., and 2nd and 4th Wednesday at 8 p. m., at 91 Fairfield ave. We will make it interesting for all. Henry Listerman, Sec., 132 Foote ave.

MARYLAND

Branch No. 1, Baltimore, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m. at Carpenter's Hall, 509 E. Baltimore St. Public invited.

Branch No. 2, Baltimore, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at Wenzel's Hotel, 328 W. Camden st. Good speeches. Public invited. Levin T. Jones, Secretary, 202 W. Harro st.

MASSACHUSETTS

The Massachusetts State Committee meets the first Saturday of each month at 734 Washington St., Boston. All dues and moneys intended for the State Committee should be sent to the financial secretary, A. McDonald, 104 W. Springfield St., Boston. All other correspondence should be addressed to the Corresponding Secretary, Margaret Hall, 5 Glenwood St., Roxbury.

Branch No. 2, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at Springfield Ave. Jos. Geisler, Organizer, 415 Main St.

Branch No. 3, Lynn, permanent headquarters, 71 Monroe St. Business meeting every Monday night at 7:30. Open house. Public invited. Harry Gutierrez, Sec., 423 Essex St.

Branch No. 9, Brockton, meets Friday nights at 8 p. m. for social at Socialist Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Center Sts. Every comrade is expected to attend one meeting a month. Mrs. Annie Bueworth, Secretary, 31 Prospect St.

Branch No. 15, East Boston, meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 90 Chelsea St. Miss Jenny Segal, Secretary, 90 Chelsea St.

Branch No. 20, Roxbury, Mass., meets at 24 Warren st. 2nd and 4th Friday of every month. Public invited.

Branch No. 21, Chelsea, permanent headquarters, Room 2, Postoffice Building. Open every evening. Business meetings every Thursday at 8 p. m. Public invited.

MICHIGAN

Branch No. 1, Battle Creek, Mich., meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of each month, at 8 p. m. at 10 W. Main Street, in the Central Hotel. All are cordially invited. L. C. Rogers, Secretary.

IMPERIALISM AND SOCIALISM

(Continued from First page)

of the administration in its professions. The whole foreign policy is the result of greedy commercialism. It evidences the criminality of capitalism which does not hesitate to sacrifice the life and liberty of a people in the interest of private profit. The capitalist class must have markets and opportunity to invest their surplus capital, no matter at what cost to others. All that is needed to enlist the blind support of the people in carrying out their nefarious schemes is to cover them with the cry of "patriotism." Such great wrongs have always been perpetrated in the name of "humanity," "civilization," and "patriotism." It is only thus that the ruling class can gain the moral support of the people.

REACTIONARY DEMOCRACY

The republican party, in declaring for expansion, is but voicing the interests of the class it represents. The democratic party is opposed to the republican expansion policy, not because it is more virtuous, but because the material interests of the class it represents would not thus be subserved. The industrial activities of the middle class are very limited and its surplus capital still more so; consequently they are not interested in the policy of the trust magnates, but rather opposed to it, for they know that the growth of the trusts means ruin for them. With but little or no manufactured products to export and no capital to invest abroad, it is not strange that they should oppose this policy, and it is less strange when we take into consideration the result of this investment on the stability of the middle class. I will refer to this again presently.

The democratic party, in representing the interests of the perishing middle class, has become thoroughly reactionary. It faces backward on every great question of the day. Its middle class anti-trust program is absurd. Its

MINNESOTA

Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Gosswein, on Main St. A. Kingsbury, Secretary.

MISSOURI

St. Louis headquarters, Room 7, 22 N. Fourth St. Address all communications to E. Val Putnam, Secretary. For information concerning ward branches, inquire at the above address.

Branch No. 7, Kansas City, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1200 Union Ave. G. J. Stora, Secretary, 1200 W. 9th St.

MONTANA

Branch No. 1, Butte, meets every Thursday, at 8:30 p. m. Engineers' Hall, Owsley Block. G. Frankel, Sec. 11 E. Park Street.

Branch No. 3 meets first and third Sundays of each month at G. W. Wood's home, Chico, Mont.

NEW JERSEY

Branch No. 1, Secretary, Michael W. Schor, 87 Livingston st.

Branch No. 5, Camden, N. J., meets every 1st Sunday of the month. For particulars address Paul Eberding, 1336 Kaighn's Avenue.

Branch No. 2 (German) Newark, meets every third Saturday, at International Hall, 7 Bedford St. Hans Hartwig, Secretary, 7 Bedford St.

Branch No. 6 (German), Paterson, N. J., meets first and third Mondays, 8 p. m. at Helvetia Hall 54-56 Van Houten St. Karl Linder, Secretary, 246 2nd street St.

NEW YORK

The City Central Action Committee of Greater New York, meets every second Tuesday at 412 Grand street, Windsor Hall. James Allman, Secretary, 32 Suffolk st. care of "Forward."

East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every first and third Thursday at 11, Clinton St. A. Guyer, Secretary, 125 Suffolk St.

Branch No. 2, 2nd Assembly District, meets every month at headquarters, 129 W. 9th St. Elizabeth H. Thomas, Secretary.

Branch No. 5 Brooklyn, New York, meets every Saturday at 8 p. m. at 54 Moore St. Visitors welcome. Comrades desiring to organize should communicate with Secretary Sol. Pressman, 190 Boerum St.

Branch No. 10, New York, meets every Friday, at 8 p. m., 200 E. Broadway. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Organizer, Joseph Williams, 56 Henry st.

OHIO

Branch No. 2, Cleveland, meets in Ohlsen's Hall, 65 York St., second and fourth Sundays at 8 p. m. Lectures, discussions, business meetings, first and third Fridays at 8 p. m.

Branch No. 4, Cleveland, meets first and third Sundays in each month at 8 p. m. in Ohlsen's Hall, 65 York St. Lectures and discussions.

Branch No. 4, Cincinnati, meets at Richelieu Hall southeast corner 12th and Plum Sts., every Sunday at 2 p. m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Joe Jasen, Secretary, 1410 Central Avenue.

Branch No. 4, Dayton, Ohio, meets every 2d and 4th Wednesday, in Hall 27, Commercial Trades Council Block. Everyone interested in Socialism invited. C. Behave, Chairman, W. Barringer, Secretary, P. O. Box 294.

Branch No. 2, Cincinnati, meets every second and fourth Saturday in Workingmen's Hall, 121 Walnut St. F. Hamel, Secretary, 1804 First St.

Branch No. 11, German, Columbus. Thomas May, Jr. Secretary, 830 N. 3rd St.

PENNSYLVANIA

Branch No. 1, Philadelphia, meets every Monday, at 8 p. m., at 423 E. 3rd Street, until further notice.

Branch No. 2, Erie, meets every Friday, 8 p. m., at R. of L. Hall, 716 State St. Chairman, Joseph Stein, Secretary, J. E. Ferry, 119 Sansafras St.

Branch No. 4, Pittsburgh, meets 2nd and last Wednesday evening at 7:30 in Hall B, 2nd and 3rd Aves. and Josephine St. W. Bohm, President, 1044 Ad. Dixon St. J. H. Lewis, Secretary, 311 Jane St.

Branch No. 4, Coudersport, meets every second and last Wednesday of each month in R. of L. Hall. Chas. J. Kline, chairman; L. H. Morse, Secretary, Ben. Coddington, Treasurer.

Branch No. 5, Philadelphia, meets first Friday of each month—Executive meets every Sunday morning at 10 a. m. in Club Rooms, at 423 E. Third St. Organizer, M. Gillis, 100 E. Third St.

Branch No. 10, Williamsport, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2 p. m. in Social Labor hall, No. 26 East 3d St. G. B. Smith, chairman; Joe. Lyon, secretary, 743 Second St. Public invited.

WASHINGTON

Branch No. 5, Tacoma, meets every Monday evening at 8 p. m., 412 11th Street.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee Central Committee, S. D. P., meets second and fourth Monday of the month at Brewers' Hall, southeast corner Fourth and Chestnut sts.

Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets at Keller's Hall, Fourth Street, between State and Prairie, every second and fourth Thursday evening.

Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Friday in Geatke's Hall, corner Green Bay and Concordia Ave.

Branch No. 3, Sheboygan, meets every second Thursday of the month at Emil Hendel's place, 1011 Michigan Ave. Secretary, Eugene F. Kichenberger, 1701 N. 11th street.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday each month at Miller's Hall, corner 22d and Brown Sts. George Moersbach, Secretary, 321 25th St.

Branch No. 5, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at R. Siegel's Hall, southeast corner Orchard St. and 9th Ave. O. Wild, Secretary, 1125 23rd St.

Branch No. 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of each month at Kraus' Hall, 21 and Center St., at 8 p. m. Secretary, Rudolph Losschman, 1125 23rd St.

Branch No. 23, Milwaukee, meets second and fourth Wednesday of each month, at 524 Clark street. Henry Harbicht, Sec., 1074 1th Street.

Have your card inserted in the BRANCH DIRECTORY, 25 Cents per Month. It will help you in the work in your locality.

position on the money question is also in accord only with middle class aims.

THE SOCIALIST POSITION

Now let us compare what the Socialist has to say on the question of expansion. Socialism is not anybody's ready-made scheme or device; it is a scientific philosophy, and rests upon a historical, economic, and scientific basis. The mission of the Socialist is to point out the truth regarding the working of economic laws, and show that the present system is destined to work its own downfall and usher in the co-operative commonwealth. The Socialist points out the necessity of modern capitalism to expand—it must have foreign markets. The Socialist is not an expansionist like the republican nor an anti-expansionist like the democrat—he merely points out the facts. The interests of the class he represents cannot be served by either policy. Socialism, as I have said, represents the interests of the working class. It also represents the true interests of every member of the middle class (and I might also say the true ultimate interests of the capitalists, not, of course, as capitalists, but as men); but, like the slaveholders of old, they are blind to their higher interests.

IF YOU SYMPATHIZE WITH TRADE UNIONS

You will encourage the sale OF UNION LABEL GOODS

If you want Union Label Shoes demand the above Union Stamp. No shoe is Union made unless it bears the Union Stamp. No charge or royalty for the Union Stamp. Visit your shoe dealer and take no expense. See latest list of factories and shoe makers who use the Union Boot and Shoe Worker's Union.

Boot and Shoe Workers Union.

620 Atlantic Ave., Boston, Mass

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

CAMPAIGN OF 1900

THE PARTY.

The Social Democratic Party was organized at Chicago, June 11, 1898. It is the party that elected the first Socialist Mayor of American cities, at Haverhill and Brockton, Mass., and in different sections of the country not less than thirty members of the party have been elected to public positions.

ITS METHOD.

Five or more members can organize a branch of the Social Democratic Party. Any reputable person subscribing to the principles of the organization is eligible to membership.

Desiring to organize a branch, application should be made to the national secretary for copies of the constitution, which should be placed in the hands of prospective members. In these will be found the declaration of principles, as also the laws of the organization.

ITS OBJECT.

First—The organization of the working class into a political party to conquer the public powers now controlled by capitalists.

Second—The abolition of wage-slavery by the establishment of a national system of co-operative industry, based upon the social or common ownership of the means of production and distribution, to be administered by society in the common interest of all its members, and the complete emancipation of the socially useful classes from the domination of capitalism.

TRADES UNIONISM.

The trades union is the arena where all wage-workers may be brought together for joint action to resist the encroachments of capitalism on the economic field and to participate in the class struggle of the proletariat which will finally develop into the political alignment of the forces of labor in the struggle for emancipation.

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

ROBERT MEISTER.....Chairman
JOSEPH R. FINN.....Treasurer
SEYMOUR STEDMAN.....Secretary
Address, 126 Washington St., Chicago.

FINANCE COMMITTEE

EDWARD ZEIGLER.....Chairman
JOSEPH R. FINN.....Treasurer
JAMES WRIGHT.....Secretary
Address, 126 Washington St., Chicago

COMMITTEE ON LITERATURE

A. S. EDWARDS.....Chairman
CHRIS. MICKELSON.....Secretary

COMMITTEE ON PRINTING

JOSEPH WINNEN.....Chairman
PHILIP BROWN.....Secretary

COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

SEYMOUR STEDMAN.....Chairman
ARTHUR DENNISON.....Secretary

COMMITTEE ON SPEAKERS

OSCAR LOEBEL.....Chairman
SEYMOUR STEDMAN.....Secretary

CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT



EUGENE V. DEBS

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

FREDERICK HEATH.....Chairman
SEYMOUR STEDMAN.....Secretary
EUGENE V. DEBS.....VICTOR L. BERGER
CORINNE S. BROWN

NATIONAL SECRETARY-TREASURER

THEODORE DEBS
No. 126 Washington Street, Chicago.

THE CAMPAIGN FUND

J. Shale, Brooklyn.....	\$1.00
R. S. Price, Houston.....	5.00
Mrs. Cora L. Bliss, San Diego.....	5.00
Jno. Hartwig, Sec'y W. S. and Death Benefit Fund, Newark.....	5.00
Sidney Temple, New Glens.....	1.00
William Wilkinson, New Glens.....	1.00
Previously reported.....	883.90
Total.....	\$901.90

Send all communications for the National Campaign Committee to Seymour Stedman, Secretary, 126 Washington Street, Chicago.

ITS PLATFORM.

Revision of our federal constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to complete control of government by the people irrespective of sex.

Public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

Public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones; all means of transportation and communication; all water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

Public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal, and other mines, and all oil and gas wells.

Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

Inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

Useful inventions to be free, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

Labor legislation to be national, instead of local, and international when possible.

National insurance of working people against accident, lack of employment and want in old age.

Equal civil and political rights, for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

The adoption of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by voters.

Abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

NATIONAL PAPER OF THE PARTY:

The Social Democratic Herald
50 CENTS A YEAR.
126 Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.

HEADQUARTERS: 126 WASHINGTON STREET, CHICAGO

NOTES FROM THE FIELD

Send in your order now for Ben Atterbury's letter to workingmen. Leaflet No. 2; \$1 a thousand.

Comrade Debs is announced to speak at Van Horne, Iowa, Sept. 5, the occasion being the firemen's celebration.

Comrade E. Val Putnam is announced for a series of meetings at Webb City, Mo., beginning about September 1.

Albion E. Geisler has been substituted for Chas. Haase as the Social Democratic candidate for the State legislature in the Ninth District.

The small 4-page leaflet used by the Chicago comrades is good for any part of the country; 1,000 to any address, postage paid, for 75 cents.

Get your barber to allow you to hang the Debs portrait on his wall. And, by the way, how many small stickers, say two inches square, could you use?

The Social Democrats of Los Angeles, Cal., by a large majority reconsidered their former action and declared allegiance to the National Executive Board.

A Michigan comrade orders 250 of leaflet No. 2, and says: "I have never seen a much better leaflet than this." Keep "No. 2" going and it will do its work.

Comrade Debs speaks at Canton, Illinois, on Labor Day, and not Canton, Ohio, as announced last week. The meeting is under the auspices of the Central Labor Union.

The encouraging report comes from Florida that our comrades will succeed in getting a place on the official ballot in that State; the work of filling up petitions is well under way.

All loyal members of the Social Democratic branches in Washington are hereby requested to communicate with Comrade L. W. Kidd, 1115 Sixth avenue, North, Seattle, Wash.

Look out for an announcement in next week's Herald of our Postal Propaganda, designed so that every Socialist in the United States can engage in quiet and thoroughly effective campaign work. It will meet with your approval on sight.

A memorial meeting will be held Saturday evening, August 18, at Garfield Turner Hall, Larrabee street and Garfield avenue, in honor of Wilhelm Liebknecht. There will be speaking and the Socialist Sangerbund will render appropriate songs.

It is of the highest importance that every possible means be adopted by the comrades to correct the lie now being industriously circulated that Debs will "withdraw" in favor of Bryan. The leaflets at one dollar a thousand afford a cheap way of doing this. Send in your orders.

There will be a Social Democratic lawn party at the Socialist Club Rooms, 1541 Central Boulevard, next Sunday evening, Aug. 19, to which members of all branches in Chicago and their friends are invited. Tickets, 10 cents each. Ice cream and cake served.

The Appeal to Reason fund for the purpose of sending the paper to 10,000 offices of labor unions for six months

has passed the \$600 mark. The amount required is \$1,250. The specific object of the Appeal's enterprise is to keep it before the people that Debs is a candidate "to the finish."

Social Democrats of Iowa in convention August 10, made the following nominations: Secretary of State, C. Worth; Auditor, W. T. Beals; Treasurer, Madison Warder; Attorney General, B. W. Wilson; Supreme Judge, J. M. Winn; Railroad Commissioner, M. D. Earnest. A full electoral ticket was also nominated.

The portrait of the presidential candidate gives great satisfaction. Thousands have been mailed to branches and comrades in all sections of the country. It should be seen in every community; it informs the observer, directs attention to the party and makes votes. Ten copies, 35 cents; 33 for a dollar; single copy, 10 cents; postage prepaid.

Any branch not having received collection blanks for the Campaign Fund by the time this copy of the Herald reaches them, should immediately notify the National Campaign Committee, 126 Washington St., Chicago, Ill. This is the most important work for the month of August; to see that every branch and individual member learns the necessity of a Campaign Fund and what it is to be done with it. We won't have as much as the capitalist parties, but, in proportion to the amount, we will make a greater showing.

Comrade James Oneal writes us: "I want to say that I received the leaflet by Ben Atterbury, 'An Open Letter to the Average American Workman,' and I think it is splendid thing to spread all over the country. We will send for a big lot shortly." A day or two later the order came for 5,000 copies. This order cost the comrades of Terre Haute \$5 delivered. The leaflet (it is No. 2) is highly spoken of by comrades from Maine to California. "Spread it all over the country" and it will make converts—and votes.

Leaflet No. 2, issued by the National Campaign Committee of the Social Democratic party, is a genuine "hit," the first of the campaign. The first run of 20,000 copies was exhausted in 20 days after the first announcement; the second run was 100,000 copies, of which 30,000 have already been shipped to comrades and branches in different parts of the country. The price of the leaflet is One Dollar per thousand, carriage prepaid. For prices on smaller lots see advertisement. It is four pages, 4 1/2 x 7 inches, just what you want to give to a friend on the street or insert in a letter. Other leaflets are being prepared, but No. 2 should have a circulation of One Million. Send orders to Campaign Committee, 126 Washington street, Chicago.

Contributions for the National Campaign Fund of the Social Democratic Party should be sent to the treasurer, Joseph R. Finn, 126 Washington Street, Chicago. Acknowledgment will be made in the Herald.

BRANCH SUPPLIES

Membership Cards (per 100).....	1.00
Membership Applications (100).....	.25
Constitutions (each).....	.03

Send orders with cash to Theodore Debs, 126 Washington Street, Chicago. No supplies sent on credit.

Twenty-six weeks for 20 cents

DEBS DECLINES

To the Social Democratic party—Comrades: I respectfully decline the nomination as a member of the National Executive Board. I have served my time in that capacity and now step aside to make room for another. My decision is unalterable, and the secretary will please strike my name from the list of nominees.

In severing my relations with the board it is due my colleagues to say that during the two years of our incumbency I found them always loyal to the party, steadfast in their devotion to Socialism and true to every obligation, official and personal. Each of them has my thanks and all of them I hold in affectionate esteem.

The new board will have my unqualified allegiance and support. After the campaign, to which I owe, and shall contribute, my best energies, I shall have time and opportunity to organize and otherwise work in the interest of the party, and this I shall do, although in an unofficial capacity, with all the zeal and ability I can command.

Thanking my comrades for the honor notified, which is appreciated quite as much as if it had been accepted, I remain, Yours fraternally,

Eugene V. Debs.

TO COMRADES OF NEW YORK

All branches of the Social Democratic party in New York are urgently requested to send delegates to a state convention which will take place at Seminole Hall, 414 Grand street, New York city, on Tuesday, Aug. 26. The basis of representation will be that each delegate may represent as many comrades as may care to select him, but no delegate shall represent less than five. The convention will be called to order at 10 a. m. All interested in the well-being of the S. D. P. are urgently requested to see that they are represented, and thus demonstrate once for all that, despite false statements to the contrary, the S. D. P. remains intact in this state. All locals, even those which are openly in favor of unity, are frankly and fairly invited to attend and an opportunity thus be provided to all genuine Social Democrats to settle all differences within the ranks of our own party.

JAMES ALLMAN, Secretary.

TAKE NOTICE

We desire to call the attention of Socialists and friends of the movement to the following facts:

The headquarters of the Social Democratic Party are located at 126 Washington street, Chicago.

The national secretary of the party is Theodore Debs, same address.

The national official paper of the party is the Social Democratic Herald.

The National Executive Board consists of Frederic Heath, chairman; Seymour Stedman, secretary; Eugene V. Debs, Victor L. Berger and Mrs. Corinne S. Brown.

The National Campaign Committee of the party was organized July 22 at Chicago, Comrade Robert Meister of Milwaukee being elected chairman, and Comrade Seymour Stedman, of Chicago, secretary.

At the meeting of July 22 a finance committee for the campaign was elected as follows: Edward Zeigler, chairman; Joseph R. Finn, treasurer; James Wright, secretary.

Acknowledgment of all contributions received will appear in this paper.

The National Committee will meet Sunday morning at 10 o'clock at 55 No. Clark Street.

NOMINATIONS FOR NEW

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

The constitution adopted at the Indianapolis convention, and since approved by a referendum vote of the branches, provides for a national executive board of nine members, "five of whom shall be chosen from territory convenient to the national headquarters and shall be called 'resident members,' and the remaining four shall be chosen, as far as possible, from other parts of the country." The present executive board on July 21 requested the members to make nominations for the new board. In response the following have been named up to this time:

Allman, James, New York
Brown, Corinne S., Illinois
Berger, Victor L., Wisconsin
Clemens, G. C., Kansas
Cox, Jesse, Illinois
Foreman, A. B., Wisconsin
Farmer, W. E., Texas
Gordon, F. G. E., Massachusetts
Greer, J. H., Illinois
Haile, Margaret, Massachusetts
Heath, Frederic, Wisconsin
Horgan, W. C., Illinois
Kelber, S., Indiana
Kelley, J. W., Indiana
Ladoff, Isadore, Wisconsin
McCartney, F. O., Massachusetts
Miller, L. E., New York
Miller, Hugo, Indiana
Roderus, Frank, Illinois
Ricker, A. W., Iowa
Riley, Geo. W., Illinois
Rooney, Eugene H., Wisconsin
Strobel, Geo. H., New Jersey
Sweetland, G. A., Connecticut
Uhlhorn, Henry, Illinois
Winnen, Jacob, Illinois
Vaclav, Mudra, Illinois

It is hoped that every Branch will contribute \$10 to the Campaign Fund; some can do better; some have done so and will make a canvass for individual subscriptions as well. What is your Branch doing? Send all money to the treasurer of the National Committee, Joseph R. Finn, 126 Washington street, Chicago.

The Baltimore & Ohio railway, through some blunder committed by an enterprising but unwise official, has made itself quite ridiculous by issuing a circular to its employes in which it says: "The triumph of Socialism in this nation would mean the downfall of all the institutions upon which its strength and permanence depend." We say this is a blunder because it is really good Socialist propaganda for which Socialists do not have to pay. It is just such mistakes as we may look for from the bull-necked managers of railroads in this country. It will do good. More power to 'em! They are assisting the movement which "harasses and endangers" the brutal but tottering cause of capitalism. Incidentally they might tell us what interest the employes of the B. & O. or other workmen have in the "institutions" whose "downfall" is threatened. Socialism threatens only the interests of the private cormorants of capitalism, the plunderers of labor and debauchers of politics. They know. Hence their great concern for "this nation" and its "institutooshuns."

A number of Chicago lumber dealers, who think their stocks have been assessed at large figures, have come out with a representation to the board of review that the Pullman company's personal property tax, shown by the books to be only \$961,700, should be nearly \$10,000,000. The lumber dealers should study closely the Pullman company's methods, and then instead of kicking because they are successful, adopt them.

Montana Socialists

All unattached Socialists in Montana please communicate with J. F. Fox, 71 E. Park street, Butte, for the purpose of furthering Social Democratic propaganda.

SPLENDID LIFE-LIKE

PORTRAIT

OF

EUGENE V. DEBS

CANDIDATE OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY FOR

PRESIDENT

OF

THE UNITED STATES

SIZE—21 X 28 INCHES, ON GOOD PAPER

Price, 10 Cents, Single Copy

Sent by mail, securely enclosed in tube to insure safe transmission, on receipt of price.

Address, CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY, 126 Washington St., Chicago

Social Democratic Party Leaflets

FOR CAMPAIGN PURPOSES

The National Campaign Committee of the Social Democratic party will issue for the campaign a series of well-written, effective four-page leaflets, two of which are now ready for delivery. These leaflets will be sent to branches and individual workers at cost of printing and postage.

LEAFLET NO. 1 is an address to unorganized Socialists; contains information concerning the Socialist movement, the party and its methods, object and program.

LEAFLET NO. 2—"An Open Letter to the Average American Workman," by Ben Atterbury. This is an admirable and convincing paper on the wage question, production, distribution of wealth and an appeal to the intelligence of the working class.

Put Them Into the Hands of Every Workingman

PRICES.

50 Copies.....	\$ 10
100 Copies.....	15
250 Copies.....	25
500 Copies.....	50
1,000 Copies.....	1.00
5,000 Copies.....	5.00

POSTAGE PAID.

Send orders to Campaign Committee Social Democratic Party, 126 Washington street, Chicago, Ill.

THE FULL STRENGTH OF APPEAL TO REASON

WILL BE GIVEN TO

DEBS AND HARRIMAN

the ensuing campaign. For purposes of propaganda the following prices are named on bundles to one address:

25 copies weekly, 3 mos., \$ 1.50
50 " " " 8.00
100 " " " 6.00
250 " " " 14.50
500 " " " 27.50
1000 " " " 49.00

ADDRESS,

APPEAL TO REASON
GIRARD, KANSAS

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

THIRD YEAR. No. 10.

CHICAGO, ILL., U.S.A., SATURDAY, AUGUST 25, 1900.

Whole No. 112.

THE WORKING CLASS THEIR OPPORTUNITY

Change a Political Organization Controlled by Capitalists to an Industrial Organization Controlled by The People

VOTE FOR ECONOMIC FREEDOM

All the Benefits of Perfected Systems and Improved Machinery Would Under Socialism Go to the Worker

By Geo. B. Kline, M. D.

Richard T. Ely, professor of political economy in the University of Wisconsin, says on Socialism:

"Those who desire industrial democracy—not prematurely, but in its own time—are many, and they include most of the best economists. There are however, different ways by which it is proposed to attain the desired goal. One of these ways is voluntary co-operation for all competitive pursuits, and governmental activity for monopolistic undertakings. Another one of these is called Socialism. Socialism means co-operation not merely for undertakings of a monopolistic nature, but for all productive enterprises. Socialists seek the establishment of industrial democracy through the instrumentality of the state, which they hold to be the only way whereby it can be attained. Socialism contemplates an expansion of the business functions of government until all business is absorbed. All business is then to be regulated by the people in their organic capacity, each man and each woman having the same rights which any other man or any other woman has. Our political organization is to become an economic industrial organization, controlled by universal suffrage. Socialism will make civil service employees of all citizens, and will remunerate them in such manner as shall in view of all circumstances appear to the public authorities to be just. Private property in profit-producing capital and rent-producing land is to be abolished, and private property in income is to be retained; but with this restriction, that it shall not be employed in productive enterprises. What is desired then, is not, as is supposed by the uninformed, a division of property, but a concentration of property. The Socialists do not complain because productive property is too much concentrated, but because it is not sufficiently concentrated. Socialists consequently rejoice in the formation of trusts and combinations, holding that they are a development in the right direction.

"There are four elements in Socialism; namely, first, the common ownership of the means of production; second, the common management of these means of production; third, the distribution of annual products of industry by common authority; fourth, private property in income. Socialists make no war on capital, strictly speaking. No one but a fool could do such a thing. What Socialists object to is not capital but the private capitalist. They desire to nationalize capital and to abolish capitalists as a distinct class by making everybody, as a member of a community, a capitalist; that is, a partial owner of all the capital in the country.

"Socialists say that labor creates all wealth. No rational Socialist means thereby to deny that land and capital are factors in production, but as they are passive factors, they hold that their owners ought not to receive a share of the product unless they personally are a useful member of a community. Labor is the active factor, and all production is carried on for the sake of man. Socialists admit that the owners of these tools must receive a return for them when industry is organized as it is now; hence they desire that these tools should become common property. They wish to make of universal application the command of the apostle Paul: 'If a man will not work, neither let him eat.'

To a Socialist this covers the field and needs no explanation. In fact, a Socialist needs nothing more than the opportunity to vote the ticket and he does so. He is also ready at all times to sink self in the principles he represents, for Socialism is so great and grand when thoroughly understood that it is recognized almost as a Utopia. Those not acquainted with its possibilities would ask to read and re-read what Prof. Ely says until every sentence is understood and its relation to every other sentence is comprehended. Then and

not until then can they refute its meaning, should they desire so to do. None but a fool would attempt such a thing.

"Not prematurely," says Prof. Ely. Socialists have nothing to conceal. They desire the masses to understand the beauties of Socialism. One writer says: "It satisfies every faculty of the mind." Therefore once a Socialist always a Socialist.

"Our political organization is to become an economic, industrial organization controlled by universal suffrage." No one can know the full meaning of Socialism until an economical industrial organization is fully understood, as it is the ground work of the whole superstructure.

To abolish private property in profit-producing capital, and rent-producing land, and yet retain private property in income, and have it that it shall not interfere in public enterprises, might at first reading seem complex.

All are to become public employees and the income restricted to this alone, covers and makes this plain.

The elements' common ownership, common management, common distribution of products will save a world of useless work in duplications—both in management and office work of separate plants—and there are thousands of them, duplications of things beyond the demands of the wants of the people. Solicitors for thousands of separate businesses, long hauls on railroads with a corresponding decrease of time and expense.

Private income can be used as now but restricted to what a person wishes for self, family and presents. It is not to be used to buy things to be sold again for gain. A person may own his own house, mansion and furnishings, yard, garden, stable, horses, buggies, cows, etc., as now.

Capital will remain, but as the post-office, public roads, schools, water, gas works, etc., publicly owned and controlled through an industrial organization instead of a political organization as now. Thus it is necessary to know fully the meaning of an industrial organization in order to be clear on this point. The principles involved in control will be those of "the initiative, referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by voters." This makes lobbying ineffectual; it makes statesmen out of representatives instead of politicians, because "those who make the most noise cannot impose on the people as they are doing, they are taken for what they are, worth." After twenty-four years of a trial of the referendum in Switzerland, an ex-president of that republic says: "It is unquestionably one of the best forms of government ever attempted." And yet but few in this country of voting sovereigns understand the bare meaning of the words. Some contend that Socialists, as the two old parties, wish only to get the offices; verily such do but reveal their ignorance. The principles of Socialism once established and the officers are elevated through the industries, over which they shall superintend, by the votes of those interested. The right to recall by the voters at any time the same as the right of directors of a corporation to recall a man they have given the superintendency, should be sufficient to dispose of this question.

At present fully one-half of our people would run for office if they thought they had a show to be elected, while the other half desire to become civil service employees.

Under Socialism the circle of workers would be constantly enlarged to admit all, and the fact that a man or woman is a member of society in general, is a sufficient guarantee that they should have an opportunity to live. Thus each child, be there one or a score, would have the same opportunity as former members, as soon as its school days are over.

Mulhall says the productive capacity today in the United States of each worker is \$7 a day. This of course is with present systems and machinery. Under Socialism this is what each worker would get whether he be farmer, artisan or laborer. Anyone not willing to give a person what he earns can scarcely be considered honest. We have nothing to say against the old parties, their record is sufficient to show where they stand. If there has been more prosperity as some contend during the McKinley Republican administration than during others, it has been, in spite of, and not from any actions of the party. The last issue of the American Federationist has a long and exhaustive report of the legislative committee of the Federation of Labor, an interesting and instructive document concerning labor measures before congress at its last session. It concludes as follows: "In conclusion, we desire to say that of the sundry measure above referred to, it is worthy of note that when they passed the house they were buried in the senate, and when they passed the

(Continued on Second Page)

INEQUALITY AND SOCIALIST SOLUTION

The Workers Who Have Created the So-Called National Wealth Are Shut Out from It by the Capitalist System

POVERTY THE SHARE OF LABOR

The Continuance of the Present Manner of Production is Not Consistent With the Continuance of Civilization

By William Liebknecht

Let us look at present conditions. Who will deny that the majority of mankind live in the greatest wretchedness and that only a minority have the means of attaining an existence worthy of human beings? We would refer the doubter to the statistics whose figures admit of no reply and can be ignored only by the ignorant or the evil disposed.

The economic inequality is not, however, the worst thing. Labor creates all wealth, and were those who do not work poor this inequality would have a certain justification; in reality the situation is turned about. As the bourgeois political economist, John Stuart Mill, who is honored as an authority by our opponents, has explained with keen insight, in our present society goods are proportioned in inverse ratio to the heaviness of the labor performed. He who works the hardest generally has the least; he who does not work at all and can have others working either directly or indirectly for him has much. Poverty is the share of labor, riches the portion of the idle. The workers who have created the so-called national wealth are shut out from it. It is the monopoly of the non-workers. In this way the inequality becomes the most revolting injustice. And this injustice is a scar on our famed civilization, that everyone who has a spark of the sense of justice must strive to clear away. Palliative measures that merely touch the surface merely reduce the symptoms, make the evil worse; this must be seized and torn out by the root. All wealth is the fruit of labor, teaches political economy—labor shall reap the fruit of labor, demands justice, demands Socialism. The present inequality springs from this: That labor does not work for itself; that it must sell itself to the idle for wages and by them be exploited. In a word, it springs out of the system of wage labor. The present injustice is only to be abolished in this way, that labor cease to work for the idle and that instead it work for itself.

Individual labor is unproductive. Work, as we have seen, must according to its nature be communistic. Therefore we must have united labor for the advantage of every individual, united labor and united enjoyment of the fruits of labor. This it is which we would establish in place of the present system of exploitation. Socialistic co-operation in place of wage labor!

But what becomes of capital?

It remains where it belongs, with labor. There is no capital but through labor. There shall be no capital except for labor. It has been asserted by charlatans that capital creates value as well as labor—the test can be easily made. The worshiper of capital may sweep together in a heap his capital, he may gather all the capital of the earth, and after the space of a year there would not have grown a penny more of value from it, but indeed the worth of the idle mass would be considerably decreased. Capital is not merely the child of labor; it cannot grow or continue without it. Capital has in relation to labor no rights, while labor in relation to capital has the right of ownership.

The tyrannous manner of production has overturned the natural relation between capital and labor and made labor the slave of capital. Is our wage-labor not slavery? Is the modern wage-laborer, because he can change his master, in any regard more free than the ancient slave? Does not hunger fasten him more firmly and more mercilessly to labor than the strongest iron chain? Yet our opponents often rejoin: "The worker is in a better condition today than in the last century." Whether the assertion is true or false we leave undebated. Even if true, it would prove nothing. It is not better position the Socialist worker demands, but equal position. He will work no longer for another; he insists that each shall enjoy in equal measure the fruits of labor and the blessings of culture. He has enough logic and sense of justice to lay no claim

to a favored place; he will also, however, accept no inferior one.

The continuance of the present manner of production is not consistent with the continuance of society. The great capitalist production was an advance. It has, however, become an obstruction. It no longer satisfies the economic needs of society; and by society we mean not the small minority of privileged persons who are pleased to call themselves "society," but the whole people.

Wholly aside from the unjust distribution of the products of labor, capitalist production is incapable of providing all members of society with the things requisite to an existence worthy of mankind and must be displaced by a higher form of production which fulfills these conditions. And this is possible only through communistic, social production, and the Socialist organization of labor which turns the concentrated capital of the community to the advantage of society.

It is an error which arises from the confusing of society with the privileged minority, that is with the ruling classes; that we are charged with the intention of overthrowing all existing things and proceeding tabula rasa to erect a fantastic structure upon the ruins. We only wish to remove whatever hinders the sound, intelligent development of society and to bring about a condition in which the interests of the great majority shall no longer be sacrificed to those of the minority. And instead of privileged individuals, instead of political social monopolies, we would establish the rights and interests of all and justice as the highest law of state and society. Whatever has outlived itself and no longer satisfies the growing cultured needs of society shall cease to withhold air and sun from the struggling new life. We will make possible the organic evolution of our culture that is prevented by the present class rule.

Whoever would propose today to abolish machinery in order to re-establish the small industry of mediaeval times would be considered insane, for everyone knows that the small industry has been succeeded by a higher, more productive method, the great industry. Whoever in the middle ages, however, or even the first half of the present century, had said that the system of small industries was too costly, too unproductive, and must be wiped from the earth through an industrial revolution that should bring another system of production to the ruling position; would have been considered as—well, much as the fanatics of the present social order, or, more properly, disorder, consider us.

Whoever in fifty years from now should recommend the introduction of our present conditions would be in danger of making the acquaintance of the insane asylum. And we who demand the reform of these present conditions are slandered and persecuted. Yet it is just as certain and just as necessary as the present manner of production should be supplanted by a higher, as that the mediaeval manner of production should be supplanted by the present one. It is not we who are Utopians, impracticable dreamers, as they so gladly call us. Those are rather to be so called who hold outgrown forms to be eternal and believe that they can prevent them from destruction through forcible measures.

"George Wyndham, M. P., who achieved reputation in parliament by his great speech on the Transvaal war, made the statement the other day in the English house of commons that since 1895 English firms had sold the Chinese government seventy-one guns of position, 123 field guns and 297 machine guns, with ammunition for each class, and also that last year a German firm sold China 400,000 Mauser rifles. These serious statements are probably true and suggest that the commercialism, which is often the boast of Europe and America, needs governmental supervision badly. The manufacture of guns and firearms ought to be a government monopoly. Then the spectacle would not be seen of unpatriotic gun and armor makers growing enormously wealthy by supplying arms to be used against their own country."

The above from a capitalist newspaper is good as far as it goes. But since commercialism, which it appears to think needs governmental supervision, together with that hateful thing called patriotism, are essential to the capitalist system, and that Socialism would abolish both, why not "save your vote" by voting at once for Socialism?

The censor at Cracow confiscated the Naprzod the other day for publishing an article on the Austrian army, but it now appears that the article was only the reproduction of an article in the well-known "Encyclopedia" of Meyer, which is published under royal patronage, so the censor, with a bad grace, has apologized.

TIMELY DISCUSSION OF TRUSTS AND SOCIALISM

An Examination of Some of the Fundamental Factors in Modern Capitalism—Private Ownership of the Means of Life

THE RELIGION OF HUMANITY

The Solution of the Trust Problem is Found in the Facts Themselves—Socialism the Only Solvent

By James O'neal

4. Competition between the worker for jobs is a fundamental factor that must be reckoned with in the solution of the problem, and plays an important role in shaping the development of society. Each worker, seeking to dispose of his commodity—labor power, competes with the other workers in a given trade. Each seeks naturally, to sell his commodity on terms that are advantageous to himself, that is, at as high a price as possible everything else being equal. Those who buy the commodity—the capitalists—seek to secure it at as low a price as possible. Hence a struggle between the workers and the capitalists over wages, which we will take up under the fifth heading. The competition between the workers for jobs give rise to the trade unions and the same motive prompted the organization of trade unions that impelled the capitalists to organize. That is, they wished to destroy competition and substitute combined effort in its place, both realizing that "in union their strength." But the workers are unable to organize all the laborers in trades unions because the introduction of labor saving machinery increases the army of the unemployed, while the crushing out of the middle class and professional men, such as small shop-keepers, traders, drummers, etc., by the trusts further increases the "industrial reserve army," as Marx calls it. It is evident that this reserve army cannot be organized, for there is nothing to be gained by the unemployed in organizing. Hence competition still exists among the workers and grows fiercer and fiercer as trusts develop and machinery is invented. This brings us to the law of wages. As we have seen that labor power is a commodity, so it follows that the law that determines and regulates the value of commodities also regulates the value of labor power. What is this law? It is a significant fact that nearly all the political economists of the world agree that human labor is the source of and determines the values of commodities. The value of a commodity is in direct proportion to the amount of labor, measured by time, that the commodity absorbs in its production. For instance, if a laborer can make a chair in three hours and a hatter can make a hat in three hours with the tools commonly used for that purpose then the two commodities are of equal value. However, we must not make the mistake of thinking that the labor of any certain individual determines the value of commodities for such is not the case. Let us take an example: Suppose a workman is able to construct a table in one day of twelve hours' work with the tools commonly used. The value of the tables then is embodied in one day's work of twelve hours. Suppose now, some one invents a new machine by which two tables can be made in the same time. If the labor of an individual determined the value of commodities, in this case we would have two standards of values, which would be absurd.

The first workman has embodied twelve hours' labor in one table, while the second laborer has embodied twelve hours' labor in two tables—or six hours in each. Thus we see then that the labor of any certain individual cannot determine the value of commodities. The labor that determines the value of commodities is that which on the average is socially necessary. In time the new invention by which two tables can be made in twelve hours supplants the old method of making one table in twelve hours and it is found that it is no longer necessary to produce with the old methods, so the value of the tables fall one-half, six hours being required to make one table now, where it required twelve before.

LABOR POWER AND ITS VALUE

Thus it is seen that labor which is absolutely necessary on the average to produce commodities determine their value. The cost of producing commodities and their value, therefore is deter-

(Continued on Second Page)

Social Democratic Herald

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board
FREDERIC HEATH Chairman
SEYMOUR STEDMAN Secretary
EUGENE V. DEBS VICTOR L. BERGER
CORINNE S. BROWN

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, 50 cents. Six months, 25 cents. No papers sent to any one on credit. If, without having subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and no bill will follow. Foreign subscriptions \$1.00.

Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

A. S. EDWARDS, Editor
THEODORE DEBS, National Sec'y-Treas.
186 Washington St., Chicago.

112 is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 113 your subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, AUGUST 25, 1900.

SOCIALISM ASSERTS ITSELF IN TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION

By vote of 87 to 73 last Friday the delegates to the International Typographical Union convention at Milwaukee voted to practically endorse the Social Democratic Party and to avoid in future any entanglements as individuals with the capitalist Republican and capitalist Democratic parties. This action came as the surprise of the convention and it stirred up such a panic among adherents of capitalism and wage slavery within and without the convention that at the next morning's session a reconsideration was accomplished and the action of the day before reversed by a majority.

The matter was brought up by Delegate Bandlow of Cleveland, who introduced this resolution:

"Resolved, That the International Typographical union emphasizes that it is distinctly a class organization, embracing in its membership all workers following the kindred crafts in the printing industry, who upon the industrial field are antagonized by their employers on every occasion, which fact should impress the members of this organization that to subvert their interests as wage workers it is essential that they act as a unit upon the political field from whence capitalism derives its power to oppress, and we declare it consistent with the ethics of unionism and the sacred duty of every honorable member of this union to sever his or her affiliation with all political parties of the exploiting class which are constantly encroaching upon the liberties of the working people."

Delegate George Koop, of the Social Democratic party, took the floor and made a masterly plea for the passage of the resolution. He thundered the truths of the socialistic contention as the delegates amidst recurring and long continued applause, and the efforts of a few to declare him out of order were blocked by President Donnelly, who declared it an economic question. Among other things Comrade Koop said: "The trusts are here to stay; capitalism is here to stay; and it will be a matter of only a few years before there are but one or two newspapers in each of the large cities and the editors and reporters and printers are walking the streets in search of other work. Trades unionism can prevent this catastrophe. And what has labor been doing? One-half votes for McKinley and the other half votes for Bryan and each half bets and boasts that its candidate will win, while the capitalist comes out ahead if either wins. Why are we not an organized political party? Why do we not vote unitedly for Eugene V. Debs, who represents our mutual interests? We compete with each other for the price of our wages and the result is we all get poor pay. Eugene V. Debs represents the true labor principles—all others are fallacies. No 16 to 1, no gold standard, no imperialism, no protection, no free trade. They are only schemes to fool you. Chattel slavery has been abolished but the form of wage slavery under which we are now working is far fiercer. The black slave was put on the block and sold at the highest price. Put yourselves on the block and what would you bring today? The whole lot of you would bring \$10; there are too many men looking for your jobs. I stand for my class interests. You must not divide your vote. If you do you will seal your doom. Stand together and you will win out."

The applause was redoubled when Miss Becher of Utah, the only woman delegate, voted aye on the roll call. The passing of the resolution caused no little talk round town and, although they were gingerly about it, the daily papers gave enough of the matter to give the readers quite an insight into the merits of the debate. But the politicians set to work at once. Next morning a reconsideration was moved and the debate reopened. One delegate brandished an alleged Social Democratic paper before the convention and read a paragraph from it denouncing labor unions and indiscriminately abusing labor leaders. This had its effect also, although the truth was that it was a Socialist Labor Party paper, not a paper of our party. Then a vote was taken and though sixty-one stood firm the opposition managed to roll up a vote of ninety-one and carry the day. But here's the crumb of comfort for us. Who would have dreamed that there were nearly half of the delegates so firm for Socialism that they could not be stampeded? All honor to them. "May their tribe increase!"

NOTES AND COMMENT

Labor's "cross of gold" is a mere reminiscence and the big corporation and trust managers are getting ready to give Bryan a cordial support. Hurrah for the new democracy, the support of capitalism for the next four years and the hope of the world!

Democratic politicians welcome with loud hurrahs the accession to their ranks of trust managers, as in the case of the president of one of the great express companies the other day. Imagine Rockefeller and Morgan joining the party of Jim Hill, Dick Croker, Bill Whitney and other Democratic plutocrats! Why, the Bryan press would actually go nutty! Watch the trend.

Sixty-one delegates to the International Typographical Convention stand firm as a rock for Socialism. The capitalist press may search their lexicons in attempts to belittle this fact, but it's going to worry them to keep Socialism out of the trades unions much longer.

A vote for Bryan is a vote for a modified form of imperialism, a modified trust, a modified system of electing senators, a modified plan of taxing the people—in short, a vote for capitalism modified. How Democratic modifications are going to help the working class not a man among them can tell.

W. R. Hearst, who is a "Socialist, too," continues to print Ingalls' contradictions and misrepresentations about Socialism. Ingalls, by the way, appears to have been one of the exceptional three per cent of every hundred American citizens who do not "die penniless." He died well off. That fact may have something to do with his idiotic opposition to Socialism while he lived.

In a hundred and twenty-four years thirty-one men have had a "chance" to become president; yet the innocent boys in school are taught that every boy can get there if he will only "improve his opportunities." What should be taught them is that most of their number will not even have a chance to earn a living when they leave school.

Each of our seven thousand comrades must be an active worker from now till the campaign closes. Get out and do something. You can add a new member to your branch, you can send us a subscriber to the Herald, you can send us an order for some literature, you can promptly pay your dues and see that others do likewise, you can vote for the ticket, you can attend a meeting, you can agitate, you can do one or all of a hundred things. The battle is on. Comrades to the front and sluggards to the rear!

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEETING

A meeting of the National Campaign Committee of the Social Democratic party was held last Sunday, Aug. 19, at 55 N. Clark street, Chicago. There was a large attendance and much business of importance was transacted. Comrade James Wright presided. The committee commissioned Comrades W. C. McSweeney and Herman C. Perry as organizers, and they will at once enter upon the important work assigned them. It was also decided to put other organizers in the field as soon as men well qualified could be found. The committee on literature was authorized to inaugurate what will be known as the "Postal Card Propaganda," also to have prepared for use in the campaign a small sticker with portrait of the presidential candidate. Secretary Stedman reported on bills incurred and the same approved and ordered paid. Comrades Dennison, Brown and McSweeney were chosen as an auditing committee on accounts. The secretary was instructed to render a complete account of all receipts and expenditures at each meeting.

Secretary Stedman reported that Comrade E. H. Thomas would arrive in Chicago this week to participate in the work of the campaign.

Among the expenditures sanctioned by the committee were the following: \$25 for Bohemian literature; \$50 for stickers; organizers salaries; salary of office clerk; office rent.

The committee adjourned to meet at the same place, Saturday, September 1, at 2 o'clock.

JOSEPH R. FINN

The comrade of this name who has been chosen treasurer of our National Campaign Committee is one of the staunchest characters in the revolutionary movement. A locomotive engineer by profession, with a record second to none in the country, he was the first man to step from his engine when the order inaugurating the great Pullman strike in 1894 was issued. He was running as good a passenger engine as the Illinois Central had and was among the most trusted employees of the company, but his \$150 a month job nor any inducement the officials could offer would tempt him to betray his class. His railroad career ended then and there. Joe Finn nobly represents the working class. He is one of them and they love and trust him.

Twenty-six weeks for 20 cents

TRUSTS AND SOCIALISM

(Continued from First page)

mined by the expenditure of human labor force which is on the average absolutely necessary. Now, what is the value of labor? What does it cost to produce and re-produce labor power? The answer is, that quantity of the means of subsistence which is absolutely necessary for him to live and produce more labor power. In other words, the value of labor power is determined by the amount of food, clothing and shelter which is absolutely necessary for him to live and reproduce more laborers. Below this it cannot go without physically injuring the laborer. It is true that this level has not been reached in all trades, but in most of them it has and it is fast bringing the others down to this point. This is the law of wages under capitalist society that the working class has to face. This standard of life theory is borne out and admitted by many great writers on this subject. I will quote from two of them. David Ricardo says, "The natural price of labor is that price which is necessary to enable the laborers one with another to subsist and to perpetuate their race without either increase or diminution."

Prof. Ely says: "There is very much in economic history in every civilized land which tends to confirm the standard of life or subsistence theory of wages. Turgot said that for centuries as a matter of fact wages had never been more than enough to maintain the existence of the wage earning classes." Much more could be said on this subject, but space will not allow of it for the present. We will now take up the fifth proposition.

CLASS STRUGGLE

5. That there is a class struggle between the capitalist class and the working class no one can successfully deny. The charge has been made that Socialists endeavor to stir up class strife between capitalists and laborers, and that all the unrest manifested among the ranks of the working class today are due to the Socialist agitators. If this were true what a power Socialists must have today! But it is not true and no one takes it seriously even those who speak in this manner, for as a rule they are paid for speaking or writing in this manner. These sentiments have their source in the pocketbook and not in the brains. The contention of the Socialist is that the interests of the capitalist class and the working class are opposed and cannot be reconciled so long as modern capitalism is maintained. Furthermore, we contend that all history is a bloody record of class struggles between the ruling and oppressed classes of all ages down to the present time, and will continue to be so until the working class obtain mastery of the political power and inaugurate the co-operative commonwealth—thus by their action writing finis on the last page of this bloody volume and closing the records forever. But to proceed.

The class struggle is not a question of stirring up strife, but the recognition of a fact; not whether there should be a class struggle or not, but whether there is one now and whether we should recognize it.

We claim that there is a class struggle between capitalists and laborers due to their conflicting interests. Of course, it would not do for those who stand for capitalism to admit that there is a class struggle, for what then would become of that old fable about the "Brotherhood of Capital and Labor"? The capitalists desire to keep as much of the product as possible and the workers desire to get as much as possible, hence a struggle exists in order to secure their separate ends.

The more the workers send wages up the smaller the returns to the capitalists, while the more capitalists send wages down the larger the returns of capitalists. So we have a class struggle over the division of the product. Furthermore, what do the strikes occurring every year teach us, if not that a class struggle is on? What, for instance, does Homestead, Pana, Hazelton, and the Bull Pen at Warner, Idaho, teach us? Is it a struggle between a few individuals, or is it a war between two classes for an economic advantage? He who knows a fact when he sees it, will reply in the affirmative, as he must from the very nature of the case.

SUMMARY

Let us now sum up the argument and then draw our conclusions. We have seen that private class ownership of the sources and tools of wealth production and competition between individuals composing this privileged class, results in combinations and trusts which tends to concentrate the wealth in the hands of this class. We have seen that private property and competition are the cause of trusts and contain within them a monopoly force which can not be resisted. We have seen that the working class occupies a subservient position in society; that in selling their commodity—labor power—they also sell themselves, that competition between them tends to send their wages down to the subsistence point, and that the development of trusts and labor saving machinery increases their numbers in the first place, and in the second, increases the "industrial reserve army" as a consequence of which the competition grows more fierce and the jobs scarcer

every year as capitalism develops. And last, but not least, we have seen that the interests of capitalists and laborers are opposed and that this opposition of class interests lead to a class struggle which is borne out by every strike that occurs throughout the country. Now with all this evidence before us what is the solution of the trust problem, and I wish to say that I believe that in the proper solution of the trust problem is found the solution of the labor problem and many other problems that now confront us. Let us first take up some of the remedies proposed. There are some who still claim that we should abolish them by law because, they argue, they are creatures of law and if they can be created by law they can also be abolished by law. Now I believe I have shown that they are not the creatures of legislation but due to a monopoly force inherent in private property and competition. If anything at all, law is the creature of trusts and not trusts the creature of law. This monopoly force is more enduring than any laws that can be passed against them. Furthermore if law could abolish trusts and distribute the industries back into the hands of thousands of small proprietors (which is difficult to conceive) we would leave that monopoly force that is inherent in private property and competition, still at work and we would have to go over the same development that I described in the case of Jones, the capitalist, in the beginning of this essay. What would one think of a doctor who would claim to cure a certain disease by introducing into the human system, the germs that had caused the disease? It is certain that we would call him a quack, speaking mildly. It is claimed that Socialists dub certain politicians as quacks when dealing with the trust problem; whether true or not the suspicion is well founded. But granting that trusts could be abolished would it benefit the working class any? Would not the workers still be subject to the law of wages that I described and pointed out on another page? They certainly would. It is evident then that the middle class in crying for the destruction of trusts and appealing to the workers to help them achieve their object, have only their own interests in view and not the interests of the working class. If we were to ask the middle class to help the workers to destroy machinery that is displacing them, they would reply: "What! Destroy machinery! What that would be absurd. It saves labor, and anything that saves labor is a blessing." The reply is, "We don't want to destroy trusts for the same reason you don't want to destroy machinery; it saves labor." You see it makes a great deal of difference whose ox is gored. The middle class desires the destruction of the trusts because it is crushing them and rendering their class superfluous, but as machinery does not displace them they have no objections to its introduction. They have no objection to exploitation providing they are the exploiters. What far-sighted class-instinct is displayed here! No, trusts can no more be destroyed by law than machinery can.

(Concluded next week.)

WORKING CLASS OPPORTUNITY

(Continued from First Page)

senate they were with one exception (the abolition of slavery in Hawaii) buried in the house."

A vote for Debs, nominee of the Social Democratic party of America, is a vote for principles that will outlive selfishness and greed of our present time which elevates the dollar above the man and their adoption will usher in the brotherhood of man.

Socialism is still young, and as such is incomplete—in fact, never can be for its constant aim is to utilize all machinery and inventions for the uplifting of man, and as inventions and improvements are to be taken advantage of, its progress will be ever upward and onward.

Even now the yield in wealth is equal to a guaranteed income of 5 per cent on \$40,000. The benefit of perfected systems and improved machinery would under Socialism go to the workers. Thus the income would be limited only by possibilities and desires, and no doubt could be made to rapidly increase from the present figures of \$2,000 a year, the average, to each, reaching possibly \$4,000, \$6,000, \$8,000 or even \$10,000 a year if the people wish.

Those who sneer at Socialism as a "mere theory" do but reveal their ignorance.

Let's vote for what we want.

APPEAL TO REASON, GIRARD, KAN.

Men who believe in socialist principles should support their own ticket and they will exercise a far greater influence than by voting for half a loaf. There are surely between two and three million men in this country who believe in the Socialist program. Can you not see how soon the Social fabric would bend to their influence if they were to withdraw from the old parties and vote a Socialist ticket, even if they do not elect a single officer? Do not be deceived.

EXPONENT, SAGINAW, MICH.

When the capitalist class go to war for foreign markets for the product of labor, it means that labor produces too much; that the prodigality of the plutocrat, coupled with his qualms of conscience, misnamed charity, are insufficient to use up the surplus product of labor, and in order to keep the system in continual operation it is necessary to ship abroad the very things the working classes need at home.

WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

By James Alliman.

A spirit from this earth has passed away
Into the shadow of Death's dark unknown,
Leaving its fleshly thrall, its chains of clay
For that calm peace which Death can give alone.

Great was this fighter in the cause of man;
Glorious the battle he for freedom fought;
Sternly and true since manhood's fire began,
Unselfishly for others' woe he wrought;
But even as low in grief I bow my head
I hear a mystic voice which says "He is not dead."

He is not dead, but sleepeth, and his soul
Shall rise upon that awful judgment day
When Revolution's clarion call shall roll,
And Demos Labor wake to Freedom's fray.

Then, as in battle chant by Homer sung,
The gods came down from Mount Olympus' height,
And fought the Greek and Trojan men
among.

Aiding and guiding in the heroic fight,
So shall his soul to earth again repair
And guide to victory the uprisen proletariat.

William Liebknecht, the Nestor of the Social Democratic movement, passed away at Charlottenburg, Aug. 7. With the death of this mighty patriarch of the proletarian party a link connecting the political present with the wild, romantic, revolutionary past has been severed.

Born March 23 in the Duchy of Hesse, he while attending the university of his native city, became acquainted, through perusing the writings of Count Henry De St. Simon, with that noble cause of Socialism, to which he remained unwaveringly loyal despite persecution, banishment and imprisonment, until the day of his death. Early in his manhood he found himself banished from Germany, France and Switzerland, and compelled to sojourn for many years in England. While there he became acquainted with Karl Marx, Frederick Engels and other founders of the International, and from them he learned the deeper and more logical economic basis of a theory which St. Simon had taught him from a Utopian and ethical standpoint. In 1867, in conjunction with August Bebel, founded the Social Democratic party, and from thence until 1872 he became editor of the party organ and an active agitator and organizer.

Upon the breaking out of the Franco-Prussian war Liebknecht, in common with many other Social Democrats in both belligerent nations, protested openly, fearlessly and vigorously against the inhuman and brutal slaughter of tens of thousands of proletarians and for doing so, he, in company with August Bebel, was tried for high treason, and in 1872 sentenced to two years' imprisonment. While in prison the acquaintance between Liebknecht and Bebel ripened into a strong fraternal attachment, and the pupil of Marx and Engels became the preceptor and teacher of August Bebel. The latter had been until his imprisonment a rude workman agitator, his occupation being that of a turner, but under the tuition of his fellow prisoner and aided by his own wonderfully receptive mind he developed into a fitting lieutenant in labor and the logical successor in leadership of his great and self-sacrificing teacher.

It is not necessary to give later details of the life of our great departed hero. All his actions are too well known to those among whom he lived, worked and suffered. Agitator, journalist, organizer and fighter, he died as he lived, with his weapons in his hands and his loins girded. But two years ago, in 1898, Liebknecht, then a venerable old man of 72, was ignominiously condemned to four months' imprisonment for "lese majesty." The only peace the militant Socialist knows is the peace that lies beyond the gates of death. William Liebknecht is not dead. They bury the body of a great Socialist leader and millions of followers mourn. But the souls of those truly great men who strive to make this dark earth brighter, live forever. The body may be dead but the spirit will continue to live in his teachings and his grand unselfish example. When that awful judgment day arrives, when the moribund Demos of Labor shall be awakened to the resurrection of revolt by the clarion call of the great stern-eyed Goddess of Freedom, then like the Valkyrie, who in the old Teutonic mythology descended from Valhalla to fight on earth, shall the souls of the great Leonine featured Marx, the fearless Lassalle, the pure and noble Morris and the rugged, unflinching Liebknecht rise again and guide the struggle of the awakened proletariat onward towards a purer, nobler, freer and happier life in the form of the co-operative commonwealth, the industrial republic of co-workers.

'Tis true as other have somewhat churlishly remarked in writing of this death that our movement does not entirely depend upon men; nevertheless this movement should but deem it right and meet to honor the memory of those who fought and died for a freedom which they themselves could not enjoy.

Comrades, let us here in America amid the storm and stress of a presidential election, pause in sadness and sorrow for a brief moment to weep in silence for our great departed, to whom one could fittingly apply the following words of William Morris:

Our glorious dead, he honored, they,
Who did their deeds, and passed away
Before the bright sun brought the day.

WHAT EDITORS ARE SAYING

The Edinburgh Evening News, commenting on John Morley's speech at Oxford, where he chose Socialism rather than militarism, although antagonistic, admits that "Socialism will get a trial," and asks, "With militarism discredited, with the liberal party a traitor to its creed, what can the working classes do but accept Socialism, with its short cut to social happiness?"

FARMERS' REVIEW, BONHAM, TEX.
When the working class learn that when they own the means of production and distribution, the wealth will be owned by the producers instead of by the capitalist class, and that the industrial master will disappear and labor will be free, they will learn to be Socialists and work and vote for a system that will free them from industrial slavery.

JUSTICE, LONDON, ENG.

The true meaning of that refrain of our poet of plunder's begging verses is only just beginning to be understood by the English people. They have had their fun and now they must pay for it. And they will have to pay dearly enough before all is done. The "unfucking" was all very jolly, no doubt, although somewhat disgusting, and the killing of "Kroojer" with our mouths was distinctly entertaining. But now the bill is coming in and those who shouted the loudest are beginning to pull long faces. For the bill is a heavy one and will make the lives of the toilers of this land more bitter, hard, and wretched for many a long day to come.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

CAMPAIGN OF 1900

THE PARTY.

The Social Democratic Party was organized at Chicago, June 11, 1898. It is the party that elected the first Socialist mayors of American cities, at Haverhill and Brockton, Mass., and in different sections of the country not less than thirty members of the party have been elected to public positions.

ITS METHOD.

Five or more members can organize a branch of the Social Democratic Party. Any reputable person subscribing to the principles of the organization is eligible to membership. Desiring to organize a branch, application should be made to the national secretary for copies of the constitution, which should be placed in the hands of prospective members. In these will be found the declaration of principles, as also the laws of the organization.

ITS OBJECT.

First—The organization of the working class into a political party to conquer the public powers now controlled by capitalists. Second—The abolition of wage-slavery by the establishment of a national system of co-operative industry, based upon the social or common ownership of the means of production and distribution, to be administered by society in the common interest of all its members, and the complete emancipation of the socially useful classes from the domination of capitalism. **TRADES UNIONISM.** The trades union is the arena where all wage-workers may be brought together for joint action to resist the encroachments of capitalism on the economic field and to participate in the class struggle of the proletariat which will finally develop into the political alignment of the forces of labor in the struggle for emancipation.

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

ROBERT MEISTER.....Chairman
JOSEPH R. FINN.....Treasurer
SEYMOUR STEDMAN.....Secretary
Address, 126 Washington St., Chicago.

FINANCE COMMITTEE

EDWARD ZEIGLER.....Chairman
JOSEPH R. FINN.....Treasurer
JAMES WRIGHT.....Secretary
Address, 126 Washington St., Chicago.

COMMITTEE ON LITERATURE

A. S. EDWARDS.....Chairman
CHRIS. MICKELSON.....Secretary

COMMITTEE ON PRINTING

JOSEPH WINNEN.....Chairman
PHILIP BROWN.....Secretary

COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

SEYMOUR STEDMAN.....Chairman
ARTHUR DENNISON.....Secretary

COMMITTEE ON SPEAKERS

OSCAR LOEBEL.....Chairman
SEYMOUR STEDMAN.....Secretary

CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT



EUGENE V. DEBS

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

FREDERICK HEATH.....Chairman
SEYMOUR STEDMAN.....Secretary
EUGENE V. DEBS.....VICTOR L. BERGER
CORINNE S. BROWN

NATIONAL SECRETARY-TREASURER.

THEODORE DEBS
No. 126 Washington Street, Chicago.

THE CAMPAIGN FUND

C. E. Weise, Bozeman	.....\$	.25
Aug. Zilsky, " "	.....	.25
Henry Wraga, " "	.....	.25
G. W. Henke, " "	.....	1.00
Carl Topel, " "	.....	1.00
Henry Topel, " "	.....	1.00
C. Jamieson, Clymer	.....	.55
J. Lestrangle Taylor, Toronto	.....	2.00
Branch No. 11 Wis., Milwaukee	.....	10.00
Branch No. 1 Ind., Terre Haute	.....	5.00
Previously reported	.....	901.90
Total	.....	\$923.20

Send all communications for the National Campaign Committee to Seymour Stedman, Secretary, 126 Washington Street, Chicago.

ITS PLATFORM.

Revision of our federal constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to complete control of government by the people irrespective of sex. Public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines. Public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones; all means of transportation and communication; all water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities. Public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal, and other mines, and all oil and gas wells. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production. Inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose. Useful inventions to be free, the inventor to be remunerated by the public. Labor legislation to be national, instead of local, and international when possible. National insurance of working people against accident, lack of employment and want in old age. Equal civil and political rights, for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women. The adoption of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by voters. Abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

NATIONAL PAPER OF THE PARTY:

The Social Democratic Herald
50 CENTS A YEAR.
126 Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.

HEADQUARTERS: 126 WASHINGTON STREET, CHICAGO

NOTES FROM THE FIELD

Comrade W. C. Bohannon reports good work at organizing in Indiana.

Comrade A. Schroeder ordered ninety Debs lithographs to bill the city of Cleveland.

The next two leaflets, Nos. 3 and 4, are being prepared. One on machinery you will want.

Send in your order now for Ben Atterbury's letter to workingmen. Leaflet No. 2; \$1 a thousand.

A change of date has been made for Comrade Debs' meeting at Van Horn, Iowa, to Tuesday, September 11.

No. 2 leaflet to "The Average American Workingman," is still selling in large orders of one to five thousand.

Comrade William Truman of Iowa writes: "The comrades are well pleased with the leaflets; they are just the thing."

The postal card propaganda will be a great vote maker during the next two months. Twenty-four cards sent to you for 10 cents.

Comrade W. C. Bohannon spoke at Fort Wayne, Ind., Tuesday of last week and had several other meetings at different points in the state.

The small 4-page leaflet used by the Chicago comrades is good for any part of the country; 1,000 to any address, postage paid, for 75 cents.

All loyal members of the Social Democratic branches in Washington are hereby requested to communicate with Comrade L. W. Kidd, 1115 Sixth avenue, North, Seattle, Wash.

Socialists willing to assist in forming new branches of the Social Democratic party are requested to communicate with the secretary, Theodore Debs, 126 Washington street, Chicago.

All particulars relating to the "Stickers" will appear in next week's Herald. We are figuring on it so as to put out a round million of 'em during the campaign and will have the price down low.

One wall of the campaign committee's room is stacked up with mailing tubes. These are for the Debs lithographs that you can deck out your town with at 3 cents each in large orders—20 for 60 cents.

At a convention of Social Democrats held last week at Fort Wayne, Ind., Comrade H. H. Haines was nominated for congress. The greatest enthusiasm prevailed and Comrade Bohannon reports a lively interest in the movement in that section of the state.

For the information of comrades wishing to secure Debs campaign buttons, we may state that the Social Democratic Button Co., of Sheboygan, Wis., are making buttons and pins with a good miniature photo of Comrade Debs. Price for buttons or pins \$3 for 100.

The national campaign committee met Sunday, August 19, in an all-day session and transacted a lot of business. Two organizers for Illinois were appointed to immediately go in the field. Comrades Perry of Spring Valley and McSweeney of Chicago, under pay of the N. C. C. Postal cards for propaganda and S. D. P. stickers, with portrait, were ordered printed by the hundred thousands.

Our platform, object, methods of organization and "The Man Under the Dray," by Prof. George D. Herron, are printed in the Debs leaflet with a fine picture of our candidate. This leaflet the campaign committee sends out, charges paid for 75 cents per thousand—little above cost.

The portrait of the presidential candidate gives great satisfaction. Thousands have been mailed to branches and comrades in all sections of the country. It should be seen in every community; it informs the observer, directs attention to the party and makes votes. Ten copies, 35 cents; 33 for a dollar; single copy, 10 cents; postage prepaid.

It is hoped every branch secretary will bring the contribution blanks before the next meeting of their branch and also see that all friends of socialism (unattached) are given an opportunity to help increase the national campaign fund. Send all amounts collected to the National Campaign Headquarters of the S. D. P., 126 Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

Any branch not having received collection blanks for the Campaign Fund by the time this copy of the Herald reaches them, should immediately notify the National Campaign Committee, 126 Washington St., Chicago, Ill. This is the most important work for the month of August; to see that every branch and individual member learns the necessity of a Campaign Fund and what it is to be done with it. We won't have as much as the capitalist parties, but, in proportion to the amount, we will make a greater showing.

Leaflet No. 2, issued by the National Campaign Committee of the Social Democratic party, is a genuine "hit," the first of the campaign. The first run of 20,000 copies was exhausted in 20 days after the first announcement; the second run was 100,000 copies, of which 30,000 have already been shipped to comrades and branches in different parts of the country. The price of the leaflet is One Dollar per thousand, carriage prepaid. For prices on smaller lots see advertisement. It is four pages, 4 1/2 x 7 inches, just what you want to give to a friend on the street or insert in a letter. Other leaflets are being prepared, but No. 2 should have a circulation of One Million. Send orders to Campaign Committee, 126 Washington street, Chicago.

EVANSVILLE, INDIANA

The Social Democratic Party will hold a district and county convention at Weber's Hall, corner Fourth avenue and Franklin street at 7:30 p. m., Aug. 29, for the purpose of nominating candidates for district and county offices. All voters interested in this movement are requested to be present.

By order of the committee.

Matt Hollenberger,
J. C. Sutherland,
Henry J. Hartwig.

ATTENTION, ROCKVILLE, CONN.

Branches 4 and 6 at Rockville, Conn., and the Lassalle Mannchor Singing Society, will hold a grand picnic at Niederwieser's Grove, Sunday, Sept. 2, to which many branches and societies in the vicinity have been invited, the proceeds to go to the campaign. All Socialists and sympathizers are invited to attend.

Montana Socialists

All unattached Socialists in Montana please communicate with J. F. Fox, 71 E. Park street, Butte, for the purpose of furthering Social Democratic propaganda.

NEW BRANCHES

Wisconsin, two.
Minnesota, one.
Montana, two.
West Virginia, one.
Indiana, one.
Michigan, one.

HAD A GOOD TIME

Social Democrats and sympathizers to the number of nearly one hundred passed a most enjoyable evening last Sunday, August 19, at the Socialist Club Rooms, 1541 Central Boulevard. Members of the National Committee, who attended a meeting during the day, were present from Wisconsin. The lawn surrounding the house was illuminated with Chinese lanterns and the young people present engaged in games and had a thoroughly good time. Ice cream and cake were served and everyone indulged. A number of strangers dropped in to talk on the all-absorbing topic of Socialism; short addresses were made by Comrades Stedman and Edwards and converts were made to the cause. All in attendance agreed that the occasion was a success in every respect.

WISCONSIN CONVENTION

To the Voters and Members of the Social Democratic Party of Wisconsin: Greeting: The state convention of the Social Democratic party will be held in Milwaukee Sunday, September 2, at 2 o'clock, at the hall of the Freie Gemeinde on Fourth street (between State and Cedar.)

This being a presidential election year the state convention of our party is of more than usual importance. Both of the old parties have shown their utter inability to grasp the economic situation of the present time, or even to elect honest men into office. No matter which of the old parties is put into power, we always find the same result: Corruption among office holders, ignorance and misery and poverty among the masses. These facts cannot be obscured by raising false issues, like "honest money" on one side and opposition to imperialism on the other.

The reason for this is obvious. The two old parties do not differ materially from each other. Both are dominated by the non-producing class that depend upon exploitation and plunder for subsistence. Both parties by necessity create more corruption and misery. And the leaders of the defunct third party, the so-called People's party, not having any principles to stand upon, have naturally drifted into the same camps, for the purpose of their own pecuniary benefit and political aggrandizement. All "reform parties" have failed because they have trusted to the goodness to this or the other leader, instead of trying to change the conditions that surround us all.

These conditions must be changed before man in general will change.

We, therefore, call upon all honest men who do not as yet despair of the future of humanity, to unite under the banner of the Social Democratic party of America. The Social Democratic party is not aiming at a mere change of office holders, we realize, that without a change of the present economic system the best men can do nothing against corruption. The Social Democratic party wants to abolish the source of avarice and corruption by the socialization of the means of production, distribution and exchange, thereby extending the advantages of civilization and our rich country to the whole people.

And while we recognize that it is not in the power of a single state of this

Union to restore to the people all their rights, we are also fully conscious that the state of Wisconsin can do a great deal to limit within its borders the exploitation of the masses and thereby raise the standard of life.

But besides this it is our duty to strike at the ballot box for Socialism and the national candidate of the Social Democratic party EUGENE V. DEBS. Therefore do not fail to send delegates to the convention.

The basis of representation is as follows: Branches of the Social Democratic party and all other recognized Socialistic bodies are entitled to three delegates. Each ward or township is entitled to one delegate for each fifty votes or major fraction thereof cast for our party at the last state election. Each Trade Union is entitled to one delegate, if the membership is fifty or less, and to two delegates if the membership is over fifty.

All reports of delegates elected and other matters pertaining to the convention should be sent to 614 State St., Milwaukee, Wis.

The State Committee of the Social Democratic party.

Eugene Rooney,
Howard Tuttle,
Ernst Mohr,
Robert Meister,
Victor L. Berger,
John Doerfler,
Edward Ziegler,
Jacob Hunger,
Fred Brockhausen,
F. W. Rehfeld.

It is hoped that every Branch will contribute \$10 to the Campaign Fund; some can do better; some have done so and will make a canvass for individual subscriptions as well. What is your Branch doing? Send all money to the treasurer of the National Committee, Joseph R. Finn, 126 Washington street, Chicago.

TO ORGANIZE THE MINISTERS

About two years ago an organization of Christian ministers was formed for the purpose of advancing socialism. The organization died soon after its birth because of the milk-and-water statement of principles. More recently Rev. Charles H. Vail suggested that I issue a call for the names of ministers who believe in socialism without any prefixes or suffixes. As secretary of the old organization, I hereby call for such names and request that with your name you send the name of your choice for president, secretary and treasurer. The persons sending me their names who receive the highest number of votes shall be declared elected. They also shall constitute a committee to draft a declaration of principles and purposes, which declaration shall be submitted to the members for ratification.

All in favor of this outline, please send names to Theodore A. Johnson, Wadsworth, O.



IF YOU SYMPATHIZE WITH TRADE UNIONS

You will encourage the sale OF UNION LABEL GOODS

If you want Union Label Shoes demand the above Union Stamp. No shoe is Union made unless it bears the Union Stamp. No charge or royalty for the Union Stamp. Visit your shoe dealer and take no excuses. Send for latest list of factories. Subscribe for "The Union Boot and Shoe Worker," 50 cts per year.

Boot and Shoe Workers Union,
630 Atlantic Ave., Boston, Mass.

The Herald will be sent to any address in the United States 26 weeks for 20 cents.

SPLENDID LIFE-LIKE PORTRAIT OF EUGENE V. DEBS

CANDIDATE OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

SIZE—21 X 28 INCHES, ON GOOD PAPER

Price, 10 Cents, Single Copy
Sent by mail, securely enclosed in tube to insure safe transmission, on receipt of price.
Address,
CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY,
126 Washington St., Chicago

Social Democratic Party Leaflets

FOR CAMPAIGN PURPOSES

The National Campaign Committee of the Social Democratic party will issue for the campaign a series of well-written, effective four-page leaflets, two of which are now ready for delivery. These leaflets will be sent to branches and individual workers at cost of printing and postage.

LEAFLET NO. 1 is an address to unorganized Socialists; contains information concerning the Socialist movement, the party and its methods, object and program.

LEAFLET NO. 2—"An Open Letter to the Average American Workman" by Ben Atterbury. This is an admirable and convincing paper on the wage question, production, distribution of wealth and an appeal to the intelligence of the working class.

Put Them Into the Hands of Every Workingman

PRICES.

50 Copies	.....\$	.10
100 Copies	.....	.15
250 Copies	.....	.25
500 Copies	.....	.50
1,000 Copies	.....	1.00
5,000 Copies	.....	5.00

POSTAGE PAID.

Send orders to Campaign Committee Social Democratic Party, 126 Washington street, Chicago, Ill.

THE FULL STRENGTH OF APPEAL TO REASON

WILL BE GIVEN TO

DEBS AND HARRIMAN

the ensuing campaign. For purposes of propaganda the following prices are named on bundles to one address:

25 copies weekly, 3 mos.,	\$	1.50
50 " " "	"	3.00
100 " " "	"	6.00
250 " " "	"	14.50
500 " " "	"	27.50
1000 " " "	"	49.00

ADDRESS,

APPEAL TO REASON
GIRARD, KANSAS

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

THIRD YEAR. No. 11.

CHICAGO, ILL., U. S. A., SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1900.

Whole No. 113.

JACK POTTS PENCILS POINTED PARAGRAPHS

How Long Will the Wage-Worker of America Refuse to Vote for What He Wants by Voting for What He Doesn't Want?

THIS YEARS' OPPORTUNITY

How the European Socialists by "Throwing Their Votes Away" Are Accomplishing Something for the Working Class

By Jack Potts

Mr. Workingman, the 7,000,000 Socialist votes of Europe are SOCIALIST votes, cast by men who believe in and VOTE for what they want, which is Socialism. These voters did not say: "Socialism is good and true, but it is too far in the future, and we can't have it now." I have read several times that twenty-five years ago the Socialist vote in Germany was sixty-seven. Now it is over 3,000,000. The Socialist vote of 142,000 in Paris this year—28,000 greater than four years ago, and the largest of any party there—was cast by men who want Socialism and who therefore voted for it. They did not follow the advice of those who say, "Half a loaf is better than none; better vote for the lesser of two evils." If you don't want either the "lesser" or the "greater" evil, don't vote for it. How long will it take you to get what you do want by voting for what you don't want?

The less reliance you put in the capitalist newspapers, the better you are off. You can't even get the notice of your child's death in them without paying for it. They will print a column about the death of a millionaire or his dog. Watch 'em; they stick a sly knife in the cause of labor whenever possible!

A Chicago real-estate man told me recently that the names of workingmen are no longer inserted in the New York city directory. Very likely our capitalist friends in Chicago will "follow the fashion." This is part of your "half loaf," dear boy! Keep right on voting for the "lesser of two evils" and maybe your capitalist friends—who simply buy what legislation they want—will pass a proper qualification for voters. They own 90 per cent of the wealth. Thus by voting for what you don't want, you see, you may approach the desired goal by a most infernally deliberate route, which will prevent your being shocked by a too sudden acquisition of what you do want!

One vote in the Socialist hand is worth two in the old-party bush.

That grand old street-car company daily "newspaper," the Chicago Inter Ocean, printed the following editorial paragraph Aug. 21: "Eugene V. Debs, candidate for the presidency on the Social Democratic ticket, is about to make a thorough canvass of Illinois. Mr. Debs should receive a fair hearing in this state. The principles that he stands for do not differ in kind but only in degree from those espoused by William Jennings Bryan." If the last sentence in the quotation were true it would certainly put the Republican party in a bad light, for Debs stands for "equal rights for all; special privileges for none." Bryan would then be less inclined to see justice done, while the Republican party is professedly opposed to everything Democratic—except the offices—and therefore worst of all! That Grand Old Bladder, the Inter Ocean, is a great mental feeding ground.

In Italy ten years ago the Socialists had only three delegates; now they have thirty-two, and the vote is over 170,000. They have a daily paper (Avanti!), a bi-monthly review (Critica Sociale) and fifty-two weekly newspapers. Men and brethren, this has been accomplished by men voting for Socialism and not for anything else! Don't forget that. In the European monarchical states, by thus "throwing their votes away," these headstrong Socialists are really accomplishing something.

I saw a pathetic little scene recently. Three dirty faced, but bright-looking, little newgirls, with evening papers tied up by them, were seated in the doorway of a vacant store building in a busy part of Fifth avenue, playing some childish game. Temporarily the children's natural instinct, play, had overcome the "incentive" to work that our miserable commercial scheme begets. The

smallest of the group was a mere toddler, one might say, yet they are forced out in the noisome streets by necessity. Mr. Workingman, your little ones may be the next to enter this brutal existence. A vote for Eugene Debs and Socialism is a vote to wash the children's faces and put them in their proper place.

Last week I visited the little country town of my boyhood days. It has been a Republican stronghold for many years—a place where all horse thieves were suspected of being Democrats. But the sentiment is changing. Some of the old "war horses" are tired of the way things are going—are dissatisfied and ready to change pretty soon. To be sure, their mutterings of discontent are somewhat vague and their ideas unformed, but they furnish good soil for Socialist propaganda. I distributed several copies of Socialist pamphlets, which will serve to actuate their discontent. This week I followed it up by sending them copies of this paper. That's the way to do it. Whenever you find a man who is "sore" on the present conditions, don't lose a minute; give him a simple but comprehensive Socialist pamphlet that will fetch him to the acute stage; then get him to subscribe to The Herald for six months or a year. The paper will talk to him every week much better than you can, and you can look for new students. Each one can certainly turn at least one vote in this way. A man of foreign birth who has been reading Socialist literature that I gave him asked me to furnish him a list of our candidates, so he can have a lot of his friends vote for them—men who can hardly talk English! "Keeping everlastingly at it" is what brings success.

The "great dailies" are now engaged in "taking back" much of what they said about the "atrocities" in China. The greatest "atrocities" in China is our old friend the Commercial Instinct, which is German, French, English, Russian and American "imported goods"! Stick to the advice of the "great dailies" and you will wear—rags.

The British Goddess of Getting On is traveling a rocky road in South Africa!

STAND BY THE GUARD

Stand by the guard on the ramparts of Freedom!
Press to the front in the perilous line!
Strengthen the hands that may fail when you need them,
Crossed in white stillness and giving no sign.
Oft have the watchmen grown weary with calling
Stars that were rising and stars that were falling.
Until the future's page
Glow with the golden age,
Work for God's heritage—
Stand by the guard!
Cheering the front falls the sunshine elysian,
Haunting the rear creep the shadows of night.
Out of the dark grows the fear of derision—
Open your windows and let in the light.
Fear not the shadows of souls marching onward;
These fall behind, but the march is still onward.
Stand firm, with spirits brave,
Whether by wind or wave,
Thorn-wreath or martyr's grave—
Stand by the guard!
Stand by the guard, for their triumph is waking
Swift as the morning for God and the right,
Lights that have haunted the ages are breaking
Over the waters and out of the night.
Bow in the twilight of story no longer;
Press to the front where the dawn-lights grow stronger.
Stern though the watch may be,
Stand till the truth is free,
Work for humanity—
Stand by the guard!
—Annie Herbert.

HUMAN LIFE VALUELESS

The big engines being put into service by the Central Railroad of New Jersey are causing all kinds of trouble. When the engines were first put on each fireman was given a helper, but it was decided that this was an unnecessary expenditure and the helpers were taken off. The result is that since that time one fireman after another has been overcome by the heat. Recently the fireman on one of the engines fell unconscious when the train reached Bloomsbury, and the engineer was obliged to stop, as none of the crew of the train would fire. As usual, the capitalists find it cheaper to work their men to death than to divide the work and make it easier. Human life has little value under capitalism.—Midland Mechanic.

STORY OF MAN'S RISE AND PROGRESS

The Entire Race Now Confronted by the Question "What is the Next Step to Take in the Direction of His Historical Goal?"

OLD SYSTEMS ARE OUTGROWN

The Historic Mission of the Ages to be Realized in a Reign of Equity and Justice for All

By James Oneal

The Story of Man—his rise, progress and development—is a weird, fascinating narrative, fraught with awe and wonderment to the superstitious and instruction to the student. It is a story of brutality and exploitation between man and man from the time we first catch a glimpse of him emerging from behind the mists of mythology and fable; and each and every age has bequeathed its legacy of misery and degradation, in a more or less degree, to its successor. It is due to this fact that the despairing pessimistic cry of the superficial observer is evoked, and the cry is re-echoed from age to age, "as it always has been so will it always be." These pessimists cannot grasp the fact that the very process by which humanity has reached its present stage of development gives a negative answer to their despairing cry. For what does the story of man's development teach us if not the great fact revealed to us by modern science—that "all things flow"? In other words, that nature, including society, government, industry and politics, are undergoing a process of change, growth and development, and for the pessimist to give vent to his wail of despair is only evidence of his ignorance not only of history, but of social forces at work right under his very eyes. Modern science, I say, has long ago exploded the fallacy contained in the assertion that "as it always has been, so will it always be," and it no longer carries any weight in intelligent discussion. The man who realizes this great fact, that change and growth is the law of life, is naturally confronted with the question, not what is man's ultimate destiny, but what is the next step to take in the direction of his historical goal? Will the next stage in human history destroy the exploitation of man by man, or will it reproduce it in another form? Does the present system, commonly designated as capitalism, bear within it evidence of its decay and dissolution, and as a consequence contain within it the germ of a higher stage of civilization? And finally, if evidence exists pointing to the birth of a new social order, is it to be realized in the near future or in ages yet to come? These are questions that can only be answered not from some abstract principle of justice, but by examining the present society in which we "live, move and have our being." We must find an answer to these questions by examining economic laws and social forces in order to determine the tendency and direction in which society is moving.

First, a few brief remarks on social systems that have passed away. Ages ago man was of a roving or nomadic disposition, and roamed through the forests clothed in the skins of wild beasts and living on wild animals, berries, fish, etc. He fought and killed those belonging to foreign tribes, and the same was meted out to him. He ate his enemies and was eaten by them. At a later stage he began to tame wild animals and live on milk and the produce of flocks and

THE REAL CAUSES OF MODERN WARS

I cannot agree with those who attribute the cause of the war in South Africa to the behavior of this or that political leader. The real causes are perfectly evident in regard to this war, as well as to all the wars that have lately taken place. These causes are threefold: Firstly, the unequal distribution of property—that is, the robbing of one part of humanity by the other; secondly, the existence of the military class—that is, men educated and appointed to murder; and, thirdly, the fallacious and, for the most part, fraudulent religious teachings in which our young generations are forcibly

—LEO TOLSTOY

herds. This is known as the pastoral stage. Later on he begins to till the soil, and agriculture for the first time becomes a prominent feature in the advancement of civilization. He no longer eats his prisoners taken in time of war, for he finds that it is more profitable to enslave them than to eat them. "This may be a poor reason for becoming humane, but it is well to become humane even for apoor reason."—Professor Ely.

As agriculture progressed the simple tools began to be improved upon and small workshops arose here and there. Slavery gave way to feudalism, in which the former slave became a serf attached to the soil, and when the land was sold the serf was sold with it. The towns began to grow and expand as manufacturing developed. Simple machines were invented, which replaced the crude hand tools formerly used, and later on as industry developed through the use of water power and steam, the feudal system fell and the modern system of capitalism was ushered in. In England the change occurred without much violence. In France, on the contrary, it produced a bloody revolution. This is a very hasty sketch, but it serves the purpose I have in view, and that is to prove that man in his blind groping up the steep hills of the past has reached the present era of civilization through no conscious efforts of his own, nor with a definite aim in view. He lives in one age under a given social system, and as industry advances it gives rise to new classes and new social factors hitherto unknown, and as the latter develop and expand they finally push their way to the front and gain the ascendancy over the old.

A higher stage of civilization has been reached, even though misery and exploitation still prevail. What, then, is the answer to the questions asked above? As a Socialist, I believe that abundant evidence exists pointing to a world transformation, in which exploitation will cease to be a factor in human advancement, and that the next stage in history is not far off wherein peace and plenty will abound for all. I believe that the germ of the new society is contained within the capitalistic husk, and all that is necessary is to remove the husk in order to realize the "glorious new time." What is the evidence? I point you to the marvelous development of machinery and the factory system, wherein thousands of workers cooperate in producing wealth in abundance undreamed of in any past age. I point you to the rise of those great social organizations, known as monopolies and trusts, that bring industry under a unified and scientific control and eliminate such waste of human energy as is the result of wild competition.

But you say these things are injurious to the great masses today. True but why? Because they are owned by a class of capitalists, hence they get all the benefits accruing from such ownership. This is the husk (ownership by capitalists) which I spoke of as being necessary to remove in order to realize the blessings that these things ought to bestow. Ownership is the key to the situation. If owned by capitalists, capitalists will receive all the benefits; if owned by society at large, then each and every individual will be joint owners and will share in the benefits in proportion as they contribute their share of useful labor.

Furthermore, it is illogical to allow a few to own and control those great industrial institutions, for capitalists have demonstrated their incapacity to operate them any longer. Industrial panics, strikes and lockouts are becoming more frequent every day, often resulting in violence and bloodshed. Hence they have proven themselves unfit any longer to manage them, and social welfare demands that they be taken possession of and operated by organized society in the interests of all. It is folly to talk of destroying them by law. Hundreds of laws have been passed against them to no effect, for they cannot be destroyed. They are the inevitable outgrowth of private property, which implies the right of an individual to accumulate as much as he can. If a law should happen to be passed that might worry them to some extent, they would simply rely on "gentlemen's agreements," as some railroads do now.

Again, machinery, trusts, etc., are not the result of the invention or labor of any single individual, and should not be owned by a class of individuals. No one can point to these things and say, "I made this" or "I made that." They are the result of the combined labor and genius of thousands who have "crossed the great divide," and it is an absurdity to allow capitalists to own them. They are the co-operative product of society and should be owned, controlled and their benefits distributed by society co-operatively organized.

Machinery, co-operative labor and trusts are the germs of a new civilization.

(Continued on Second Page)

DELUSIONS OF THE EARLY SOCIALISTS

The Rise of the Militant Proletariat Not Understood by Philanthropists who Felt Compassion for the Unhappy Poor

HOSTILE TO POLITICAL ACTION

The Practical Help Which the Utopians Looked for from Princes and the Upper Classes Never Came

By Karl Kautsky

Socialists did not from the start understand the role which the militant proletariat is called upon to fill in the Socialist movement. As a matter of course it was impossible for them to understand it so long as there was no militant proletariat in existence. Socialism is older than the class struggle of the proletariat. It is a contemporaneous appearance with the proletariat itself. The proletariat, however, had existed a long time before giving any indications of its independent existence.

The first and at that time the only spring from which Socialism flowed was the compassion which philanthropists of the upper classes felt for the poor and wretched. Among these philanthropists the Socialists were the boldest and those who saw furthest ahead; they perceived clearly that the sources of the proletariat lay in the private ownership of the means of production, and they did not stick at drawing the fullest conclusions from these premises. Socialism at that time was the most earnest, far-seeing and magnificent expression of capitalist philanthropy.

At that time there was no class interest which the Socialists could call upon in the battle for the realization of their aims; they could only appeal to the enthusiasm and pity of the idealists of their own and of the still higher classes; they sought to gain these over by captivating pictures of a socialist community and by forcible presentations of the existing misery among the masses.

Not through struggle, but by peaceful methods of suasion were the rich and the mighty to be moved to furnish the means for the radical cure of misery and the establishment of the ideal society. It is well known that the socialists of that time waited in vain upon the millionaires and princes from whose magnanimity the redemption of mankind was expected to come.

During the first decades of our century the proletariat began to give signs of life. Before the thirties the first incipient of a labor movement were noticed in the United States; in the thirties strong movements started in France and especially in England.

These manifestations were meaningless to the Socialists of those days. They did not think it possible that the poor ignorant, rude proletarians could ever attain the moral elevation and social power requisite to put through Socialist aspirations.

But it was not only lack of confidence that labor movement inspired them with; it furthermore disturbed their calculations; it threatened to rob them of what they considered a most effective weapon in their arguments in favor of Socialism.

These capitalist Socialists could hope to convince the sensitive members of their own class of the necessity of Socialism only if it was shown to them that it was the only means whereby to alleviate misery; that every attempt to do so to improve the condition of the propertyless classes under the existing social system was vain; and that it was impossible for the proletarians to raise themselves by their own efforts.

The labor movement, however, proceeded from premises that stood in contradiction to this mode of reasoning. Nor was this all. The class struggle between proletarians and capitalists embittered, as a matter of course, the latter against the former.

In the eyes of the capitalist class the proletariat had been transformed from unhappy people, worthy of pity, who should be helped, into a pack of miscreants that should be beaten and kept down. Forthwith the principal source of Socialism—compassion for the poor and wretched—began to dry up.

The tenets themselves of Socialism no longer looked to the frightened capitalist class as a harmless toy, but as a most dangerous weapon that might possibly fall into the hands of the people, and do no end of mischief.

Subscribe for the Herald.

Social Democratic Herald

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board Chairman
FREDERIC HEATH
SEYMOUR STEINMAN
EUGENE V. DEBS
VICTOR L. BERGER
CORINNE S. BROWN

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, \$5 cents. Six months, \$3 cents. No papers sent to any one on credit. If, without having subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and no bill will follow. Foreign subscriptions \$1.00.

Published at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

A. S. EDWARDS, Editor
THEODORE DEBS, National Sec'y-Treas.
128 Washington St., Chicago.

113 is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 114 your subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, SEPT. 1, 1900.

NATIONAL TICKET Social Democratic Party

For President:
EUGENE V. DEBS.
For Vice-President:
JOB HARRIMAN.

Debs and Harriman, rah, rah, rah
Debs and Harriman, rah, rah, rah
Hoo-rah! Hoo-rah!
Socialist Candidates!
Rah, rah, rah!

AT THE BIER OF LIEBKNECHT

Social Democrats will rejoice to learn that Comrade Eugene Dietzgen now considers himself cured of consumption. This most welcome news was received at headquarters last Monday in a letter written by our comrade from Feydey-Leyzin, Switzerland.

"Immediately upon hearing the sad news of the death of our great leader, William Liebknecht," Comrade Dietzgen says, "I ordered in the name of the Social Democratic party of America a wreath of palms and red carnations, bearing on a red ribbon the words: 'We stand by thee always and thou wilt fight with us to the finish. Social Democratic party of America.'"

The wreath was placed upon the bier of our dead comrade.

THE ILLINOIS SITUATION

When, three weeks ago, a committee was appointed by the Cook County Committee of the Social Democratic party to invite the co-operation of trades union organizations in the campaign, the plan miscarried because of the insistence of the trades unionists present that political co-operation should be first accomplished between the Socialist parties. This was entirely agreeable to Social Democrats, and a joint meeting of the County Committees of the S. L. P. and S. D. P., held a week later, was followed by the convention of Sunday, August 26. At that convention political co-operation in the State campaign, with one ticket supported by the two parties and the independent organizations, was unanimously agreed to, not a single dissenting vote being heard. The arrangement is so fair and so well understood that the Socialists of Illinois will now enter upon the campaign with great enthusiasm. The Herald congratulates all comrades and friends, irrespective of individual affiliations, upon this most happy outcome of the situation in Illinois. We are now comrades and workers in the same cause for the campaign of 1900.

LABOR DAY POLITICIANS

Did it ever occur to you how nicely the capitalist politicians have timed the date of Labor Day? By placing it in September instead of on the 1st of May, when our European brethren celebrate their great labor holiday, the capitalists have gained two important points.

First they have done their best to hinder class feeling. It might make their friend the workingman altogether too proud and too independent if he knew that while he was marching here, his brethren were keeping step with him in every civilized country of the globe. He might almost hear the thunder of their feet which so shakes the nerves of all the capitalistic governments of Europe. It might even inspire him with unorthodox thoughts to catch the echo of the tread of seven millions of Socialist voters in Germany. No. The thrill of class brotherhood is too dangerous, and nobody knows that better than the plutocrats.

But they have another still more important reason for postponing Labor Day until the autumn. The elections are drawing near, and the politicians have a lot of old worn-out clap-trap which they want to work off on that day, just as the merchants get rid of their shop-worn goods on days of special sale. Perhaps you have sometimes grumbled at your good wife for buying such poor stuff, and have tried to convince her what a foolish bargain she has made. Just let me suggest that she drives a much better bargain than you.

She at least gets old worthless goods at a reduced rate. You pay just as high for the politicians' shop-worn humbug as if it were brand new. You gave your vote in return for it last year, and the year before, and the year before that. And this year they ask you just as much as before for the same old stuff, and you may perhaps be foolish enough to give just what is asked in return for this threadbare trash.

Now suppose next Labor Day, before you take these wares, that you should just examine them a little more closely. Are they worth what is asked for them? In fact, are they worth anything? Do they present any definite program for the betterment of the workingman's condition?

Just carefully analyze the oratory of these politicians who claim to be such disinterested friends of yours, from William J. Bryan down to your own ward politician. You will see that they contain no definite suggestion whatever for the settlement of the labor question, and that the nearer they approach it, the more vague and rhetorical they become. In fact, they forcibly remind one of the tale of the bear-dog that used to amuse our childhood. In the great North woods of New York, where bears were once abundant, so the story teller told us, the farmers used to organize great bear hunts for the protection of their cattle. One hunter owned a famous dog of which he was very proud, and which was supposed to be invaluable in bear hunting. When the hunt started this dog used to move forward with such magnificent bounds that the others could hardly keep up with him; but as they drew near the bear, the dog's leaps became shorter and higher, and as soon as they actually came in sight of old Bruin, this wonderful bear dog would jump straight up into the air, and land on exactly the same spot from which he leaped. Precisely so with your would-be friend, the old party politician. He may at first seem to be going forward grandly on the path of progress. But as soon as he comes in sight of any definite solution of our economic problems, he goes up in flights of wordy oratory, and keeps at a good safe distance from the dangerous point.

Of all the political parties which have nominated tickets this year, only one has a presidential candidate who stands for a complete and satisfactory settlement of this labor question. The ownership by the working people of the tools they work with, the buildings they work in, the mines that produce coal to keep the machines running, the farms that produce the raw material worked up by their labor and the railways that carry away the goods when finished, in short all the means of production and distribution; that is a definite proposition, isn't it? Well, that is what Eugene V. Debs and a Socialist congress will give you when they are elected, as they surely will be—whenever the workingmen get their eyes open.

Spend Labor Day in turning this over in your mind, and if you think it out clearly, you will look back on the 3d of September, 1900, as the most satisfactory holiday you ever passed. E. H. T.

NOTES AND COMMENT

Much has been said about "hoboes" and men who will not work, and they have been held up as what medical men would call "perverts." But if you examine the subject closely you must conclude that a tramp who has self-respect to remain ordinarily moral and who will work only when he feels like it, certainly has the advantage of the average workman, who toils perennially but has nothing to show for it. Daily newspapers have many times mentioned the fact that a certain Chicago millionaire of advanced age comes to his downtown office at 7 a. m. and works until 6 p. m. He does this merely to make more money. To increase his already enormous wealth he resorts to practices that are not short of criminal. He has deliberately ruined thousands of small and defenseless competitors. He does all this merely to increase his wealth, which he uses to no particularly good purpose excepting occasions of "charitable" donations. If this man is not a "pervert," who is? In reality he has quit all this for awhile, for he is suffering from a disease resulting from deliberate violation of morality, and he is ransacking the ends of the earth for a cure. "Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap!"

A big poster on the bill boards of Chicago announces that the Chicago News is independent and prints "both sides." This is a mistake. There is only one side, so far as the old parties are concerned, and that is the capitalist side. The News does not print the Socialist side, which is the other side. The News is for capitalism, whether of the Republican or Democratic brand. It prints one side only.

Dr. Ernst Schmidt, for more than forty years a well-known physician of Chicago, and in 1879 candidate for mayor of the city on a Socialist ticket, died last Sunday morning, August 26, at his residence, 424 North Clark street. He was a man noted for kindness of heart and radical views on social and political questions.

In his address at the public meeting in Chicago last Sunday night, Comrade Job Harriman dealt mainly with an editorial in the Chicago American on "The Socialism of the Trusts," showing in clear and forcible terms the cunningly devised but contradictory argument of the capitalist paper. He proved that the editor, not being a Socialist, was on his own showing and by the conclusions of his own article, a pirate.

Ernest H. Crosby, recognizing the fact that the Socialist press is unanimous against war, says the most Christian articles which he has seen of late on the subject of war were from the pens of the editor of an atheist paper in London, the daughter of Charles Bradlaugh, and of Max Nordau, the Socialist. So far as Jesus' work is being done, it really seems to rest upon agnostics and Socialists to do it.

Some workingmen there be who think that by casting a ballot for Debs and Harriman they would be "throwing their votes away." What have such men been doing with their votes for years past? What have they gained by voting as they have voted? Do they not see that all their voting up to date has in no way improved their own condition?

The National Committee desires to learn as soon as possible from the comrades and branches having in hand the solicitation of funds for the campaign. Immediate action is urged upon the branches which have not yet taken up the matter.

There is a vast amount of work to be done in the campaign. It calls for YOUR co-operation and YOUR contribution in order that it may be done effectively. Have YOU started yet? Let the National Committee hear from YOU.

War in the Philippines has already cost the people of the United States \$150,000,000, and not a single one in a population of 76,000,000 can point out a single beneficial result.

Dead fish can float with the stream, but only live ones are found swimming against it.

THE STORY OF MAN

(Continued from First page)

tion that is just before us. What will usher it in? The socially useful classes—that is, the workers, both of hand and brain, in the factory and on the farm—must come to a realization as to why they who produce the wealth and comforts of civilization are constantly robbed of them. These socially useful classes are in the majority so far as numbers are concerned, and it is only a question of time until they realize the source of the wrong to which they are subjected, and they will gradually assume control (through a class-conscious political party voicing their interests and aspirations) of the powers of government now controlled by capitalists and their followers. When they have control of political power they can then return to the people the tools of production and distribution. This is the Socialist program. It is not an ideal plan evolved in the brain of some dreamer, but a necessary result of economic forces at work in modern society.

The task before us at the present time is to organize, educate and agitate. Socialism will give us a co-operative fraternal society, and give to every one the full social value of their labor. It will remove the present capitalistic class paternalism that exists today with all its brutal and degrading exploitation of women and little children. It will give room for such an intellectual expansion as no age yet has provided. Common ownership of the means of wealth production should be the battle-cry (a peaceful one, by the way) of the disinherited and all those interested in obtaining a higher civilization.

When this is accomplished the "Story of Man" will no longer be a record of injustice and brutality between human beings, but each succeeding page added to this black and blood-stained volume will be evidence of the fact that man has at last become conscious of his existence, and enable him to more and more modify the conditions that surround him in order that all his faculties may have ample room for further development. This is the program that the twentieth century presents to us. Shall we take advantage of it? Shall we mount this juggernaut-car of capitalism that crushes its millions, both physically and mentally, and assume the reins of social control, or shall we allow it to proceed unrestrained in its destructive course? This is the question that the twentieth century presents for an answer to the men of brawn and brain who have for ages been exploited by the idle few. Let us hope that when the transition comes—as come it must—it will be with as little friction as possible, and let us work with that end in view. It will require a hard struggle on the part of the disinherited, but whether it will bring with it "airs from heaven" or "blasts from hell" rests with those who exploit, and not those who are exploited. If they submit to the transforma-

tion, all well and good. If not, then history points with an unerring finger to what such action will provoke. He who stands in the way of progress must either step aside or be crushed. If he is crushed, it is evidence of suicide on the part of the offender. "Merely this and nothing more."

A mighty army that girdles the globe is now forming for this glorious task. A great Socialist vote will be cast this fall, and each succeeding election will record a larger increase, until finally the historic mission of the ages will be realized in a reign of equity and justice for all. Speed that glorious day!
Terre Haute, August 25.

LABOR A SOCIAL ACT

Individual labor is a misnomer, for every individual considered from the historic point of view is but a product evolved from society. Even the creation of the proverbial old woman's cup of tea is a social act—a social product—the evolved result of a chain of ancestral experiences. A cup of tea, far from being an individual product, may represent a modicum of the sum of the accumulative intelligence and skill, art and science, of all the continents. The tea will probably be a mixture representing the combined skill of the Chinaman and the Hindu, the outcome of the evolution of art and science which those two nations have bestowed upon the tea plant.

The vessel chartered to bring the tea to England has concentrated within its hulks the embodiment of all the ingenuity and inventive faculties of European civilization; in the component parts of that vessel, comprised of wood, iron, copper or amalgam, lies labor representative of the highest skill and intelligence of men in all parts of the world. Thus a common cup of tea and its accessories may represent the highest pinnacle of art in both China and Europe—aye, of the whole world. The most insignificant thing which we may consume in the ordinary way has embodied in its substance, a portion of the accumulated wisdom and experience of collective man.

Labor is essentially social, and if we only strike a nail in a wall with a hammer we can hardly realize what untold ages of evolution in industry had to pass before it was possible to produce that nail and hammer. The individuality of a person is entirely lost in the production of any given article. The individual is an evolved unit of the present society, and when a "clever" and "talented" individual struts his exalted virtues peacock fashion before us, what a miserable caricature of a man he would be if the inheritance of all the ages were abstracted from his personality!—A. P. Hazel.

MIGHT APPLY ALSO TO CHINA

The following is from the New York World, which applies the moral to the British-Boer situation:

A Disinterested Citizen, passing a certain house, heard sounds of tumult within and entered. He saw the householder barricaded behind a pile of furniture and defending himself against five burly braves.

"How now!" said the Disinterested Citizen, "What have we here?"

"These five men," replied the householder, "have come in off the street and propose to eject me from my house and take all my property."

"Can this be true?" inquired the Disinterested Citizen of the leader of the braves, and who was decorated with a single eye-glass.

"Mere sophistry!" answered he of the monocle. "We are Civilization. This Householder is barbarism. He has not managed his household to suit us, and we are going to take all his goods and gold."

"All I ask," said the Householder, "is that these robbers go with me to a court and allow a peaceable judgment."

Whereupon the five braves set up a shout of derision and resumed the attack.

A MATTER OF IF

Says William J. Bryan: "If we hold what we had in 1896, and if we bring back the gold democrats and if we gain large accessions from the republicans, the chances of victory for the Democratic party ought to be good."

Reminds us of a story: "Johnny," exclaimed the father to his stirring boy, "what are you running and jumping around the attic for?"

"Catching mice, father," replied young hopeful.

"How many have you caught?"

"Well, when I catch the one I'm after and another one, I'll have two."—Exchange.

The profits of Vorwaerts (Berlin) last year, ending July 31, came to 58,710 marks, i. e., \$14,675.

Two weeks ago elections took place in Italy at three places, owing to duplicate returns, and in all cases the Socialists were returned, receiving more votes than at the last elections. This is startling, because the government used every effort to defeat the Socialists, and it was lyngly said that they were responsible for the murder of the King.

Subscribe for "The Herald"
26 weeks for 20 cents.

THE SMITH AND THE KING

A Smith upon a summer's day
Did call upon a King.
The King exclaimed: "The Queen's away;
Can I do anything?"
"I pray you can," the Smith replied.
"I want a bit of bread."
"Why?" cried the King. The fellow sighed.
"I'm hungry, sire," he said.
"Dear me! I'll call my Chancellor.
He understands such things.
Your claims I cannot cancel, or
Deem them fit themes for Kings.
Sir Chancellor, why, here's a wretch
Starving like rats or mice!"
The Chancellor replied: "I'll fetch
The First Lord in a trice."

The First Lord came, and by his look
You might have guessed he'd shirk.
Said he, "Your Majesty's mistook;
This is the Chief Clerk's work."
The Chief Clerk said the case was bad,
But quite beyond his power,
Seeing it was the Steward had
The keys of cake and flour.

The Steward sobbed, "The keys I've lost.

Alas! but in a span

I'll call the Smith. Why, Holy Ghost!

Here is the very man!"

"Hurrah! Hurrah!" they loudly cried,
"How cleverly we've done it!"

We've solved this question deep and wide.

Well nigh ere we'd begun it."

"Thanks," said the Smith. "O fools and vile.

Go rot upon the shelf!

The next time I am starving, I'll
Take care to help myself."

—Edward Carpenter.

SOCIALISM AND ANARCHISM

Socialists hold that anarchy is a reaction from the oppression and abuses of the competitive system and will die with that system. That the best way to combat it, meantime, is to meet its arguments fairly and squarely with better reasoning and a more hopeful plan. It is urged that they will not listen to reason. Doubtless this is true of some, but repression only renders that kind more fanatical and determined. We have the law for such and it should be enforced to the letter when they commit any overt act, but they can not be condemned in advance. The anarchist is nearly always a pessimist. If unchallenged his talk makes an impression on a certain class and may lead to mischief, but put a Socialist up against him and the crowd—nine times out of ten—will leave the anarchist to himself. Why? Because the Socialist has a plan, a definite and intelligent program, bringing new life and hope to the working people, while the anarchist has nothing to offer in place of what he seeks to destroy.

It will not do to say that every anarchist is a blood-thirsty assassin; there are many who oppose violence in any form, and some who would not even go to war, unless forced. All are agreed, however, on the one point of opposition to government, and herein lies the danger: People who are out of work and in want, get desperate, and failing relief from the government they are living under, seeing its powers misused to favor the wealthy and oppress the poor, they become embittered and are ready to condemn all government and authority. Who can blame them?—R. S. Price in Houston (Tex.) Post.

THE LOCKWOODS

Indianapolis, Ind., Aug. 20, 1900.
Of the many influences at work for Socialism but few surpass the quiet, unassuming but far-reaching effect of Comrade Lockwood and his noble wife who are sowing the seeds of emancipation among the people. They are the pioneers in many communities and are opening up the pathway for a few beginners to follow up the work and soon a sentiment is created, then a ticket is nominated and with one or two active campaigns the day is won. As soon as this becomes general the cause will win. All hail to the Lockwoods, in their noble self-sacrificing work.

Endorsed by the Indiana State Executive Board of the Social Democrat Party.

WHAT EDITORS ARE SAYING

THE CLARION, LONDON.

We don't hear a word of the root causes which produce these anarchist outrages. No one mentions the oppressive taxation which robs the Italian workman of the very means of existence, and makes his life a horrible nightmare.

Have we forgotten the rioting of two years ago, when a thousand people were killed in Milan? Have we forgotten the stories we heard then of the thousands who were compelled to live on boiled grass? Have we forgotten the tyrannous conditions of life, the irritating espionage, and the terrible punishments meted out to those who dare to stand up for the people against their oppressors?

THE COURIER, PUEBLO, COL.

We notice a statement in one of the leading newspapers to the effect that "the economic savings already effected by the trusts in the United States equal \$6,000,000 daily." In that form the statement seems to imply that the people are growing rich at a most rapid rate, since \$6,000,000 saved usually means \$6,000,000 earned. But in this case, unfortunately, that is exactly what the statement does not mean. The words "economic saving" signify that labor has been dispensed with.

POLITICAL UNION IS EFFECTED IN ILLINOIS

As a Result of the Convention of August 26 Socialists Unite on One Ticket in this State

In response to a call published in the Herald and the Workers' Call, 132 delegates, representing the Social Democratic party, the Socialist party, and various independent organizations, met in convention at 70 N. Clark street, Chicago, Sunday, August 26, for the purpose of effecting a political union of all the Socialist forces of the State of Illinois in the approaching campaign.

J. B. Smiley, of the Federation for Social Justice, was elected chairman, and W. H. Wise, of the Social Crusade, secretary. The Committee on Credentials reported 132 delegates present and entitled to seats in the convention, the following organizations being represented:

The organizations represented were as follows: Socialist Sangerbund, Branch 3 S. D. P., 10th Ward S. L. P., 10th Ward S. L. P., Tanners and Curriers' Union, Branch 9 S. D. P., 34th Ward (No. 1) S. L. P., 12th Ward S. L. P., the Social Crusade, 27th Ward S. L. P., 14th Ward S. L. P., Branch 1 S. D. P., 33d Ward S. L. P., 13th Ward S. L. P., Branch 10 S. D. P., 15th Ward S. L. P., 25th Ward S. L. P., Central Federation Social Justice, 4th Ward S. L. P., Branch 4 S. D. P., Garfield Hall Federation, 33d Ward (No. 1) S. L. P., Lassalle Club, 6th Ward S. L. P., 5th Ward S. L. P., 26th Ward S. L. P., Branch 1 S. D. P., Branch 18 S. D. P., 27th Ward S. L. P., 21st Ward S. L. P., Branch 6 S. D. P., Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Association, Sangerbund Freiheit, 30th Ward (No. 1) S. L. P., Branch 5 S. D. P., Swiss Turner Society, Branch 8 S. D. P., 30th Ward (No. 2) S. L. P., 22d Ward S. L. P., Branch 7 S. D. P., 26th Ward S. L. P., Cigarmakers' Union (15), 34th Ward (No. 2) S. L. P., Central Board S. L. P., Turners' Society Eichor, 14th Ward S. L. P., 14th Ward Danish Branch, Branch 12 S. D. P.

A long discussion followed the seating of delegates, resulting in the adoption of the following resolutions:

Resolved, That this convention hereby endorses the nomination of Eugene V. Debs and Job Harriman as presidential candidates of the Socialists of the United States.

That this convention does hereby endorse the Socialist state ticket nominated May 13, 1900, at Arena Hall, E. 63d st., Chicago, and now on file in the office of the Secretary of State.

That this convention hereby endorses the Socialist county ticket nominated on the 4th of July, 1900, at 70 N. Clark st., Chicago, and orders the said ticket to be placed on the official ballot under the name of the Social Democratic party.

That this convention hereby elects a Socialist State Campaign committee of 16 members, five from the Social Democratic party, five from the Socialist Labor party, and six from the other organizations here represented, and

That this state committee be and is hereby vested with the full power to act in the name of each and all the organizations represented in this convention in all matters connected with and pertaining to the filing of Socialist tickets on the official ballots, in filling vacancies on said tickets and in everything else pertaining to the Socialist campaign in this state in the year 1900.

That this convention hereby elects a County Campaign committee of twenty-one members, seven from the Social Democratic party, seven from the Social Labor party and seven from the other organizations represented in this convention.

That said County Campaign committee be and is hereby vested with full power to act in the name of each and all the organizations represented in this convention in all matters connected with and pertaining to the filing of the Socialist ticket on the official ballot, in filling vacancies on said ticket and in all other matters pertaining to the Socialist campaign in Cook county for the year 1900.

That the state and county campaign committees elected by this convention be and are hereby instructed to call and arrange for a mass meeting of the general membership of the Socialist organizations of this state to be held in Chicago at a date prior to the time for placing the Socialist ticket on the state and county official ballots, the purpose of said meeting to be for the ratification of the action and declarations of this convention and to demonstrate the unity of the Socialist forces of this state. That the aforesaid committees be and are hereby further instructed to arrange for the attendance of Eugene V. Debs and Job Harriman as speakers on that occasion. In the original report another name had been used and so the following resolution was adopted making the change as given above and adding some additional ideas.

Resolved, That the name of the party in the majority report be stricken out and the name Social Democratic party

be substituted, and further that the political union here effected is independent politically of the National Committees of Springfield, Mass., and 126 Washington St., Chicago, and constitutes a union of all the Socialist forces in this state.

Resolutions were then passed providing that the state committee provided for above should constitute a press committee having charge of the matters published in the Social Democratic Herald and the Workers' Call, appertaining to the state campaign and that the existing state committees be instructed to turn over all books and papers to the joint committee.

"Whereas, National organic union of Socialists is imperative and desirable, therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the delegates of the S. L. P. and S. D. P. in joint convention assembled, recommend to the executive committees at Springfield, Mass., and Chicago, Ill., that at the close of the national campaign the said national executive committees proceed to arrange for and call a national convention to perfect national organic union."

At the close of the public meeting a procession was formed three blocks long, which marched down Clark street to Washington, then to Fifth Avenue and up Madison street to State, loudly hurrahing for Socialism, the Social Democratic party and Debs and Harriman. There were fully three hundred in the column, preceded by a banner inscribed "Socialist Unity—One Ticket." All the capitalist newspaper offices were visited and the comrades at each of them rent the air with loud hurrahs for the Social revolution. The campaign cry was given with a heartiness that served to convince the people in the streets of the earnestness of Social Democrats. This is the cry:

Debs and Harriman, rah, rah, rah!
Debs and Harriman, rah, rah, rah!
Hoo-rah! Hoo-rah!
Socialist candidates.
Rah, Rah, Rah!

Thousands of people lined the sidewalks on State street and responses to the enthusiasm of the comrades were frequent. Men raised their hats and joined in the cheers. "What's the matter with Eugene Debs?" shouted an onlooker and quick as a flash from 300 throats came the response, "He's all right!" "Hurrah for Socialism!" yelled another and these incidents were so frequent that everybody was convinced there were more Socialists among the people than in the procession. This came as a surprise, because the procession was decided upon at a late hour in the hall and could not have been known. The column passed down one side of State street and up the other, often amidst the cheers of the people who lined both sides in thousands. Speeches were called for but everyone was thoroughly tired, and at 11 o'clock the procession, with three cheers for Debs and Harriman and a repetition of the campaign yell, disbanded at State and Quincy.

It was a demonstration that will not be forgotten by those who took part in it. The column kept growing all along the line and the public demonstration was clearly indicative of a pronounced sentiment favorable to Socialism, which will be recorded at the polls next November.

The State Campaign Committee met August 27, at 65 N. Clark street, and organized permanently, with Frederick G. Strickland, secretary, and J. S. Smith, treasurer. The secretary was instructed to communicate as quickly as possible with all branches of the S. D. P. and S. L. P., and all independent Socialist organizations, soliciting funds for the united State campaign. The secretary was authorized to procure properly printed stationery. It was decided that the meetings of the committee be held every Monday night at 65 N. Clark street. The matter of the congressional tickets was deemed the business of the County Committee. The secretary was made financial secretary, and \$20.95, the proceeds of the collections at the convention, were placed in his hands, and by him turned over to the treasurer.

Comrade L. Hanock announces his retirement as a candidate for the state legislature in the Thirtieth Senatorial District and urges all comrades to give their support to Comrade Peter Knickrehm. Comrade Hanock was nominated by the S. L. P.

Comrade A. M. Simons has resigned as a candidate for Congress in the Fourth Illinois District in favor of Comrade Svoboda.

The Jewish comrades of Chicago have made arrangements for the publication of a weekly paper beginning September 22. It will be called the Varheit. The best socialist writers will contribute.

At Sommerein, in Lower Austria, an agricultural town, the Socialists have succeeded in returning their candidates to the municipality.

Twenty-six weeks for 20 cent

LIGHT, MORE LIGHT

A Suggestion to Socialist Societies and Branches of the Social Democratic Party.

By Isador Ladoff

Fourth Lesson—The New Industrial Classes—Rise of the Entrepreneur; His Function—The New Organization of Industry—New Relations Between Employer and Employee—New Social Gulf Between Master and Man; Between Wealth and Poverty; the Cash Nexus—The Basis and History of Private Property; its Relations to Society and Civilization—The Division of Labor: Competition; its Advantages and Inequalities—Wages; the Iron Law; the Wage Fund Theory—Pauperism; General and Specific Causes; Remedies Proposed by Malthus and Owen—Combinations Among Laborers—Population; its Growth; its Relations to Rent; the Theory of Rent; the Unearned Increment—The Proletariat—(Books—Gide, Political Economy; Smith, The Wealth of Nations; Walker, Political Economy; Toynebe, The Industrial Revolution; Howell, The Conflicts of Capital and Labor.)

Fifth Lesson—The Political Struggle of the Classes—The Revival of Monarchy and Privilege; Unrepresented Masses—Economic Causes of French Revolution—Effects of Napoleonic Empire; Reaction from the Revolution—Triumph of Middle Classes and Isolation of the Proletariat—The Landlord Class in England—Chartism in England—The Carbonari and Similar Organizations—(Books—Taine, The Ancient Regime; Stephens, The French Revolution; Mueller, Recent Political History of Europe; McCarthy, History of Our Own Times; Carlyle, Chartism.)

Sixth Lesson—Early Economic and Social Criticism—The Smithian School of Political Economy; J. B. Say, Ricardo and Others—Progress of Invention and Improvement of Communication and Transportation—The Reform Bill of 1832—Richard Cobden and the English Corn Laws—Comte and the Positive Philosophy Economically Considered—The Historical School of Economics; the Old American School—(Books—Ingraham, History of Political Economy; Blanqui, History of Political Economy; C. F. Adams, Railroads, Their Origin and Problems; Hadley, Railroad Transportation; McCarthy, History of Our Own Times.)

Seventh Lesson—Criticism of Communism and Anarchy; the Principles of Communism and Nature of its Protest—St. Simon, His Experiment and Teachings and Influence—The Proposals of Fourier—The Brook Farm Experiment—Robert Owen, His Theories and Colonies—Louis Blanc, His Principles of Industrial Organization, and Maxim of Distribution—Proudhon, His Criticism of Property and of Communism; His Proposals—Anarchy; its Principles and Relations to Democracy and to Socialism—Can Government Exist Dissociated from Force?—(Books—Ely, French and German Socialism; Laveleye, Socialism of Today; Frothingham, Life of George Ripley; Eney, Britt, Robert Owen; Walker, Political Economy.)

(Continued Next Week.)

COMRADE KELLEY ACCEPTS

To the Indiana Executive Board of the Social Democratic Party:

Dear Sirs and Comrades: Yours of July 27, informing me of the action of your convention which resulted in my nomination for Governor is received. That I should have deserved the honor of being appointed as leader of our forces in the great State of Indiana in the first battle for real Democracy seems to me scarcely possible, but since your convention has deemed proper to confer this high responsibility upon me, I shall accept it as a duty, and though deeply conscious of my weakness and the magnitude of the task before us, I have abiding faith that right makes might and that ultimate success is ours, for from the history of the past there comes the assurance, that no fight for the right once begun has ever yet been lost; the blunder of a leader may retard it, and the shirking of a soldier may delay, but despite all compromises with wrong, the right will finally prevail.

The principles of Socialism are absolutely unassailable; our enemies are yet strong in numbers, but they have no fighting ground upon which to stand; they are yet rich in material weapons, but it is principles that finally triumph, and of those they have not one that will bear the test of ethics for a single moment. The cross of Calvary is the banner of Socialism. Capitalism has its cross of Gold. Our motto is: "Bear ye one another's burdens." Theirs is: "Every fellow for himself." Socialism proposes that we shall treat the good things of this world as a well ordered family would treat a meal to which they were invited guests. Capitalism says we must continue to emulate the pigs at the trough.

Socialism says let us establish order and justice, while the task of Capitalism is that of maintaining confusion and injustice. Socialism says let us co-operate, let us all pull one and the same way on the rope, while Capitalism says let us continue to compete—pull any way you please.

LOCAL BRANCHES

Notices of Branch Meetings inserted for 25 Cents per Month

CALIFORNIA

Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evenings, commencing at 8 p. m. Admission free. Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening.

Membership, Social Democratic Herald free to each member, 25 cents per month.

Reply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk street.

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 8 o'clock at Woodman's Hall, 1244 Spring St. J. Frane, 700 Dayton Ave., Secretary.

Branch No. 3, Alameda, California, holds free public meetings every 2d and 4th Sunday, 8 p. m. at Forester's Hall, cor Park St. and Santa Clara Ave. Business and Educational meetings (for members) 1st and 3rd Mondays, 8 p. m. at 2665 Knapall Ave. Allan A. Crockett, Secretary, 1810 Walnut St.

Branch No. 1, Denver, meets every Sunday at 8:00 p. m. at 1715 California Ave. Chas. M. Davis, Secretary, 1623 17th Street.

Branch No. 3, Goldfield, meets every Sunday at 7:30 p. m. at City Hall. Chas. La Camp, Secretary.

CONNECTICUT

The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at 2 p. m. at P. Schaffer's, 1039 Rockville, Conn. Louis Soule, Sec., 28 Spring St., New York.

Branch No. 3, New Haven, meets every Wednesday evening, 8 p. m., at Aurora Hall, C. Volmer, Sec.

Branch No. 4, Rockville, Conn., meets first and third Thursdays at Turn Hall, meeting room, Village street, Secretary, Richard Niederwieser, Box 781.

ILLINOIS

Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and third Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 13 Dearborn St.

Branch No. 1, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening, Thomas Kirwin, Secretary, 264 Westworth Ave.

Branch No. 2 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets first and third Saturdays at 8 p. m. at Nagle's Hall, 335 Blue Island Ave. Ferdinand Svoboda, Secretary, 634 West 15th Street.

Branch No. 3 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Mondays at 8 p. m. at Dunder's place, 1080 W. 18th place. Joseph Dunder, Secretary.

Branch No. 4, Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays of each month at Fisler's Hall, cor. Centre and 19th st. Joe Carter, Sec., 530 W. 18th St.

Branch No. 6 (German), Chicago, meets every first Saturday each month at 8 o'clock at Nagle's Hall, 335 Blue Island Ave. near 18th St. Albin Gelsler, Secretary, 724 W. 20th St.

Branch No. 5 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays, at 8 p. m. at 502 1/2 Lino Street. J. A. Ambrose, Secretary, 494 Wood Street.

Branch No. 9, Chicago, meets at 1145 W. 63rd st., first and third Sundays at 8 p. m. Gus Larson, Secretary, 6251 Cedar avenue.

INDIANA

Branch No. 6, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichwein's Hall, corner Market and Noble st. Address all communications to Sec. of State Executive Board, 1100-1102, 617 At. or Ave.

Branch No. 2, Hitean, meets every fourth Friday in the month at opera house. James Baxter, chairman, Wm. Truman, secretary, Box 151.

KENTUCKY

Branch No. 4, Hallie, meets 1st and 3rd Sunday, at 8 p. m. and 2nd and 4th Sunday at 8 p. m. at W. Fairfield Ave. We will aim to make it interesting for all. Henry Listerman, Sec., 132 Foote ave.

MARYLAND

Branch No. 1, Baltimore, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m. at Carpenter's Hall, 540 E. Baltimore St. Public invited.

Branch No. 2, Baltimore, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at Wenzel's Hotel, 228 W. Camden st. Good speeches. Public invited. Lewis T. Jones, Secretary, 202 W. Harre st.

MASSACHUSETTS

The Massachusetts State Committee meets the first Saturday of each month at 724 Washington St., Boston. All dues and moneys intended for the State Committee should be sent to the financial secretary, A. McDonald, 104 W. Springfield St., Boston. All other correspondence should be addressed to the Corresponding Secretary, Margaret Hall, 5 Glenwood St., Roxbury.

Branch No. 2, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at Springfield Turner Hall, 608 Gilder, Organizer, 415 Main St.

Branch No. 5, Lynn, permanent headquarters, 71 Mauree St. Business meeting every Monday night at 12:30. Open house. Public invited. Harry Guttmir, Sec., 422 Essex St.

Branch No. 6, Brockton, meets Friday nights at 8 p. m. for business at Socialist Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Center st. Every comrade is expected to attend meetings. Secretary, Mrs. Annie Bosworth, Secretary, 81 Prospect St.

Branch No. 15, East Boston, meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 30 Chelsea St. Miss Jenny Seaton, Secretary, 99 Chelsea St.

Branch No. 29, Roxbury, Mass., meets at 24 Warren st. 21 and 4th Fridays of every month. Public invited.

Branch 31, Chelsea, meets every Thursday evening at 115 Hawthorn street.

MICHIGAN

Branch No. 1, Battle Creek, Mich., meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of each month, at 8 p. m. at 10 W. Main Street, in the International Cong. Hall. All are cordially invited. L. C. Rogers, Secretary.

I believe the cross of Gold and the hosts working under it are doomed to defeat, that obedience to the Golden Rule is better than every fellow for himself. I believe in the brotherhood of man and am opposed to the emulation of the swine. I believe that order is better than confusion, that peace is better than war and that the load will be lighter for all, if we all pull the same way.

Thanking you very much for the honor which you have conferred upon me, I wish in closing to remind you and all Socialists throughout the state that the horse in the lead has no better chance at the post than does the one at the wheel. Let every one who is with us show it by their works; let every one get hold on the rope, for the strong pull and the hard pull and the pull all together. Yours for Socialism, John W. Kelley.

Marion, Ind., Aug. 14, 1900.

At Hamburg the Socialist deputy, Molkenbuhr, has been fined 450 marks for writing a poem speaking disrespectfully of German officers.

At the municipal elections which have just taken place at Lipnik, in Galicia, the Socialist candidates were elected by a large majority. And yet the "respectable" people did all they could, for Jews and anti-Semites ran together.

The nine-hour day has been adopted in the workshops of the Bavarian state railways. Up till now the normal working day was one of ten hours. This is due to the persistent action of the Socialist group in the Bavarian Landtag (the local parliament).

A Leipzig professor has discovered a new method of suppressing Socialism. It is to be done by having in opposition to May Day a working-class evangelical festival, to be held just before Whitsun. The method should be patented in all countries.

MINNESOTA

Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Gesswein, on Main St. A. Kingsberg, Secretary.

MISSOURI

St. Louis headquarters, Room 7, 23 N. Fourth St. Address all communications to E. Val Patnam, Secretary. For information concerning ward branches, inquire at the above address.

Branch No. 7, Kansas City, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1300 Union Ave. G. J. Stors, Secretary, 1230 W. 9th St.

MONTANA

Branch No. 1, Butte, meets every Thursday, at 8:30 p. m., Engineers' Hall, Ormsby Block. G. Frankel, Sec. 71 E. Park Street.

Branch No. 3 meets first and third Sundays of each month at G. W. Wood's house, Chas. Mont.

NEW JERSEY

Branch No. 1, Secretary, Michael W. Schur, 51 Livingston st.

Branch No. 3, Camden, N. J., meets every 2d Sunday of the month. For particulars address Paul Kherding, 1248 Lehigh's Avenue.

Branch No. 3 (German) Newark, meets every third Saturday, at International Hall, 7 Bedford St. Hans Hartwig, Secretary, 1 Bedford St.

Branch No. 6 (German), Paterson, N. J., meets second and third Mondays at 8 p. m. at Helvetia Hall, 14-16 Van Houten St. Karl Lander, Secretary, 246 Edmand St.

NEW YORK

The City Central Action Committee of Greater New York, meets every second Tuesday at 412 Grand street, Windsor Hall. James Allman, Secretary, 32 Suffolk st. care of "Forward."

East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every first and third Thursdays at 113 Clinton St. A. Guyer, Secretary, 145 Suffolk St.

Branch No. 3, 24th Assembly District, meets second and fourth Wednesdays of the month at 148 Second Ave., at the "Central." Henry Lang, Secretary, 234 E. 50th St.

Branch No. 4, West Side Branch, New York, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of every month headquarters, 125 W. 96th St. Elizabeth H. Thomas, Secretary.

Branch No. 5 Brooklyn, New York, meets every Saturday at 8 p. m. at 54 Moore St. Visitors welcome. Comrade desiring to organize should communicate with Secretary Sol. Freeman, 130 Boerum St.

Branch No. 10, New York, meets every Friday, at 8 p. m., 309 E. Broadway. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Organizer, Joseph Williams, 36 Henry St.

OHIO

Branch No. 2, Cleveland, meets in Ohlsen's Hall, 55 York St. second and fourth Sundays at 8 p. m. Lectures, discussions, business meetings, first and third Fridays at 8 p. m.

Branch No. 1, Cleveland, meets first and third Sundays, in each month at 8 p. m. in Ohlsen's Hall, 55 York St. Lectures and discussions.

Branch No. 4 (Cincinnati), meets at Richelieu Hall southeast corner 9th and Plum Sts., every Sunday at 2 p. m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Joe Jaslin, Secretary, 1410 Central Avenue.

Branch No. 5, Dayton, Ohio, meets every 2d and 4th Friday evening, in Hall 27, Central Trades Council. Everyone interested in Socialism invited. J. C. Schwabe, Chairman, W. Harringer, Secretary, P. O. Box 234.

Branch No. 3, Cincinnati, meets every second and fourth Saturday in Workingmen's Hall, 1215 Walnut St. F. Hamel, Secretary, 1844 Friar St.

Branch No. 11, German, Columbus, Thomas May, Jr., Secretary, 830 S. 3rd St.

PENNSYLVANIA

Branch No. 1, Philadelphia, meets every Monday, at 8 p. m., at 423 S. 3rd Street, until further notice.

Branch No. 2, Erie, meets every Sunday, 3 p. m., at K. of L. Hall, 716 State St. Chairman, Joseph Strain, Secretary, J. E. Perry, 119 Sessarfas St.

Branch No. 4, Pittsburgh, meets 2nd and 4th Wednesday evening at 7:30 p. m. at Funk Hall, 8. sec. and Josephine St. W. Bohn, President, 94 Addison St. J. H. Lawia, Secretary, 213 Jane St.

Branch No. 4, Connersport, meets every second and last Wednesday of each month in K. of L. Hall. Chas. Kinsler, Chairman, L. H. Morse, Secretary, Ben. Godwin, Treasurer.

Branch No. 5, Philadelphia, meets first Friday of each month—Executive meets every Sunday morning—S. D. P. Club Rooms, at 423 S. Third St. Organizer, M. Gillis, 1007 S. Third St.

Branch No. 10, Williamsport, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2 p. m. in Social Labor hall, No. 10 East 3d St. G. R. Smith, chairman; Jno. Lyon, secretary, 143 Second St. Public invited.

WASHINGTON

Branch No. 5, Tacoma, meets every Monday evening at 8 p. m., 415 11th Street.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee Central Committee, S. D. P., meets second and fourth Monday of the month at Brewers' Hall, southeast corner Fourth and Chestnut st.

Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets at Kaller's Hall, Fourth Street, between State and Franklin, every second and fourth Thursday evening.

Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Friday in Giesse's Hall, corner Green Bay and Concordia Ave.

Branch No. 3, Sheboygan, meets every second Thursday of the month at Emil Hendel's place, 1011 Michigan st. Secretary, Eugene F. Kichenberger, 1701 N. 11th street.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday each month at Meller's Hall, corner 2d and Brown Sts. George Moerschel, Secretary, 531 25th St.

Branch No. 5, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at R. Sigel's Hall, south east corner Orchard St. and 9th Ave. O. Wild, Secretary.

Branch No. 12, Milwaukee, meets every second and third Thursday of each month at Volkman's Hall, 21 and Center st., 8 p. m. Secretary, Rudolph Loeschman, 1123 23rd St.

Branch No. 23, Milwaukee, meets second and fourth Wednesday of each month, at 524 Clark street. Henry Harbicht, Sec., 1074 7th Street.

Have your card inserted in the BRANCH DIRECTORY, 25 Cents per Month. It will help you in the work in your locality.

NOMINATIONS FOR NEW NATIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

The constitution adopted at the Indianapolis convention, and since approved by a referendum vote of the branches, provides for a national executive board of nine members, "five of whom shall be chosen from territory convenient to the national headquarters and shall be called 'resident members,' and the remaining four shall be chosen, as far as possible, from other parts of the country." The present executive board on July 21 requested the members to make nominations for the new board. In response the following have been named up to this time:

Allman, James, New York
Brown, Corinne S., Illinois
Berger, Dr. Henry C., Wisconsin
Berger, Victor L., Wisconsin
Clemens, G. C., Kansas
Cox, Jesse, Illinois
Doerfler, Jno., Wisconsin
Foreman, A. B., Wisconsin
Farmer, W. E., Texas
Greer, J. H., Illinois
Halle, Margaret, Massachusetts
Heath, Frederick, Wisconsin
Horgan, W. C., Illinois
Kelher, S., Indiana
Kelley, J. W., Indiana
Ladoff, Isadore, Wisconsin
Lake, H. S., Geneva, Washington
Mohr, Aug., Wisconsin
Roderus, Frank, Illinois
Ricker, A. W., Iowa
Riley, Geo. W., Illinois
Rooney, Eugene H., Wisconsin
Smith, S. L., Massachusetts
Strobel, Geo. H., New Jersey
Tuttle, H., Wisconsin
Uhlhorn, Henry, Illinois
Winzen, Jacob, Illinois
Vaclav, Mudra, Illinois

BRANCH SUPPLIES

Membership Cards (per 100)..... 1.00

Membership Applications (100)..... .25

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

CAMPAIGN OF 1900

CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT



EUGENE V. DEBS

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE
 ROBERT MEISTER.....Chairman
 JOSEPH R. FINN.....Treasurer
 SEYMOUR STEDMAN.....Secretary
 Address, 126 Washington St., Chicago.

FINANCE COMMITTEE
 EDWARD ZEIGLER.....Chairman
 JOSEPH R. FINN.....Treasurer
 JAMES WRIGHT.....Secretary
 Address, 126 Washington St., Chicago

COMMITTEE ON LITERATURE
 A. S. EDWARDS.....Chairman
 CHRIS. MICKELSON.....Secretary

COMMITTEE ON PRINTING
 JACOB WINNEN.....Chairman
 PHILIP BROWN.....Secretary

COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION
 SEYMOUR STEDMAN.....Chairman
 ARTHUR DENNISON.....Secretary

COMMITTEE ON SPEAKERS
 OSCAR LOEBEL.....Chairman
 SEYMOUR STEDMAN.....Secretary

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD
 FREDERICK HEATH.....Chairman
 SEYMOUR STEDMAN.....Secretary
 EUGENE V. DEBS.....VICTOR L. BERGER
 CORINNE S. BROWN

NATIONAL SECRETARY-TREASURER
 THEODORE DEBS
 No. 126 Washington Street, Chicago.

THE CAMPAIGN FUND

B. Leventhal, N. Y.	25
W. Blenko, Kokomo	2.50
F. W. Lennon, Adger	.50
W. E. Tilton, Bessemer	.50
J. G. Jones, Adger	.50
H. McFarland, Adger	.50
E. C. Brown, Delomite	.50
Jno. Hopkins, Adger	.10
W. H. Houtz, Adger	.50
C. M. Avery, Adger	.50
Wm. Kirkpatrick, Pratt City	.25
Jeff. Manning, Adger	.50
Julius Bitterlich, St. Louis	1.00
J. P. Gibbs, De Solo	.50
D. S. Manley, De Solo	.50
C. C. McDougal, De Solo	.50
L. D. Shelton, De Solo	.50
Previously reported	923.20
	\$933.80

ITS PLATFORM

Revision of our federal constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to complete control of government by the people irrespective of sex.

Public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

Public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones; all means of transportation and communication; all water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

Public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal, and other mines, and all oil and gas wells.

Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

Inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

Useful inventions to be free, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

Labor legislation to be national, instead of local, and international when possible.

National insurance of working people against accident, lack of employment and want in old age.

Equal civil and political rights; for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

The adoption of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by voters.

Abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

NATIONAL PAPER OF THE PARTY:
The Social Democratic Herald
 50 CENTS A YEAR.
 126 Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.

HEADQUARTERS: 126 WASHINGTON STREET, CHICAGO

NOTES FROM THE FIELD

Fifteen cents will purchase *Merrie England in the German language*, adapted to American needs. If you don't read German, buy one for your friends.

A full ticket has been nominated by the comrades in Marion county, Indiana.

Send in your order now for Ben Atterbury's letter to workmen. Leaflet No. 2; \$1 a thousand.

The postal card propaganda will be a great vote maker during the next two months. Twenty-four cards sent to you for 10 cents.

Comrade S. L. Smith, whose name is this week added to the list of nominees for the executive board, is a member of Branch 9, Brockton, Mass.

The small 4-page leaflet used by the Chicago comrades is good for any part of the country; 1,000 to any address, postage paid, for 75 cents.

All loyal members of the Social Democratic branches in Washington are hereby requested to communicate with Comrade L. W. Kidd, 1115 Sixth avenue, North, Seattle, Wash.

Socialists willing to assist in forming new branches of the Social Democratic party are requested to communicate with the secretary, Theodore Debs, 126 Washington street, Chicago.

The Debs leaflet, at 75 cents per thousand, charges paid, is much the best leaflet for propaganda in some localities. We should receive more orders for them. They are small, but to the point, and will make S. D. P. votes.

Every branch should order a five-dollar bunch of literature, which would include 33 Debs lithographs and 4,000 leaflets. Every Socialist can place a few lithographs where they will make votes for the party and increase the local branch membership.

The Socialist Educational Society of Rockford, Ill., at its last meeting, endorsed the platform of the Social Democratic party and pledged its members to do everything within their power to extend the propaganda and elect the national ticket next November.

It is advisable to stamp all leaflets, etc., with the local branch address and time of meeting, in order to get more direct returns for the work of distributing them. Let the voters of your locality know of your meeting, and then provide a good speaker to explain the principles of Socialism.

Branch 12 and the Twentieth Ward, Milwaukee, have arranged for a Harvest dance September 15, at Volkmann's Hall, 21st and Center streets. Carl Weisel, Robert Manske, Carl Malewsky were elected from the Branch as delegates to State convention, and Emil Seidel, Philip Siegel, E. Beckman, Fred Hess and Robert Meder from the ward.

Comrade Hugo Miller of Indianapolis writes: "Kindly leave my name from the list of nominees for National Executive Board, as it will be impossible for me to accept in my present situation. I do not know who nominated me, but thank the comrades for their good intention. I can assure them I will, as usual, work for the success of our noble cause."

Our platform, object, methods of organization and "The Man Under the Dray," by Prof. George D. Herron, are printed in the Debs leaflet with a fine picture of our candidate. This leaflet the campaign committee sends out, charges paid for 75 cents per thousand—little above cost.

The portrait of the presidential candidate gives great satisfaction. Thousands have been mailed to branches and comrades in all sections of the country. It should be seen in every community; it informs the observer, directs attention to the party and makes votes. Ten copies, 35 cents; 33 for a dollar; single copy, 10 cents; postage prepaid.

It is hoped every branch secretary will bring the contribution blanks before the next meeting of their branch and also see that all friends of socialism (unattached) are given an opportunity to help increase the national campaign fund. Send all amounts collected to the National Campaign Headquarters of the S. D. P., 126 Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

Comrade Grogg has been appointed organizer in the Indiana gas belt. Comrade Kelley, our candidate for governor, will make a trip through the State at his own expense. Comrades throughout the State are requested to send their five cents per month per capita assessment to Hugo Miller, treasurer, as soon as possible. His address is De Soto Block, Indianapolis.

The Social Democrats in the Sixteenth Congressional District of Illinois, in convention at Jacksonville, have nominated Comrade Geo. W. Riley for congress; J. I. Housewart, of Pike county, for the Board of Equalization; H. Hering and E. S. Altmiller for the State legislature. In Morgan county George Smith was nominated for Circuit Clerk, John A. Reed for Coroner and George Watson for County Commissioner.

Monday's business at the National Campaign Committee's headquarters, 126 Washington street, Chicago, amounted to \$21 for literature, not counting the contributions. In return the committee mailed 8,000 No. 2 leaflets, 300 Debs lithographs and several hundred Debs leaflets, buttons, etc. The Tuesday morning mail brought in orders for 4,000 more leaflets and a number of lithographs.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PICNIC
 The Social Democratic branches of Chicago will hold another picnic on Sunday, September 2, at Laznovsky's Grove, Irving Park, near the Bohemian cemetery. Tickets will be 10 cents and it is hoped the comrades and their friends will turn out strong. To reach the grounds take Elston avenue cars on Lake street to Fortieth avenue.

MCCARTNEY DECLINES
 Comrades of the S. D. P.: Seeing in a recent number of the Herald that my name is in the list of nominees for the National Executive Board, I hasten to decline in favor of a Massachusetts comrade, to whom more than any other worker Massachusetts owes her progress in organized Socialism. This valiant and tireless worker, with versatile ability—a writer and an executive—is Margaret Haile. Let us make her election unanimous.
 Yours for the Social Democratic Party,
 Frederic O. McCartney.
 Normandale, Ont., Aug. 20.

NEW BRANCHES

Kansas, one.
 Arkansas one.
 Michigan, one.
 Washington, one.
 Wisconsin, three.

NEW JERSEY CAMPAIGN

In the absence of Com. Jones, Com James was elected chairman. The minutes were approved as read. Communications were received from State Com S. D. P., returning subscription lists. Appeal to Reason, Comrades Dobbler, Goebel, Kraft, Vail, Strobel, Vogel Camden, and Martinsville. Bills were read and ordered paid for stationery printing, delegates and organizer.

The electoral list showed vacancies which were filled, and the secretary instructed to finish the petitions and file them.

On motion the secretary was instructed to cancel the incorporation papers filed. Comrade Jones then made his appearance and took the chair.

The literature committee reported and such was received and the committee instructed to get out one pamphlet at once for use of the organizer.

On motion 250 copies of the Appeal to Reason were ordered for three months, for use of the organizer.

The report of the organizer was received and he will submit his report as copied in the day book hereafter.

The secretary was instructed to write to some firm for estimates on banners, pictures, etc. He is to report the doings of the committee to the Social Democratic Herald and People.

Next meeting to be called on request of the delegates or the secretary.

The organizer will send out all subscription lists on hand and especially cover the rural districts.

Income, \$37.95.
 John P. Wiegel, Sec'y.

WISCONSIN CONVENTION

To the Voters and Members of the Social Democratic Party of Wisconsin: Greeting: The state convention of the Social Democratic party will be held at Milwaukee Sunday, September 2, at 2 o'clock, at the hall of the Freie Gemeinde on Fourth street (between State and Cedar.)

This being a presidential election year the state convention of our party is of more than usual importance. Both of the old parties have shown their utter inability to grasp the economic situation of the present time, or even to elect honest men into office. No matter which of the old parties is put into power, we always find the same result: Corruption among office holders, ignorance and misery and poverty among the masses. These facts cannot be obscured by raising false issues, like "honest money" on one side and opposition to imperialism on the other.

The reason for this is obvious. The two old parties do not differ materially from each other. Both are dominated by the non-producing class that depend upon exploitation and plunder for subsistence. Both parties by necessity create more corruption and misery. And the leaders of the defunct third party, the so-called People's party, not having any principles to stand upon, have naturally drifted into the same camps, for the purpose of their own pecuniary benefit and political aggrandizement. All "reform parties" have failed because they have trusted to the goodness to this or the other leader, instead of trying to change the conditions that surround us all.

These conditions must be changed before man in general will change.

We, therefore, call upon all honest men who do not as yet despair of the future of humanity, to unite under the banner of the Social Democratic party of America. The Social Democratic party is not aiming at a mere change of office holders, we realize, that without a change of the present economic system the best men can do nothing against corruption. The Social Democratic party wants to abolish the source of avarice and corruption by the socialization of the means of production, distribution and exchange, thereby extending the advantages of civilization and our rich country to the whole people.

And while we recognize that it is not in the power of a single state of this Union to restore to the people all their rights, we are also fully conscious that the state of Wisconsin can do a great deal to limit within its borders the exploitation of the masses and thereby raise the standard of life.

But besides this it is our duty to strike at the ballot box for Socialism and the national candidate of the Social Democratic party EUGENE V. DEBS. Therefore do not fail to send delegates to the convention.

The basis of representation is as follows: Branches of the Social Democratic party and all other recognized Socialistic bodies are entitled to three delegates. Each ward or township is entitled to one delegate for each fifty votes or major fraction thereof cast for our party at the last state election. Each Trade Union is entitled to one delegate, if the membership is fifty or less, and to two delegates if the membership is over fifty.

All reports of delegates elected and other matters pertaining to the convention should be sent to 614 State St., Milwaukee, Wis.

The State Committee of the Social Democratic party.

Eugene Rooney,
 Howard Tuttle,
 Ernst Mohr,
 Robert Meister,
 Victor L. Berger,
 John Doerfler,
 Edward Ziegler,
 Jacob Hunger,
 Fred Brockhausen,
 F. W. Rehfeld.

It is hoped that every Branch will contribute \$10 to the Campaign Fund; some can do better; some have done so and will make a canvass for individual subscriptions as well. What is your Branch doing? Send all money to the treasurer of the National Committee, Joseph R. Finn, 126 Washington street, Chicago.

Comrade Elizabeth H. Thomas has joined the force at the national campaign committee's room, 126 Washington street, and is rendering valuable assistance to Secretary Stedman.

IF YOU SYMPATHIZE WITH TRADE UNIONS

You will encourage the sale OF UNION LABEL GOODS

If you want Union Label Shoes demand the above Union Stamp. No shoe is Union made unless it bears the Union Stamp. No charge or royalty for the Union Stamp. Visit your shoe dealer and take no excuse. Send for latest list of factories. Subscribes for "The Union Boot and Shoe Worker," 50 cts per year.

Boot and Shoe Workers Union,
 610 Atlantic Ave., Boston, Mass.

The Herald will be sent to any address in the United States 26 weeks for 20 cents.

SPLENDID LIFE-LIKE PORTRAIT OF EUGENE V. DEBS
 CANDIDATE OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
 SIZE—21 X 28 INCHES, ON GOOD PAPER

Price, 10 Cents, Single Copy
 Sent by mail, securely enclosed in tube to insure safe transmission, on receipt of price.
 Address,
CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY,
 126 Washington St., Chicago

Social Democratic Party Leaflets
 FOR CAMPAIGN PURPOSES

The National Campaign Committee of the Social Democratic party will issue for the campaign a series of well-written, effective four-page leaflets, two of which are now ready for delivery. These leaflets will be sent to branches and individual workers at cost of printing and postage.

LEAFLET NO. 1 is an address to unorganized Socialists; contains information concerning the Socialist movement, the party and its methods, object and program.

LEAFLET NO. 2—"An Open Letter to the Average American Workman," by Ben Atterbury. This is an admirable and convincing paper on the wage question, production, distribution of wealth and an appeal to the intelligence of the working class.

Put Them Into the Hands of Every Workingman

PRICES.

50 Copies	10
100 Copies	15
250 Copies	25
500 Copies	50
1,000 Copies	1.00
5,000 Copies	5.00

POSTAGE PAID.
 Send orders to Campaign Committee Social Democratic Party, 126 Washington street, Chicago, Ill.

THE FULL STRENGTH OF APPEAL TO REASON
 WILL BE GIVEN TO DEBS AND HARRIMAN

the ensuing campaign. For purposes of propaganda the following prices are named on bundles to one address:

25 copies weekly, 3 mos.,	\$ 1.50
50 "	3.00
100 "	6.00
250 "	14.50
500 "	27.50
1000 "	49.00

APPEAL TO REASON
 WINNARD, KANSAS

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

THIRD YEAR. No. 12.

CHICAGO, ILL., U.S.A., SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1900.

Whole No. 114.

COMPETITIVE WAR CO-OPERATIVE PEACE

The Only Real Question in this Year's Campaign is Socialism vs. Capitalism—A Vote for Either of the Old Parties is a Vote for Capitalism

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Will Do More to Lift the Moral Status of the Individual than All the Preaching of Two Thousand Years

By Rev. Chas. H. Vall

The only real question at issue in this campaign is Socialism vs. Capitalism. We are called upon to choose which system we prefer—the co-operative or competitive. A vote for McKinley or Bryan is a vote for the continuance of present conditions. A man who casts his vote for either of the old parties has no right to complain of the economic or moral conditions which inhere in the system he has voted to maintain.

What are some of the conditions and results of the competitive system of industry? It brutalizes men. It turns them into moral monsters. It makes them human sharks and wolves by compelling them to prey upon each other. It debasifies and crushes out the higher impulses and aspirations, leaving only the animal instinct of selfishness intact. It is only such moral monstrosities that are fitted for the competitive combat. The possession of a sense of justice and right unqualifies men for the competitive warfare—such qualities seriously handicap a man in the struggle for wealth. In a competitive environment it is the unscrupulous and crafty that are best fitted to succeed. A man must not be too sympathetic and considerate with others' misfortunes, business is business, we are told, and fitness to survive means a willingness to utilize the misfortunes of others to your own emolument. The man who is the most brutal and who rides roughshod over the rights of others, is the man who usually succeeds, and is consequently the man who is honored and respected in the community. What a deplorable condition! The old saying is "Nothing succeeds like success." It makes but little difference to present society how you get it, if you only have it. Such a condition is truly deplorable, but it is a condition that cannot be helped under the present system. It is the system that compels men to take advantage of their fellows. So long as the interests of men are antagonistic we can hope for no improvement. Unless we will arise to the removal of the cause, we may as well be complacent over the result. Sermons will not extirpate the evil, it is too deep seated, it inheres in the system itself. The Socialists, however, have arisen to the removal of the cause and they will remain standing until this accursed system is abolished. Every vote cast for Socialism is a protest against this vicious order and a pledge and prophecy of its overthrow.

Socialists believe that man is not inherently bad; he is only a creature of environment. The old theological doctrine, born in the ignorance of the dark ages, that man is essentially evil and can neither think or act rightly, has long since been relegated, in the minds of thinking people, to the limbo of imbecile creeds. The old doctrine of the fall of man, has been supplanted by the new doctrine of the rise of man. Evolution has given us a new conception of life. The progress which man makes in perceiving and attaining the higher ideal depends upon his surroundings. Philanthropists have demonstrated the power of environment in molding human character. They have shown that 90 per cent of the children taken from the slums of our great cities and placed in comfortable homes grow up into respectable men and women. If left to grow up in the wretched surroundings of vice and crime, they would contribute to the criminal and outcasts of society. Eighty per cent of the criminal class comes from the slums!

All recognize the power of environment. None want their boys brought up in vile surroundings, or their girls raised in brothels. They realize that children surrounded by such conditions will turn out bad. The only remedy is to destroy the evil conditions. This Socialism will do. Socialism will not only destroy the slums, but also poverty, which is the chief cause of crime, and it will surround men with an environment which is conducive to honesty and

well-doing. It would do no good to destroy the slums, close the saloons and brothels, and leave the present system intact. The cause remaining the conditions would soon be reproduced, or manifest themselves in some other way which would be just as bad. Neither does it suffice to remove the young from this condition, even if all children could be removed, and leave the system in operation, for the slums are constantly filled by those whom the system has forced into bankruptcy. To remove children from evil conditions and then force them as adults to earn a living in a system where 95 per cent of business men fail, and where to succeed they are tempted to resort to trickery and dishonesty, is surely no solution of the problem. Herbert Spencer in his essay, "The Morals of Trade," asserts that all competitive business is by its very nature corrupt, that it is impossible for an honorable man to conduct his occupation in an upright manner for the reason that the scoundrel sets the standard and the pace. It is the rascal who commences to adulterate goods and the honest man must follow suit or go bankrupt, and suppose he should do the latter, then he actually injures society more than if he had joined in the adulteration. Can men be expected to be sound morally under such conditions? Is not our whole social structure a temptation to do wrong? It is a wonder, under present conditions, that men and women are as good as they are. It speaks volumes for the moral soundness of human nature, that the higher triumphs as often as it does in the face of such odds. It is but natural that men should frequently give way to temptation, that the lower self should triumph when temptation is strong, but it is just as natural for men to stand firm, for the higher self to triumph when tempted to do right. Human nature responds as quickly, and, in fact, more so when tempted in the right direction. We find men continually rising to a high plane of unselfishness when their interests are not at stake. Men will do good for its own sake, but not evil except for the sake of gain.

Our objection to the present system, then, is that it makes it to the interest of men to do evil and to take advantage of their fellows. Men rise by pushing others down. In such conditions it is not strange that men become inhuman, that the tender sympathies and higher ideals are crushed out. What else could one expect from a system of commercial cannibalism? You cannot gather grapes from thorns or figs from thistles. Neither can we expect the qualities of love, tenderness, helpfulness and sympathy to result from a system of competitive struggle for the necessities of life. Competition is warfare and warfare, whether physical or commercial, national or individual, begets enmity, strife, and hatred.

Socialism is the only remedy for these evil conditions. Socialism would realize the solidarity of mankind. It would make the interests of all identical. One could not then gain at the expense of his fellows. When success does not depend upon taking advantage of some one else, then the motive for injuring others will be gone. Such a system would turn this old earth of ours into a heaven. It would remove both the motive and opportunity for selfishness. It would do more to lift the moral status of the individual, than all the preaching and mere teaching of the last two thousand years. To expect people to live a true life under the present cannibalistic system, is to expect greater wonders than are reported in the legends of the past. Indeed, the way of righteousness is narrow, in the present order, and few there be that find it.

Socialism furnishes the only condition wherein the higher life of service and brotherhood can be realized. We ask all who believe in the better way to join us in its realization. The first step is political organization, and mastery, through political action, of the public powers. Political organization has now been effected, and you are asked to cast your vote in the coming election for the realization of a better civilization. If you believe in the need of a better order, vote for it. If you want a continuance of the present deplorable conditions, then vote the old party tickets and I will guarantee you will not be disappointed. But if you have a desire to uplift society, vote a Socialist ballot. Every ballot cast for Socialism brings nearer the day of human emancipation.

If labor in America produces every year \$2,000,000,000 worth of goods more than the producers can buy, what's the reason for it? Ever think of that, John? Did you know that that fact was the key to Chauncey Depew's explanation of the "hammering at the gates of Pekin"? How can a dollar-a-day man buy back products valued at \$5 or \$10? Don't you see, John, how you are being fooled?

PRODUCT AND PROFIT UNDER WAGE SLAVERY

The "Fair Wage" Nonsense and the "Well Paid" Apologists for the Wrongs and Injustice of Capitalism

RIGHTS OF LABOR AND CAPITAL

The Socialist Ticket is the Only One Which Should be Supported by the Victims of Capitalism

By Ben Atterbury

I would rather be able to lead the working class of my country to understand clearly their position and prospects under capitalist production than to lead the armies of the world as a conquering host against the Chinese empire. What I am most anxious to have my class see is this, that whatever individual workers may now be receiving as wages, whether the wage is one, or three, or five dollars a day, considered as a class they are the slaves of capitalism. They are receiving a small portion only of what their labor produces and others are enjoying the benefits of the possession of a large surplus, which possession is the direct cause of hard times and social misery.

If workingmen can be brought to understand this, that the rights of which they are deprived—chief among which is the right to enjoy the fruits of their own toil—are the cause of poverty crime and war, they will then understand that no other term so fitly applies to them as this, to which so many of their number who receive what they call a "fair" wage object, SLAVES!

There is no such thing as a "fair" wage. No man ought to be called upon to toil for an idler, or for another man who appropriates any portion of the results of his labor. And wherever this process of appropriation, which is common and necessary to the very existence of capitalist production, is going on, no such thing as a "fair" wage is possible. It is robbery sanctioned by custom and law, even though some wage-slaves do receive higher average pay than others. The "well-paid" mechanics' condition may be tolerable; they may be reasonably contented with the treatment meted out to them by the class to which their labor is PROFITABLE, but their contentment has its tap-root in ignorance of the rights of their fellow-men who are less fortunate. Your "well-paid" slave is usually ignorant, not only of his own rights, but of the labor movement and the social question. Too often he is a pitiable apologist for all that is cruel and unjust in the existing order and indifferent to the economic condition of those a little lower down in the wage scale. And so what I have to say is not addressed particularly to him, although it concerns him and I would be glad if he would stop and think about it, but to the same average working class man I have addressed before.

Let us suppose that one hundred men in our class, working in a factory, receive each \$10 a week. The entire product of the labor of these men in a week is worth \$5,000 to the owner of the factory. The owner pays out \$1,000 for the labor which was necessary to produce the things. He sells the product for \$5,000 and has a profit of \$4,000 on the transaction. Doing business the year round on the same basis, he pays out \$52,000 for labor and, if he disposes of the product, receives \$260,000 a profit of \$208,000 for the year. The

profit on each man's labor per week is \$40.

Now, can you tell me why each of the one hundred workmen should get only \$10 a week and the employer make a profit of \$40 off his labor? Can you tell me why the income of the workmen should be \$520 a year, while that of the employer is \$208,000?

"But the employer has other expenses!" Very well, what are they? We want to be fair. Will all the running expenses for a week exceed an amount more than twice the cost of labor? Probably not. It is almost certain they will not, isn't it? Yes. Then their employer who sells the product of one hundred men's labor each week for \$5,000 pays out \$1,000 for labor and \$2,000 for all other expenses (a big allowance surely!) is actually making a profit of \$2,000 a week, that is to say, if he sells the goods, his yearly income is \$104,000. This income for a single year is equal to all the wages of one hundred men for two years. The employer's individual income per week is nearly four times that of each of the workers.

"But the employer has invested his capital in the business and is entitled to a fair return!" Is that it? Well, we want to be fair. Remember that the employer about whose interests you are solicitous has already drawn four times as much as any one of our hundred workmen. Now, we will say that his money capital invested in the business is \$20,000. The income on such an investment at 10 per cent would be only \$2,000. Let him have that and you think the equities have been dealt out all round, don't you? But, hold on! What about the rights of our hundred men to a return on their capital? You overlook that. If the employer is entitled to a return on his capital, why are not the workmen entitled to a return on theirs? All they have, all they get anywhere, is a wage dribble—\$10 a week—to live on!

Can you not see the flagrant injustice of the wage system? I say to you, there is no villainy in the world equal to the capitalist device known as wage labor. There is no escape for the average workingman from the murderous system of monopoly and capitalism by electing the candidate of one division of the capitalist party to sit in the place now occupied by the representative of the other division. There is hope only in overthrowing the power of capitalism at the ballot box and voting for the abolition of the wage system and production for private profit.

This you can do by voting for the Socialist Democratic party.

WHEN WILL UNIONISM DIE?

When the lion eats grass like an ox
And the fish-worm swallows the whale,
When the terapins knit woolen socks,
And the hare is outrun by the snail,
When the serpents walk upright like men
And the doodle bugs travel like frogs,
When grasshoppers feed on the hen
And feathers are found on the hogs,
When tom-cats swim in the air
And elephants roost upon trees,
When insects in summer are rare
And snuff never makes people sneeze,
When fish creep over dry land
And mules on bicycles ride,
When foxes lay eggs in the sand
And women in dress take no pride,
When Dutchmen no longer drink beer
And girls get to preaching in time,
When billy goats butt from the rear
And treason's no longer a crime,
When the humming bird brays like an ass
And limburger smells like cologne,
When ploughshares are made of cut glass
And the hearts of workmen are stone,
When ideas grow in jackasses' heads
And wool on the hydraulic ram—
Then unionism will be dead
And the country won't be worth a —
—Pittsburg Labor World.

AMONG THE RIGHTEOUS

"Let us talk about why we that produce nothing are rich, while those that produce everything are poor," said the Gentleman.
"It isn't true," said the Statistician.
"Nor new," said the Historian.
"Nor pleasant," said the Lady.
"Nor permanent," said the Benevolist.
"Nor profitable," said the Clergyman.
"Nor nothing," said the Politician.
"It may foster discontent," said the President, "and alienate—ahem—support from our institution. Let us discuss a subject agreeable to us all: 'The drink evil among the lower classes.'"
—Bolton Hall.

De Giers, whom the missionaries and the Chicago American had chopped up into pieces and boiled in a large kettle, has been appointed Russian minister to Paris. This ends one incident in the career of the twentieth century newspaper.

RISE OF SOCIALISM IN UNITED STATES

Its Seven Million Supporters Spread Over All the Belts and Zones of the Globe—Controlling Majorities Rapidly Organizing

SOCIALISM THE ONLY REMEDY

Equality of Rights and Opportunities for Every Human Being is the Party's Vital Fundamental Principle

Eugene V. Debs, in Independent

In the presidential election of 1892, the Socialist candidate received 21,512 votes; in the election in 1896 the vote was increased to 36,275 votes. The following two years witnessed an unprecedented spread of Socialist sentiment and in congressional and state elections of 1898 the Socialist candidates received 91,749 votes, an increase of almost 200 per cent in two years. But it must not be assumed that this vote represented the entire political strength of Socialists in the United States. In a number of states the election laws were such that the Socialist ticket could not be placed upon the official ballot, while in many districts the number of Socialists was so small and they were so widely scattered that no nominations were made and the Socialist vote was not polled.

The figures given are sufficient to indicate that in the United States, as in other countries, International Socialism is making tremendous strides and that its seven million supporters, spread over all the belts and zones of the globe, and the most active propagandists ever known, will in the next few years be multiplied into controlling majorities in all lands which have modern industry as the basis of their civilization, Socialism being wholly a question of economic development. This will mean the end of the present capitalist competitive system and the introduction of its economic successor, the Co-operative Commonwealth.

The movement is international because it is born of and follows the development of the capitalist system, which, in its operation, is confined to no country, but by the stimulus of modern agencies of production, exchange, communication and transportation, has overleaped all boundary lines and made the world the theater of its activities. By this process all the nations of the earth must finally be drawn into relations of industrial and commercial co-operation, as the economic basis of human brotherhood.

This is the goal of modern Socialism and it is that that inspires its disciples with the zeal and ardor of crusaders.

So much has been said and written of Socialism by persons who have no proper conception of its origin, its philosophy and its mission, or who, for reasons of their own, have resorted to wilful misrepresentation, that it is not strange that a great many people instinctively shrink from the merest mention of it, and look upon those who advocate this perfectly sane and scientific doctrine as the enemies of society, maliciously plotting to overthrow its cherished institutions.

What is Socialism? To answer in a single sentence, it means the collective ownership by all the people of all the means of wealth production and distribution. It is purely an economic question; the evolution of industry has developed Socialism. Man can only work, produce wealth, with tools. The mere hand tools of former times have become ponderous and very costly machines. These machines, Socialists contend, represent progressive social conceptions. These and the factories, mills, and shops in which they are housed, as well as the lands and mines from which the raw materials are drawn, are used in common by the workers, and in their very nature are marked for common ownership and control. Socialism does not propose the collective ownership of property, but of capital; that it to say, the instruments of wealth production, which, in the form of private property, enable a few capitalists to exploit vast numbers of workers, thus creating millionaires and mendicants and inaugurating class rule and all its odious and undemocratic distinctions.

The Social Democratic party is pledged to equal rights for all without reference to sex, color or other conditions. Equality of rights and opportunities for all human beings is the vital

Freedom Defined According To Social Democracy

A man is free if he has the means of livelihood and is assured in their possession; if he is independent of others.

But if he is dependent upon some other man for the means of earning a livelihood, he is not free.

Freedom is only occasionally a political affair, a civic affair; it is constantly a social affair, a pecuniary affair, an economic affair.

In a democracy no man is free without the means of livelihood.

—William Dean Howells.

(Continued on Second Page)

Social Democratic Herald

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board
FREDERIC HEATH Chairman
SKYMOOR STEEDMAN Secretary
EUGENE V. DEBS VICTOR L. BERGER
CORINNE S. BROWN

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, \$5.00. Six months, \$3.00. No papers sent to any one on credit. If, without having subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and no bill will follow. Foreign subscriptions \$1.00.

Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

A. S. EDWARDS, Editor
THEODORE DEBS, National Sec'y-Treas.
126 Washington St., Chicago.

114 is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 115 your subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, SEPT. 8, 1900.

NATIONAL TICKET Social Democratic Party

For President:
EUGENE V. DEBS.
For Vice-President:
JOB HARRIMAN.

Debs and Harriman, rah, rah, rah!
Debs and Harriman, rah, rah, rah!
Hoo-rah! Hoo-rah!
Socialist Candidates!
Rah, rah, rah!

ECONOMIC FREEDOM THE ISSUE

"If the Venetians had agreed with Garibaldi or with Italy, when they were united to it, that thenceforward all should be guaranteed the means of livelihood, they would really have all freed themselves. If the French revolution had established these conditions the first republic would still be one and indivisible. But the Venetians fancied it was enough to drive out the Austrians; the French thought to end all injustice by beheading the aristocrats."

In the above extract from an article by William Dean Howells the writer suggests the solution of the great labor question, the end for which Social Democrats work. All can be guaranteed the means of livelihood only as Socialism proposes, by the supplanting of the present mode of capitalist production with co-operative or socialized production, which involves the democratic administration of all industry for use instead of profit.

While the profit system lasts and one man is dependent upon another for an opportunity to gain a livelihood there cannot be freedom, no matter what the measure of political liberty enjoyed. The security and happiness of a people never has depended upon mere political rights. No true democracy is possible where mere political rights alone are taken into account. Just as the French "thought to end all injustice by beheading the aristocrats," so the Republican party in the United States hopes to quiet the rising discontent by finding foreign markets for the surplus products of the country, and the Democratic party proposes to behead the trusts. Both proposals are inadequate and must fail, even if both were put into operation.

The great question is one not of more political rights, but of larger economic freedom; every political reform proposed in the Republican and Democratic platforms might be carried out in good faith and to the limit of their possible benefits to the people, and then the question would be untouched, the problem unsolved, the people still groping in economic servitude.

There is a load upon the useful class in society—the working class, burdened imposed upon it by custom, law, and the inhumanities of the capitalist system, which can never be removed by any legislation enacted by a capitalist party. Not until the working class is organized into a party powerful enough to wrest the machinery of government from the control of the employing property class, is there any prospect whatever for the removal of the load. With fine phrases and false promises the class in possession of the modern facilities of production and exchange for profit will attempt, as has always been the case, to deceive and render docile the producers of wealth. But until the latter throw off their lethargy and see the gross injustice of the present mode of producing and distributing things necessary for man's well-being, they may depend upon it that no changes equal to human needs and the demands of a progressive civilization will be sanctioned by the class in control of the productive powers of society.

These changes must be inaugurated by the working class; and in this country a method is at hand to accomplish the first step. That method is to act together as citizens, using the one political right which is more important than all the rest—the right to vote—to hurl all capitalist parties from power, seize the government and transform it from a political bargain shop into an agency for the administration of all industry to nourish, enlighten, liberate and elevate all the people. This is the program and this is the object of the Social Democratic party. It is the only party that squarely confronts the issue of our times and offers the logical and

true solution. It is deserving of the support of the tricked and plundered laboring class of this country, and a vote for Debs and Harriman will count, not to maintain the privileges of the rich, but to affirm, and finally win, the rights of the poor.

COULTER'S CHANCE FOR RE-ELECTION

The views of the Brockton (Mass.) Daily Enterprise on the prospects for a re-election of the Socialist mayor of that city, Comrade Coulter, will interest Social Democrats. That paper says:

"In the latter days of August the politician's fancy lightly turns to thoughts of politics, especially locally considered. Within the last few days there has been a lot of talk along the streets on the political questions, and especially on the question of who shall be the next mayor. And it is a tribute to Mayor Coulter to say it is generally admitted that it will take a good man to beat him, and that a man who splits the republican strength to any perceptible degree is going to be beaten. This is the time for the republicans, if they want to win, to get together and unite on somebody who is strong and able and has the confidence of the voters."

AFRAID OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATS

The Essex County (Mass.) Republican has a bad case of fright, all on account of the Socialists. In its issue for August 25, it says:

"There are a crowd of cart tail orators preaching Socialism and anti-imperialism night and day, in the noon hours of the manufacturing establishments, and in the night time around gathering places of the workmen. They are gaining converts more rapidly than is for our good and a check should be put on them by beginning our rallies and awakening a feeling of interest in the issues before us."

"We do not pose as calamity howlers, but it is a shame to permit good men to become tied up in the 'isms' we have so many of, when a small effort in the right direction would turn them to the G. O. P."

"It is not so much for the presidential election that this sentiment will be noticed against us, as in the future state and county contests, when by a sudden move Essex county districts will send socialists to Beacon Hill."

"The socialists are the only live party at present and, without any newspaper talk, they are doing a powerful lot of missionary work. If continued, they will poll the largest vote in the history of their organization this fall."

HOW WORKINGMEN SHOULD VOTE

There is no doubt in the mind of the editor of the Miners' Magazine as to where workingmen should be found in the coming election, as witness the following from the August number:

"The untutored democracy met in Kansas City and nominated candidates for president and vice president, after ignoring the Populists and Silver Republicans."

"We have read the platform and we fail to find one word in reference to the action of President McKinley and Governor Steunenberg in maintaining martial law in the Coeur d'Alenes and compelling workmen to obtain a permit from an employee of the Standard Oil Company and a representative of the state of Idaho before they are permitted to work in the district."

"There is no question of so much importance to the people of the United States as the right to seek employment, and especially working men. Notwithstanding this fact, we see the democrats assemble in convention and ignore it, which is practically an acknowledgment of their indorsement."

"We fail to distinguish any difference between the Republican and Democratic parties."

"Both have failed to do anything for the working people, and in view of this fact we see no reason why working men have any cause for rejoicing over the democratic platform."

"Eugene V. Debs and Job Harriman have done more for the laboring people than all the politicians in the two old parties, and deserve the vote of every workingman of the United States."

The Los Angeles Record tells an interesting story, which just at this time may be of interest to people in this city. When the democrats of Los Angeles were preparing for their recent grand ratification meeting the "finance committee" called on H. Gaylord Wilshire, at present the Socialist nominee for Congress, for a contribution.

"Well," said Mr. Wilshire, "I am a Socialist; why do you come to me for funds for a democratic ratification meeting?"

"Oh," said the speaker of the committee, "the democrats sympathize very strongly with the Socialist movement. We expect many Socialists to vote for our candidate because of our stand regarding trusts."

"All right," said our Socialist friend; "if the democrats are in sympathy with our movement, allow me to speak for ten minutes at the ratification meeting and I will donate \$100."

The offer was refused, and soon the story found its way into the papers.—People's Paper, Santa Barbara, Cal.

NOTES AND COMMENT

Does McKinley carry a union card? Or Bryan? Nary! The only union card carried by a candidate for president is in the pocket of Eugene Debs. Make the union card count this year by preparing your ballot for the candidate of the Social Democratic party. This YOU can do in the seclusion of the voting booth. Take the "gaff" of the politician, but vote right.

"Stand by the union label!" Good enough. How about standing by the union card too, boys? Wouldn't that be a good thing to do? There is only one candidate for president who carries a union card. His name is Eugene Debs. The Social Democratic party stands by the label every time. Will trades unionists stand by the union card?

A letter received at headquarters from Comrade H. Bennett of Melbourne, Australia, says there has from the beginning been vigorous opposition to the South African war, a fact that has been systematically suppressed by the capitalist press. The Socialists of the country are unanimously against the course pursued by Great Britain.

Who said something about the freedom of "niggers" in the Philippines? Democrats, of course. And who disfranchised the "nigger" in North Carolina? The Democrats. Are you going to be fooled by Democrats who throttle liberty in North Carolina and babble about it in Asia?

James R. Keene, the Czar of Wall Street and the unchallenged King of speculation, was for McKinley in 1896, he gave \$40,000 toward the Republican campaign. Today he is for Bryan. Are YOU going to be fooled again?

There is only one way to bring peace on earth and good will among men. It is by rooting out and casting on the rubbish pile the system that makes war and ill-will by robbing the producers of four-fifths of their product.

"Socialism is not practical." Certainly not; the only practical system is one that robs the working class of all it produces except a dribble of wages to live on. But you'll learn a few things by and by.

If the "ardent Socialists" in the fusion ranks of Kansas (and elsewhere) vote the Social Democratic ticket there will be no division. If there is division the responsibility will be on the "ardent."

A prominent state official of North Dakota declares his belief that Social Democrats will poll over 5,000 votes in that state in November.

IN THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

There is a Field for Every Earnest
Thoughtful Man—Come Over
and Help Us

Socialists have been hammering away at you to get you to vote for Socialism. Time and again you have been shown clearly that you have nothing to gain and much to lose by voting the old party tickets. Yet despite the simplicity of the Socialist proposition, thousands are yet groping in the dark and despairingly voting first one old ticket and then the other in the vague hope of relieving the terrible condition of things which is plain to them, but whose cause seems to elude them. Thus all around us democrats are turning republican and republicans are voting with the democrats this year—vaguely, pathetically hopeful. What a portentous omen is this surrendering of old political affiliations!

The Rev. G. H. Hepworth of Long Beach, Long Island, is one of the great throng of perplexed, and recently he wrote to Grover Cleveland for an expression of his opinion on the political situation. But Mr. Cleveland declined to do so because, he said, it would not have much weight, and besides, he also said he is by no means free from the perplexities that afflicted thousands of others!

O men! can you not see that it is capitalism which you must smite a mighty blow? Can you not see that it is the real cause of the trouble in the Orient, and, in fact, all over the earth? In the language of the Rev. William T. Brown, "Plutocracy stands squarely across the pathway of the world's progress and must be supplanted with a new and better method. If we could only reach these bewildered ones with simple Socialist literature, so that they could understand that Socialism is not robbery nor yet philanthropy, but simple justice! And we must do this reaching out and educating, for the average daily paper hates Socialism as the devil does holy water, and reading it only strengthens their prejudice. Only lately a Chicago daily called Socialism 'dividing up!' In spite of this tremendous handicap, however, our movement is gaining strength. People are turning with disgust from old-party promises, evasions, subterfuge and clap-trap and welcoming Socialism with open arms and sighs of relief. They

have come to the parting of the ways. They now begin to see that Socialism is not a terrible monster, but rather clear-eyed, robust, actually charming on closer view, courageous, and not to be bullied or roughly hustled out of the way—the friend and refuge of those who really desire "Thy kingdom come, thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven."

Reader, did you ever watch the faces of the people on our streets? How few really fine and attractive ones there are! The majority are marred by lines of worry, avarice, greed, despair, discontent, traceable directly or indirectly to our awful competitive system which forces men and women to do things that are not only distasteful but positively immoral. Think of the thousands of adults and children who are seldom able to fully gratify other's hunger and who actually die hungry! Now, suppose these hampering influences were removed and more of co-operation injected into our national life; suppose these harried, wearied wretches could be relieved of the fear of want—assured of work and peaceful plenty as long as they lived. Don't you think the national life would be stronger and higher? Of course it would, for the whole are elevated when ever one person is improved. Then come and help us, for truly the harvest is great and the laborers are few. The people are beset by thieves and robbers, and the priests and Levites are "passing by on the other side," as of old! The Lord's work is being done now, as then, not so much in the great stained-glass temples as outside, by persons who are not of the "elect" and who are actually "unfashionable."

Help us, then, to work for Brotherhood, which is "Religion by her deeper name."

VIVEKA.

THE RISE OF SOCIALISM

(Continued from First page)

fundamental principle of Socialism. It aims to establish economic equality by making all equal proprietors of the means upon which all depend for employment, and without which there can be no "life, liberty and pursuit of happiness." This insures economic freedom for every human being. As no one would have private property in that upon which another depended for employment, industrial mastery and slavery would disappear together and competition for profit would give way to co-operation for use.

The rapidly changing economic conditions are paving the way for the transition from competitive capitalism to co-operative Socialism. Socialists are simply indicating the trend of the evolution, and seeking to prepare the way for its orderly reception. The coming of Socialism is with them not a debatable question. That is not a matter of doubt or conjecture, but a scientific calculation.

The evolution of the social organism is a fact in nature. In the ceaseless process one state of society follows another in the sequence of succession. Capitalism, the present system, was warmed into life in the womb of feudalism and sprang from that medieval system. Within the span of two centuries this system, has practically reached the climax of its development and the marvelous material progress of that period exceeds the achievements of all the centuries since the slaves of Pharaoh built the pyramids.

The rapid centralization of capital and the extensive co-operation of labor mark the high state of our economic development. Individual initiative and competitive effort are becoming less and less possible. The day of small production has passed never to return. Notwithstanding the outcry, trusts and department stores, these great modern agencies, increase in number and power. They are the inevitable outgrowth of the competitive system. The efforts of small capitalists to destroy trusts will prove as fruitless as the efforts of workingmen to destroy labor saving machines when first introduced in the last century.

Socialists take the ground that the trust in itself is not an evil, that the evils lie wholly in the private ownership, and its operation for private profit. The remedy is collective ownership and they propose to transfer all such agencies from private hands to the collectivity, to be managed and operated for the good of all.

Ignoring all such alleged issues as "expansion," "imperialism," "free silver," "gold standard," "protection," "free trade," etc., the Social Democratic party declares that economic freedom is the supreme question that confronts the people. A century and a quarter ago the revolution settled the question of political equality in the United States. But since then an industrial revolution has taken place and political equality exists in name only, while the great mass struggle in economic servitude. The working class are dependent upon the capitalist class, who own the machines and other means of production; and the latter class, by virtue of their economic mastery, are the ruling class of the nation, and it is idle under such conditions to claim that men are equal and that all are sovereign citizens. No man is free in any just sense who has to rely upon the arbitrary will of another for the opportunity to work. Such a man works, and therefore lives, by permission, and

this is the economic relation of the working class to the capitalist class in the present system.

In the last century millions of workers were exploited of the fruit of their labor under the institution of chattel slavery. Work being done by hand, ownership of the slave was a condition necessary to his exploitation. But chattel slavery disappeared before the march of industrial evolution, and today would be an economic impossibility. It is no longer necessary to own the body of the workman in order to appropriate the fruit of his labor; it is only necessary to own the tool with which he works, and without which he is helpless. This tool in its modern form is a vast machine which the worker cannot afford to buy, and against which he cannot compete with his bare hands, and in the very nature of the situation he is at the mercy of the owner of the machine, his employment is precarious, and his very life is suspended by a slender thread.

Then, again, the factory and mine are operated for profit only and the owner can, and often does, close it down at will, throwing hundreds, perhaps thousands, out of employment who, with their families, are as helpless as if in the desert wastes of Sahara. The recent shut-down of the American Wire and Steel trust in the interest of stock jobbery presented a startling object lesson of economic dependence of the working class.

The few who own the machines do not use them. The many who use them do not own them. The few who own them are able to exploit the many who use them; hence a few millionaires and many mendicants, extreme opulence and abject poverty, princely palaces and hideous huts, riotous extravagance and haggard want, constituting social scenes sickening to contemplate, and in the presence of which the master hand of Hugo or Dickens is palsied and has no mission.

The Social Democratic party is organizing in every village and hamlet, every town and city of every state and territory of the union. It has held its national convention, its candidates are in the field, and it is appealing to the American people. It will neither fuse nor compromise. It proposes to press forward, step by step, until it conquers the political power and secures control of government.

This will mark the end of the capitalist system. The factories and mills and mines, the railroads and telegraph and telephone, and all other means of production and distribution will be transferred to the people in their collective capacity, industry will be operated co-operatively, and every human being will have the "inalienable right" to work and to enjoy the fruit of his labor. The hours of labor will be reduced according to the progress of invention. Rent, interest and profit will be no more. The sordid spirit of commercial conquest will be dead. War and its ravages will pass into history. Economic equality will have triumphed, labor will stand forth emancipated, and the sons and daughters of men will glorify the triumphs of Social Democracy.

Terre Haute, Ind.

IN THE CITY STREETS

All Mary Paulson asks is a chance to earn her bread. This she has done the greater part of her threescore years and ten. Now the almshouse stares her in the face.

Only a few nights ago this poor old creature slept under the open sky. Now she occupies a dingy cell at the Desplaines street station.

Doubtless the policemen who brought her there considered it an act of charity. Perhaps it was. But to be charged with being "disorderly" when one is simply friendless and homeless seems hard.

Until last week Mrs. Paulson was not without a home. One small room out in North Western avenue was all that her heart desired. She did not think it hardship to work long, hot hours over washtub and board to keep this roof over her aged head.

Last week this poor washerwoman was evicted from the miserable room she called a home. She and her few wretched belongings were set upon the street. Her landlady did not mean to be cruel. She, too, belonged to the laboring class, and if her tenants failed to pay their rent it meant that she might lose her little all.

"I can work as well as any one, even if I do look old," this unfortunate creature told me through her native tongue, through Matron Ahlbeck, whose countrywoman she is. "I may be old, too; but I can work as good as though I was only 25, if I can only get it to do. That is all I want, just work. I have done washing and ironing ever since I came to this country from Norway years ago, and I can support myself, as I always have done, if I can only get places to work in. Then I can again have a room, if I can only find my furniture."

"People are so queer," she announced, as she came and grasped the iron bars for a moment and peered out at me. Then, as she wandered back to her forlorn-looking property, she added: "And they are deceitful, too. They all tell me that they will give me work. Then I am glad, but when I get to their houses they either have no work for any one to do, or they have given it to some one else."

LIEBKNECHT'S FUNERAL

Never Did Kaiser or King Hold Such a Reception at their Death—No Such Scene Ever Before Witnessed in Europe

(Herbert Burrows, in Justice)

The saddest, but at the same time the most glorious and inspiring function I have ever witnessed, is over, and our comrade, Wilhelm Liebknecht is at rest in his honored grave.

Delegated by the Executive Committee of the S. D. F. to attend the funeral, I left London on Friday night accompanied by our comrade, Saunders Jacobs, who had also been appointed to attend by our Stratford branch, Mrs. Jacobs, and their little boy, who was to receive his baptism of continental Socialism. With heavy hearts we arrived at Berlin. To me the sense of personal loss grew keener as we neared Charlottenburg, and it was with a sinking heart that I climbed the stairs to the well-known and modest fourth-floor flat in the Kantstrasse. Many times before had Liebknecht cheerily accompanied me, and now the home he loved so well was desolate. I took with me the wreath, which I had brought from the executive of red and white flowers, with Liebknecht's initials in red geraniums in the center. The dead man's small study, with its piles of papers, where so many well-known men and women had sat and talked with him, was strangely still and silent, and the air was laden with the almost overpowering scent of the innumerable wreaths and flowers which had already been sent from all parts of Europe. By the actual time of the funeral five thousand of these had arrived, and the Berlin postoffice states that never for Kaiser or for king had such a wealth of flowers passed through their hands. Of Mrs. Liebknecht and the family it is, of course, impossible for me more than briefly to speak. In tears they clasped hands and welcomed me as the bearer of affection and sympathy from the England which husband and father had loved so well.

Afterwards I went on to the Vorwaerts office to learn the actual arrangements for the next day. Here, as always, the calm strength of the German Socialist party forcibly struck me. Intense grief, but no hurry, no flurry, everything down to the last detail thoroughly arranged, and work proceeding as quietly and regularly as usual. I learned that from nearly all the countries in Europe representatives had arrived, and that for the morrow an enormous gathering was expected.

And so it proved. Let me say once for all that the whole funeral is indescribable. No written or spoken words can convey any sense whatever of its simplicity, its grandeur, and its strength, for that latter word is the best I can use. From seven o'clock this morning tens of thousands of people from all parts of Germany poured into Berlin, and when we reached Charlottenburg we found a living sea of humanity. Once more we ascended to Liebknecht's rooms to take a last farewell. In his sitting room we found him reposing on the lid of the coffin, covered with wreaths. At his feet the inscription in bronze which was presented to him by his fellow Reichstag members on his seventieth birthday. The body had been partially embalmed, and the face was covered. It would have been sacrilege to have disturbed that covering, and personally I felt that I would rather remember him as I knew him living, with cheery face and laughing eye. A moment we stood, and then we joined at a rendezvous the leaders of the party, the Vorwaerts staff, and the foreign delegates. Then, led by Paul Singer, we wended our way to the house and waited for the sad commencement. Presently hushed hushed noted that Liebknecht had begun his last journey. Never can I forget that journey. We had to march ten miles from the west to the east of Berlin. In long procession 100,000 men and women guarded the body, and in the streets it is no exaggeration to say that a million more must have been present. For the whole of the ten miles, on both sides of the streets, they stood always as deep, and in many instances twenty. As we passed the side streets we saw that as far as the eye could reach they were also full. Every window, and every one of the balconies for which Berlin is famous, had its own crowd.

Even the police, who for once with admirable discretion had almost effaced themselves, leaving to the people the management for one day of their own business, acknowledged that never had Kaiser or king held such a royal reception in their death. No such scene had ever taken place in Europe. Our French comrades said that the nearest approach to it was the funeral of Victor Hugo.

The hearse was followed by the Socialist members of the Reichstag, headed by Bebel and Singer, whose faces were white and drawn with pain. Then came the Socialist municipal councillors, the foreign delegates, the Vorwaerts' staff and representatives from the cities of Germany. It shows the bitter feeling of the bourgeoisie when I mention that not a single member of any of the other political parties in the Reichstag openly attended the funeral. But the dead man did without them, as he had done while

living. We were told that there were six bands in the procession but we heard not a drum nor a funeral note. The concourse was too enormous. Nothing for hours but the steady ceaseless tramp of conscious Socialism, and it was the music of that which, could Liebknecht have heard it, he would have valued above all else.

As the evening shadows began to lengthen we learned that ahead of us was another procession of Liebknecht's constituents. A mile from the cemetery gates we found that, with their wives and children, thousands of them (he gained over 60,000 votes at his last election) had lined each side of the road and were waiting for us with bared heads. And so the body of their loved leader, member, and friend passed through a human aqueduct, the living walls of which were his personal friends.

We turned at last into the peaceful dwelling of the dead. The cemetery is a communal one belonging to the city of Berlin, and it was chosen because in it the police had no power to prevent speaking.

Into the little hall, which would only hold about 200 of us, the coffin, a wooden one encased in a massive copper sarcophagus, was reverently carried and placed in an alcove which was embroidered in ivy and laurel and lit by scores of massive wax candles. By this time the growing strain had become intense, and it culminated when from an ante-room we heard the notes of a weird funeral dirge exquisitely sung by an invisible workmen's Socialist choir. The undercurrent of sobs from men and women was almost a relief, for the strain was growing too great to be borne. Gently Singer beckoned the foreign delegates to take their places by him, and then Liebel stepped to the side of the coffin and delivered the funeral oration over the body of him who for thirty-five years had been his closest intimate and friend. Broken by emotion, his words told of the dead man's character and work and of what in him we had lost. Then in quick and brief succession Adler, his spare form quivering with emotion; Lafargue, with passionate declamation for revolutionary Socialism; Gerault-Richard; myself, with our message of sympathy from England; Anseele, with his fervid Belgic eloquence, and comrades from Holland, Denmark, Switzerland, Hungary, Poland, all voiced, not merely lamentations, but hope for the Socialism of tomorrow. Then another dirge, and slowly we took our way to the grave. In the rays of the setting sun the procession twined in and out of the winding paths, and through the green trees the sheen of the coffin and the red of the wreath ribbons gleamed, curiously enough, like a rosy dawn, typical of what the Socialism for which Liebknecht had lived and died should yet be. The closing and impressive oration at the grave was delivered by Singer. Two more songs by the choir, with a growing note of triumph in them, the countless wreaths, their ribbons detached to be given to Madame Liebknecht, were piled in picturesque confusion, and at last Liebknecht, the old soldier of the revolution, was at rest, as he would have wished, under the benedictions of his comrades and friends. For hours the vast crowd filed silently past with bared heads to take the last look at their leader, comrade and friend.

THE POOR MAN'S CHANCES FOR FREEDOM

By William Dean Howells

As to what empowers you to self-sacrifice, renders you responsible, makes you free, it is commonly supposed to be the citizenship of a free country.

But this is very questionable; freedom by no means follows from such a citizenship.

In the first place, there seem to be as yet no free countries in the world; there seem to be only freer countries; and not every citizen of a free country is a free man.

He is a free man if he has the means of livelihood, and is assured in their possession; if he is independent of others.

But if he is dependent upon some other man for the means of earning a livelihood, he is not free.

Freedom, in fact, which in its highest effect is self-sacrifice, and of the skies, is chained to the earth in the question of necessity, as certainly as the soul is chained to the earth in the body.

It is only occasionally a political affair, a civic affair; it is constantly a social affair, a pecuniary affair, an economic affair.

It is true that in a tyranny the richest are not free; but in a democracy not only is no man free without the means of livelihood, but the richer man is always freer than the poorer man, as he is in every state.

The failure of most revolts, even such as have permanently displaced an oppression, has been their failure to recognize this fact.

If the Venetians had agreed with Garibaldi when he came (he did not come in person, of course), or with Italy when they were united to it, that thenceforward all should be guaranteed the means of livelihood, they would really have all freed themselves.

If the French revolution had estab-

lished these conditions, the first republic would still be one and indivisible.

But the Venetians fancied it was enough to drive out the Austrians; the French thought to end all injustice by beheading the aristocrats.

Even the Americans believed they had ordained universal freedom when they had thrown off their old allegiance to England, abolished titles, given every one the suffrage, and made their prince elective.

In each case something was gained, but it was not liberty for all.

Italy is now a freer country, or at least a freer government, and I do not suppose there are many Italians who would wish back the old despotisms; but probably most Italians under their crushing burden of taxation are now less free than they were under their alien masters.

The Venetians during their demonstration believed that if the Austrians were driven out the people would be free, just as the French during their revolution believed that if the aristocrats were killed the people would govern.

But I fancy none of the gay visions of the Venetians have been quite verified; they have got general progress, but not general prosperity. It is well that the Austrians are away, but the mass of the Venetians are sensibly no freer, have no more freedom of choice, no more power of self-sacrifice, than when the Austrians were in Venice.

We believe that a republic is a freer country than a monarchy; certainly a president is less absurd than a king, as a personification of the popular will, and doubtless such liberty as men now have is safer under democratic forms and with an elective chief.

At the same time it looks very much as if the great mass of people in every existing state were sacrificed to others without the power to sacrifice themselves.—From Chicago American.

LIGHT, MORE LIGHT

A Suggestion to Socialist Societies and Branches of the Social Democratic Party.

By Isador Ladoff

Eighth Lesson—The Progress of Democracy—Governmental Efforts to Check Aggressive Liberalism; the Recognition of Inter-Dependence of Political and Industrial Revolution—The Influence of Hegelianism and Organization of National Reform Movements—French Revolution of 1830; Agitation for Constitutions—The Press Laws Under Louis Philippe—The Revolution of 1848; Republicans and Socialists—The Right of Labor the Outcome of the Agitations—(Books: Mueller, "Recent Political History of Europe.")

Ninth Lesson—Later Criticisms—Scientific Socialism Formulated Its Principles; Rodbertus and Marx; Marx's History of Economic Evolution; His Theory of Value; Of Average Social Labor; Lassalle, the Agitator; His New Political Party and Its Program—Social Democracy—Since Lassalle—Russian Nihilism in Its Early and Later Phases—The International, Its Aims and Fate—Anarchism as Distinguished From Anarchy—The French Commune—(Books: Rae, "Contemporary Socialism"; Gide, "Political Economy"; Laveleye, "Socialism of Today"; Ely, "French and German Socialism"; Schaeffle, "Quintessence of Socialism"; Krapotkin, "Autobiography of a Revolutionary," in Atlantic Monthly, 1899.)

Tenth Lesson—The Churches and Higher Educational Institutions and Socialism—The Humanitarian Movement in England and Its Leaders—The Catholic Movement—The Protestant Movement in Germany—General Characteristics of Christian Socialism—The Professional Socialists and Their Program—Recent Tendencies: The Institutional Churches; College Settlements; University Extension—The Fabian Society—(Books: Rae, "Contemporary Socialism"; Laveleye, "Socialism of Today"; Ely, "French and German Socialism"; Gide, "Political Economy"; Ely, "Socialism and Social Reform"; Woods, "English Social Movements.")

Eleventh Lesson—Economic Experiments in Industry—Co-Operation. Profit Sharing; Trusts, Department Stores—The Consumers' League—Eight-Hour Movement and Union Label—Tenement House Reform—(Books: Ely, "Problems of Today"; Gilman, "Profit Sharing.")

Twelfth Lesson—Legislative Tendencies—Progress of Manhood Suffrage—Common School System of the United States—English School Legislation—Public Education in Germany and Other Continental Countries—Liberalism in England and the United States—Legislation of Second Epoch Reform; Reforms in Land Tenure—Bismarck and State Functions in Germany. (Books: McCarthy, "History of Our Own Times"; Ely, "Conflicts of Labor and Capital"; Laveleye, "Socialism of Today"; John Stuart Mill, "Political Economy"; Gide, "Political Economy"; International Journal of Ethics, Vol. I and II; Dawson, "Prince Bismarck and State Socialism"; Bismarck Autobiography.)

(Continued Next Week.)

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN SONG

By E. M. Stangland, Chicago.

We are coming, Debs and Harriman, one million voters strong;
We come from shops and mines, from fields and plains with joy and song;
We'll teach the ruling class a point on how to right the wrong,
While we are marching on.

Chorus: Hall the Social Revolution!
Cheer the Peaceful Revolution!
Speed the Coming Revolution—
The Brotherhood of Man.

Men and women, children, too, are crying out for bread,
In their faces hopeless misery and sorrow can be read;
We will tell them to be cheerful, we will say: "Lift up your head,
For we are marching on!"

Our mission is to introduce the glorious commonwealth
And give each one an equal chance in pleasure, work and health;
No dukes nor idle parasites to plunder us by stealth,
For we are marching on.

Our army is composed of men who do the world's work,
In realms of brawn and realms of brain the task we do not shrink;
We have no use for swords or pistols, cannon, powder, dirk,
When we are marching on.

We'll give you, Debs and Harriman, ten hundred thousand votes,
We'll make the welkin ring again with our triumphant notes;
We'll make the politician ask what all this noise denotes
When we are marching on.

The night of competition is about to pass away,
The Brotherhood of Man will bring us all a happy day;
'Twill break the chains of slavery and misery alloy,
And we are marching on.

The day of small things now has passed, the trusts intend to stay,
But our Universal Trust will take the trusts some day;
We'll all be in it, we'll be in it, we'll sing and shout hurrah!
While we are marching on.

Republicans and democrats we equally will doubt,
The one kills niggers far away, the other in the south;
False friends they are to working men we long ago found out,
And we are marching on.

With charity to all mankind and malice toward none,
We yet remember Homestead strike and later Hazelton,
And Bull pens, too—we keep account till victory is won,
While we are marching on.

Then, comrades, let us work and vote for Debs and Harriman,
Roll up the vote, keep up the work from Maine to Rio Grande;
Wage slavery must cease and men be free throughout the land,
For we are marching on.

Chorus: Hall the Social Revolution!
Cheer the Peaceful Revolution!
Speed the Coming Revolution—
The Brotherhood of Man.

GRAND SOCIALIST DEMONSTRATION

EUGENE V. DEBS

WILL OPEN THE

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN

AT CHICAGO

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 29TH

SEE ANNOUNCEMENT ELSEWHERE

LOCAL BRANCHES

Notices of Branch Meetings Inserted for 25 Cents per Month

CALIFORNIA

Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evenings, commencing at 8. Admission free. Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening. Social Democrat Herald free to each member, 25 cents per month. Apply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk Street.

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock at Woodmen's Hall, 124 1/2 Spring St. J. Francis, 700 Dayton Ave., Secretary.

COLORADO

Branch No. 1, Denver, meets every Sunday at 8:00 p. m. at 1118 California Ave., Chas. M. Davis, Secretary, 1223 17th Street.

Branch No. 3, Goldenfield, meets every Sunday at 7:30 p. m., at City Hall, Chas. La Camp, Secretary.

CONNECTICUT

The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at 2 p. m., at P. Schaffer's, 1039 Main St., Hartford. Louis Schaffer, Sec., 36 Spring St., Rockyville, Conn.

Branch No. 3, New Haven, meets every Wednesday evening, at 8 p. m., at Aurora Hall, C. Volmer, Sec. Branch No. 4, Bridgeville, Conn., meets first and third Thursdays at Turn Hall meeting room, Village Street. Secretary, Richard Niederwerfer, Box 760.

ILLINOIS

Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 32 Dearborn Street.

Branch No. 1, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening, Thomas Kirwin, Secretary, 2604 Westworth Ave.

Branch No. 2 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets first and third Saturday at 8 p. m. at Nagel's Hall, 335 Blue Island Ave. Ferdinand Svoboda, Secretary, 694 West 18th Street.

Branch No. 3 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Mondays at 8 p. m. in Dunder's place, 1809 W. 18th place, Joseph Dunder, Secretary.

Branch No. 4, Chicago, meets second and fourth Sunday at 8 o'clock at Nagel's Hall, 335 Blue Island Ave. near 18th St. Albin Gelsier, Secretary, 756 W. 30th St.

Branch No. 5 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets second and fourth Sunday at 8 p. m., at 5022 Line Street, J. A. Ambros, Secretary, 4940 Wood Street.

Branch No. 6, Chicago, meets at 1145 W. 63rd St., first and third Saturday at 8 p. m. Gus Larson, Secretary, 6243 Center Avenue.

INDIANA

Branch No. 6, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichwein's Hall, corner Market and Noble Sts. Address all communications to the Sec. of State Executive Board, Thomas Cation, 617 Arbor Ave., Secretary, 81 Prospect St.

IOWA

Branch No. 2, Hitegan, meets every fourth Friday in the month at opera house, James Baxter, chairman, Wm. Truman, secretary, Box 151.

KENTUCKY

Branch No. 4, Bellevue, meets 1st and 3rd Sunday, at 2 p. m., and 2nd and 4th Wednesday at 8 p. m., at 91 Fairfield Ave. We will aim to make it interesting for all. Henry Listerman, Sec., 125 Foote Ave.

MASSACHUSETTS

Branch No. 5, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Tuesday of each month at Springfield Turner Hall, Carl Schwabe, Organizer, 25 Jackson St.

Branch No. 6, Lynn, permanent headquarters, 71 Monroe St. Business meeting every Monday night at 7:30. Open house. Public invited. Harry Gotsdiner, Sec., 43 Essex St.

Branch No. 9, Brockton, meets Friday nights at 8 p. m. for business at Socialists Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Center Sts. Every comrade is expected to attend one meeting a month. Mrs. Annie Borworth, Secretary, 81 Prospect St.

Branch No. 22, Roxbury, Mass., meets at 24 Warren St., 2nd and 4th Fridays of every month. Public invited

MICHIGAN

Branch No. 1, Battle Creek, Mich., meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of each month at 3 p. m. at 10 W. Main Street, in the International Congress Hall. All are cordially invited. L. C. Rogers, Secretary.

MINNESOTA

Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Gesswein on Main St. A. Kingsbury, Secretary.

MISSOURI

Branch No. 7, Kansas City, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1200 Union Ave. G. J. Storz, Secretary, 1230 W. 9th St.

MONTANA

Branch No. 1, Butte, meets every Thursday, at 8:30 p. m., Engineers' Hall, Owsley Block. G. Frankel, Sec. 71 E. Park Street.

Branch No. 2 meets first and third Sundays of each month at G. W. Wood's home, Chico, Mont.

NEW JERSEY

Branch No. 1, Secretary, Michael W. Schor, 87 Livingston St.

Branch No. 5, Camden, N. J., meets every 2d Sunday of the month. For particulars address Paul Eberding, 1298 Knight's Avenue.

Branch No. 3 (German) Newark, meets every third Saturday, at International Hall, 7 Bedford St. Hartwig, Secretary, 7 Bedford St.

Branch No. 6 (German), Paterson, N. J., meets first and third Mondays at 8 p. m. at Hevelia Hall, 34-36 Van Houten St. Karl Linder, Secretary, 348 Edmond St.

NEW YORK

The City Central Action Committee of Greater New York, meets every second Tuesday at 412 Grand Street, Windsor Hall. James Allman, Secretary, 32 Suffolk St. care of "Forward."

East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every first and third Thursday at 113 Chittos St. A. Guyer, Secretary, 128 Suffolk St.

Branch No. 5 Brooklyn, New York, meets every Saturday at 8 p. m., at 56 Moore St. Visitation welcome. Comrades desiring to organize should communicate with Secretary Sol. Prossman, 190 Boerum St.

Branch No. 6, New York, meets every Friday, at 8 p. m., 202 E. Broadway. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Organizer, Joseph Williams, 56 Henry St.

OHIO

Branch No. 4, Cincinnati, meets at Richelson Hall southeast corner 9th and Plum Sts., every Sunday at 3 p. m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Joe. Main, Secretary, 1410 Central Avenue.

Branch No. 1, Philadelphia, meets every Monday, at 8 p. m., at 423 E. 3rd Street, until further notice.

Branch No. 4, Coudersport, meets every second and last Wednesday of each month in E. of L. Hall. Chas. Knispel, Chairman; L. H. Morse, Secretary, Ben. Codington, Treasurer.

Branch No. 5, Philadelphia, meets first Friday of each month—Executive meetings every Sunday morning, at E. D. P. Club Rooms, at 423 E. Third St. Organizer, M. Gillis, 1007 S. Third St.

Branch No. 10, Milwaukee, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2 p. m., in Social Labor Hall, No. 75 East 3d St. G. E. Smith, chairman; Jas. Lyon, secretary, 743 Second St. Public invited.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee Central Committee, S. D. P., meets second and fourth Monday of the month at Brewers' Hall, southeast corner Fourth and Chestnut Sts.

Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets at Keller's Hall, Fourth Street, between State and Prairie, every second and fourth Thursday evening.

Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Friday in Gieske's Hall, corner Green Bay and Concordia Ave.

Branch No. 3, Sheboygan, meets every second Thursday of the month at Emil Henschel's place, 1011 Michigan St. Secretary, Eugene F. Eichenberger, 1701 N. 11th Street.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday of each month at Keller's Hall, corner 2nd and Brown Sts. George Moerschke, Secretary, 291 25th St.

Branch No. 5, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at R. Siegel's Hall, south east corner Orchard St. and 9th Ave. O. Wild, Secretary, 1125 2nd St.

Branch No. 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of each month at Volkmann's Hall, 21 and Center St., 8 p. m. Secretary, Rudolph Loeschman, 1125 2nd St.

Branch No. 23, Milwaukee, meets second and fourth Wednesday of each month, at 524 Clark Street. Henry Hachtel, Sec., 1074 7th Street.

Have your card inserted in the BRANCH DIRECTORY, 25 Cents per Month. It will help you in the work in your locality.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

CAMPAIGN OF 1900

THE PARTY.

The Social Democratic Party was organized at Chicago, June 11, 1898. It is the party that elected the first Socialist mayor of American cities, at Haverhill and Brockton, Mass., and in different sections of the country not less than thirty members of the party have been elected to public positions.

ITS METHOD.

Five or more members can organize a branch of the Social Democratic Party. Any reputable person subscribing to the principles of the organization is eligible to membership. Desiring to organize a branch, application should be made to the national secretary for copies of the constitution, which should be placed in the hands of prospective members. In these will be found the declaration of principles, as also the laws of the organization.

ITS OBJECT.

First—The organization of the working class into a political party to conquer the public powers now controlled by capitalists. Second—The abolition of wage-slavery by the establishment of a national system of co-operative industry, based upon the social or common ownership of the means of production and distribution, to be administered by society in the common interest of all its members, and the complete emancipation of the socially useful classes from the domination of capitalism. TRADES UNIONISM. The trades union is the arena where all wage-workers may be brought together for joint action to resist the encroachments of capitalism on the economic field and to participate in the class struggle of the proletariat which will finally develop into the political alignment of the forces of labor in the struggle for emancipation.

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

ROBERT MEISTER, Chairman
JOSEPH R. FINN, Treasurer
SEYMOUR STEDMAN, Secretary
Address, 126 Washington St., Chicago.

FINANCE COMMITTEE

EDWARD ZEIGLER, Chairman
JOSEPH R. FINN, Treasurer
JAMES WRIGHT, Secretary
Address, 126 Washington St., Chicago

THE CAMPAIGN FUND

Joseph Meindl, Oregon City	\$ 1.00
Branch No. 4, Nebraska	10.00
Aaron M. Sados, New York	1.00
John Doerfler, Milwaukee	5.00
Fritz Koll, "	.50
M. Michel, "	.50
H. Schupack, "	1.00
S. Ruvlin, "	1.00
A. Fleisher, "	1.00
A. Mohwehe, "	2.00
F. Vohlbuch, "	.25
G. Bestian, "	1.00
Fred Weingart, "	1.00
Alex. Glaeser, "	1.00
Jno. Doerfler Jr., "	1.00
F. Tribus, "	1.00

CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT



EUGENE V. DEBS

Geo. Bauman, Milwaukee	2.00
Robt. Meister, "	2.00
Ch. Groschel, "	1.00
Geo. Neff, "	1.00
Fred Froemming, "	1.00
J. Wolfjaeger, "	1.00
"X. Y. Z.", "	2.00
Branch No. 22, Wisconsin	9.25
Branch No. 9, "	5.00
Branch No. 20, "	6.45
"Z", Chicago	.25
Abraham Minkowsky, Brooklyn	2.00
Louis Burger, "	.50
A. Sustrick, "	.50
M. Glickstein, "	.50
J. Goldstein, "	.50
Nathan Dubolskin, "	.25
J. Steinfield, "	.25
M. Edelmann, "	.25
Previously reported	\$33.80
	\$97.75

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

FREDERICK HEATH, Chairman
SEYMOUR STEDMAN, Secretary
EUGENE V. DEBS, VICTOR L. BERGER
CORINNE S. BROWN

NATIONAL SECRETARY-TREASURER

THEODORE DEBS
No. 126 Washington Street, Chicago.

ITS PLATFORM.

Revision of our federal constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to complete control of government by the people irrespective of sex. Public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines. Public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones; all means of transportation and communication; all water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities. Public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal, and other mines, and all oil and gas wells. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production. Inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose. Useful inventions to be free, the inventor to be remunerated by the public. Labor legislation to be national, instead of local, and international when possible. National insurance of working people against accident, lack of employment and want in old age. Equal civil and political rights, for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women. The adoption of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by voters. Abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

NATIONAL PAPER OF THE PARTY:

The Social Democratic Herald
50 CENTS A YEAR.
126 Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.

HEADQUARTERS: 126 WASHINGTON STREET, CHICAGO

NOTES FROM THE FIELD

Fifteen cents will purchase Merrie England in the German language, adapted to American needs. If you don't read German, buy one for your friends.

Send in your order now for Ben Atterbury's letter to workmen. Leaflet No. 2; \$1 a thousand.

The small 4-page leaflet used by the Chicago comrades is good for any part of the country; 1,000 to any address, postage paid, for 75 cents.

All loyal members of the Social Democratic branches in Washington are hereby requested to communicate with Comrade L. W. Kidd, 1115 Sixth avenue, North, Seattle, Wash.

Socialists willing to assist in forming new branches of the Social Democratic party are requested to communicate with the secretary, Theodore Debs, 126 Washington street, Chicago.

The comrades at San Antonio, Texas, have nominated a full county ticket and arranged for the publication of a weekly paper. Great enthusiasm prevails and a successful campaign is certain.

The Debs leaflet, at 75 cents per thousand, charges paid, is much the best leaflet for propaganda in some localities. We should receive more orders for them. They are small, but to the point, and will make S. D. P. votes.

Every branch should order a five-dollar bunch of literature, which would include 33 Debs lithographs and 4,000 leaflets. Every Socialist can place a few lithographs where they will make votes for the party and increase the local branch membership.

It is advisable to stamp all leaflets, etc., with the local branch address and time of meeting, in order to get more direct returns for the work of distributing them. Let the voters of your locality know of your meeting, and then provide a good speaker to explain the principles of Socialism.

The Stickers ordered by the national campaign committee are ready and orders can be filled as fast as they come in. They can be furnished only in packages of 500 or more, just as they come from the printer. Five hundred sent to your address by mail for 50 cents. An order for 10,000 has been received from Milwaukee. You will have more fun with this little Sticker than you can imagine. One thousand, \$1; in lots of five or ten thousand, 75 cents per thousand.

A number of resolutions adopted by branches East and West refusing to recognize the Springfield executive board organically, have been received at this office. The attitude of a great majority of the branches is unmistakably expressed in these resolutions, but for good reasons no more space will be given to the subject. We are now in the political campaign, comrades. Let us work and wait.

Social Democrats of the Tenth and Eleventh representative districts of Massachusetts, met in mass caucuses Friday evening, August 24, and nominated candidates for the State legislature. Comrades Charles T. Laird and Elroy S. Thompson were chosen in the Tenth district and W. P. Bosworth in the Eleventh. All three are members of Branch 9 at Brockton and have been active workers in the movement.

Social Democrats of the Third Congressional District of Kansas have nominated John G. McLaughlin for Congress. Comrade McLaughlin is a member of the United Mine Workers of America.

Every name proposed by the Social Democratic ticket in Kansas has been approved by a referendum vote and Comrade Clemens stands as the party candidate for governor. Now look out for a mighty interesting campaign.

Social Democracy was well represented in the field on Labor Day. Comrade Debs spoke at Canton, Ill.; Clemens at Kansas City, Mo.; Stedman at Rockford, Ill.; Philip Brown at Sheboygan, Wis.; Strickland at Luddington, Mich.

Our platform, object, methods of organization and "The Man Under the Dray," by Prof. George D. Herron, are printed in the Debs leaflet with a fine picture of our candidate. This leaflet the campaign committee sends out, charges paid for 75 cents per thousand—little above cost.

The portrait of the presidential candidate gives great satisfaction. Thousands have been mailed to branches and comrades in all sections of the country. It should be seen in every community; it informs the observer, directs attention to the party and makes votes. Ten copies, 35 cents; 33 for a dollar; single copy, 10 cents; postage prepaid.

EDWARDS WITHDRAWS

To Social Democrats and Friends of Socialism in the Fifth Illinois Congressional District: Having been nominated by my comrades as a candidate for congress in the Fifth congressional district of Illinois, I beg to thank them once more for the honor thus conferred and to say that I retire in favor of Comrade John Collins, whose candidacy will receive my earnest support and I trust that also of every Social Democrat in the district. A. S. Edwards.

THE WISCONSIN TICKET

An enthusiastic and harmonious convention of Social Democrats was held last Sunday at Milwaukee, Wis., and the following State and Congressional tickets were nominated:

Governor—Howard Tuttle, Milwaukee.
Lieutenant Governor—George Dicke, Michicott.
Secretary of State—Charles C. Meier, Sheboygan Falls.
State Treasurer—John Doerfler, Milwaukee.
Attorney General—Richard Elsner, Milwaukee.
Superintendent of Public Instruction—August F. Buetow, Racine.
Railroad Commissioner—Frank Ellis, Monroe.
Commissioner of Insurance—Max Goeres, Kiel.
For Congressman—Fourth District, Robert Meisner, Milwaukee; Fifth district, Dr. H. C. Berger, Milwaukee.
Subscribe for the Herald.

NEW BRANCHES

Florida, one
Indiana, two
Virginia, one
Massachusetts, one.

NOMINATIONS FOR NEW NATIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

Allman, James, New York
Brown, Corinne S., Illinois
Berger, Dr. Henry C., Wisconsin
Clemens, Victor L., Wisconsin
Clemens, G. C., Kansas
Cox, Jesse, Illinois
Doerfler, John, Wisconsin
Folen, T. E., Oregon
Foreman, A. B., Wisconsin
Farmer, W. E., Texas
Greer, J. H., Illinois
Gordon, F. G. R., New Hampshire
Haile, Margaret, Massachusetts
Heath, Frederick, Wisconsin
Horgan, W. C., Illinois
Kelber, S., Indiana
Kelley, J. W., Indiana
Ladoff, Isadore, Wisconsin
Lake, H. S., Geneva, Washington.
Mohr, Aug., Wisconsin.
Roderus, Frank, Illinois
Ricker, A. W., Iowa
Riley, Geo. W., Illinois
Rooney, Eugene H., Wisconsin
Smith, S. L., Massachusetts
Strobel, Geo. H., New Jersey
Tuttle, H., Wisconsin
Uhlhorn, Henry, Illinois
Winnen, Jacob, Illinois
Vaclav, Mudra, Illinois

IN MEMORY OF LIEBKNECHT

At the regular meeting of Branch No. 1, Social Democratic party of America, held in Portland, Ore., the following resolutions were unanimously adopted: "Whereas, The death of William Liebknecht, the Socialist leader of Germany, whose life has been closely identified with the movement for the past half century, is deeply regretted by all Socialists in the United States, and "Whereas, The nomination of Eugene V. Debs for president, and Job Harriman for vice president of the United States by the Social Democratic party of America, demonstrates beyond a doubt the present progress and eventual triumph of Socialism in this country. Therefore, be it

"Resolved by Branch No. 1, S. D. P., Portland, Ore., That we deeply feel and regret the irreparable loss of so good and great a man as William Liebknecht; that history has furnished us no greater character, political or social, the friend and uplifter of down-trodden humanity, the enemy of tyranny, and oppression. Demanding equal rights for all people, despite color, creed or social eminence. Fearless to defy the combined power of kings, armies and courts, when subservient to insolent and self-constituted authority. Promoting and advising peaceful arbitration instead of devastating, cruel war as a means of settling political differences between nations. Demanding and insisting on the rights of labor, to the just and honest share of its products. And finally closing a useful and eventful life, rounded out by 74 years of well doing for his fellowmen. Beloved by the world's masses, who have been are, and will be benefited by his noble example, patient suffering, indomitable courage and fearless will, to know the right and to do it regardless of any and all opposition.

"We, the Social Democrats of Oregon, take this method of conveying to the relatives, friends, and political associates of the great reformer and patriot, our deep sense of the loss the world has sustained in the death of William Liebknecht of Germany. "Resolved that a copy of these resolutions be sent to the 'Vorwaerts,' of Berlin, Germany." T. C. Wendland, H. E. Foetisch, Chairman, Secretary.

Grand Socialist Demonstration

Inaugurating the First National Campaign of the Social Democratic Party, at Chicago,

Saturday September 29, 1900

In which all Socialist organizations and societies in Illinois, Wisconsin, Indiana, Missouri and other States will participate.

Day Parade and Mass Meeting at Night.

The Mass Meeting will be held in one of the largest halls in the city and the Speakers for the occasion will be

Eugene V. Debs
Candidate for President

Job Harriman
Candidate for Vice-President

The occasion will also be made a Re union of the men who fought the Lexington of the Labor Struggle, the American Railway Union.

A Banner or a Dollar.

This opening meeting of the Campaign must be made a great success and every Society, Branch or Section is called upon to contribute money or send a Banner with Comrades to bear it through the streets of the Commercial Heart of the Country.

Remember the Date—September 29.

Let every man be ready and make it a day memorable in the Socialist movement—the irrepressible rise of the Democracy of Labor.

By Order of Committee.

STICK UP THE STICKERS MAKE THE FACT STICK

That Socialism is Here to Stick
STICKERS NOW READY

They are two inches square, and a capital thing for Propaganda because they can be used in a hundred ways.

Sent only in packages of 500 or more. Price of 500, by mail, 50 cents.

Address: CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE, 126 Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

It is hoped that every Branch will contribute \$10 to the Campaign Fund; some can do better; some have done so and will make a canvass for individual subscriptions as well. What is your Branch doing? Send all money to the treasurer of the National Committee, Joseph R. Finn, 126 Washington street, Chicago.



IF YOU SYMPATHIZE WITH TRADE UNIONS

You will encourage the sale OF UNION LABEL GOODS

If you want Union Label Shoes demand the above Union Stamp. No shoe is Union made unless it bears the Union Stamp. No charge or royalty for the Union Stamp. Visit your shoe dealer and take no excuses. Send for latest list of factories. Subscribe for "The Union Boot and Shoe Worker," 50 cts per year.

Boot and Shoe Workers Union, 630 Atlantic Ave., Boston, Mass.

BRANCH SUPPLIES

Membership Cards (per 100)	1.00
Membership Applications (100)	.25
Constitutions (each)	.25

Send orders with cash to Theodore Debs, 126 Washington Street, Chicago. No supplies sent on credit.

The Herald will be sent to any address in the United States 26 weeks for 20 cents.

SPLENDID LIFE-LIKE PORTRAIT OF EUGENE V. DEBS

CANDIDATE OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

SIZE—21 X 28 INCHES, ON GOOD PAPER

Price, 10 Cents, Single Copy

Sent by mail, securely enclosed in tube to insure safe transmission, on receipt of price. Address,

CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY,
126 Washington St., Chicago

Social Democratic Party Leaflets

FOR CAMPAIGN PURPOSES

The National Campaign Committee of the Social Democratic party will issue for the campaign a series of well-written, effective four-page leaflets, two of which are now ready for delivery. These leaflets will be sent to branches and individual workers at cost of printing and postage.

LEAFLET NO. 1 is an address to unorganized Socialists; contains information concerning the Socialist movement, the party and its methods, object and program.

LEAFLET NO. 2—"An Open Letter to the Average American Workman," by Ben Atterbury. This is an admirable and convincing paper on the wage question, production, distribution of wealth and an appeal to the intelligence of the working class.

Put Them Into the Hands of Every Workingman

PRICES.

50 Copies	\$.10
100 Copies	.15
250 Copies	.25
500 Copies	.50
1,000 Copies	1.00
5,000 Copies	5.00

POSTAGE PAID.

Send orders to Campaign Committee Social Democratic Party, 126 Washington street, Chicago, Ill.

THE FULL STRENGTH OF APPEAL TO REASON

WILL BE GIVEN TO

DEBS AND HARRIMAN

the ensuing campaign. For purposes of propaganda the following prices are named on bundles to one address:

25 copies weekly, 3 mos.	\$ 1.50
50 " " " "	3.00
100 " " " "	6.00
250 " " " "	14.50
500 " " " "	27.50
1000 " " " "	49.00

ADDRESS,

APPEAL TO REASON
GIRARD, KANSAS

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

THIRD YEAR. No. 13.

CHICAGO, ILL., U.S.A., SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1900.

Whole No. 115.

TRADES UNIONISM AND THE BALLOT

Organized Labor Has Asked for
Public Sympathy—Is Organized
Labor Going to Be in Sym-
pathy with Itself at
The Polls?

A TRADES UNION BALLOT!

Socialism Proclaims Justice For All and
the Socialist Candidate for Presi-
dent Carries a Union Card

By Jacob Huff

One word to organized labor and trades unions—one word without malice or prejudice, but one word in behalf of all who labor without just reward: Are you going to vote the union-labeled ballot this fall? Are you going to be true to your brotherhood when you go to the polls?

Our candidate for president belongs to organized labor and carries the union card. Are you going to support Debs at the coming election?

Organized labor has asked for public sympathy and has requested the public to buy only such goods that wear the union label. Is organized labor, going to be in sympathy with itself?

I belong to no organization. Humanity oppressed is my brotherhood. It is a poor class struggle, where the poor class struggles with itself and against itself. When organized labor fears to go into politics, against the wishes of its employers, then it is favoring capital in its fight with oppressed labor.

I have a friend who is an active member of organized labor. He runs a labor column in a big newspaper. He advises organized labor to stay out of politics, tells them they are not ready and not yet qualified to go into politics.

I write him a letter and show him why I think labor should go into politics. I quote Homestead, and Chicago, and Hazleton, and Pana, and Worden, and the late strike in St. Louis, and prove to him that labor lost the day, in each and every place quoted because labor had not one true friend holding public office. I showed him how a measure to benefit labor was pigeon holed in congress during the last session for the want of a true labor friend, because labor never yet had the manhood to stand up solidly for its friends, because labor breaks in two at the polls, like a broken reed, and no public officer can or dare depend on the support of labor, no odds how faithfully he has served labor in the past.

Well, this member of organized labor did not publish a single quotation from my letter in his next batch of misleading stuff, proving that I had simply quoted facts and that every laboring man with a grain of common sense could see that a strike at the polls was of far greater force than a strike at the factory.

Since that day I have done a whole lot of thinking, and I find myself growing cold and mistrustful towards the leaders of organized labor. Men who write misleading industrial articles for revenue, or who omit the truth when their plutocratic employers demand it, are traitors to their organizations and scab writers to a plutocratic organ.

What right has organized labor to ask for sympathy when they show none to their weaker brethren? How much benefit will the poor wife and mother receive who is wearing out a miserable existence in some foul and dirty sweat shop or factory if I encourage the sale of union-labeled goods? Will my encouragement reach down and benefit this poor, God-forsaken woman? Will any other sympathy towards organized labor reach down and lift up the poor, unorganized victims of this brutal industrial system so long as organized labor wrecks on the rock of partisanship, one-half drifting into the republican boom and the other half into the democratic pond?

The only way to help the helpless is to change the industrial system and give everybody an equal chance.

Socialism will do this. Now, does organized labor desire to benefit the man with pick and shovel and the woman with scrub brush and pail, or have they narrowed their world down to a small fraternity who wear their blouse and button?

The foolish, idiotic idea of labor fighting capitalists for 364 days every year, and then on the odd day going to the polls and voting the country back into

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PRESAGES TRIUMPH OF SOCIALISM

CONCENTRATION; swift and irresistible, is a part—an inevitable part—of the economic development. The individual business man has long since been supplanted by the firm, the firm by the company, the company by the still more powerful corporation, and latterly the corporation has been swallowed up by the trust. And this concentration not only continues in spite of threat and protest, uttered by the thousands ruined or menaced by it, but is steadily accelerated as each revolution increases the momentum of a train rushing downward on a heavy grade.

McKinley thinks it isn't right, and Bryan is certain it ought to be stopped. Why? Because evolution is a crime? No; because the victims are more numerous than the beneficiaries, and they have votes.

One nation after another is becoming a manufacturing nation. The customers of yesterday are the competitors of today. How long will it be before the crisis, international in its scope, is reached?

Social Democracy solves the problem. There is no escape from it. Retarded it may be, and is by ignorance and prejudice, but its triumphant consummation cannot be prevented. All the laws of social and economic evolution are pledged to its supremacy, and the gates of hell cannot prevail against it.

Social Democracy is the only democracy. Our politics are not chainless so long as industry is in fetters.

—Eugene V. Debs in St. Louis Chronicle, Sept. 3, 1900.

the hands of their sworn enemies is too ridiculous for even boys' play—it is the work of traitorous leaders on the minds of helpless men who are grasping at straws.

During the strike at Homestead in 1892 I was threatened with lynch law for expressing sympathy with the strikers in a crowd of republican politicians. That same year many of the Homestead strikers voted the republican ticket, and will do so again this year.

And yet Eugene V. Debs carries the union card, and Socialism promises justice to all. Will organized labor be worthy of public sympathy if the vote for Debs is less than 1,000,000?

Jersey Shore, Pa. Jacob Huff.



EUGENE V. DEBS,
Candidate for President.

PLATFORM OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS.

The Social Democratic party, which is the party of E. V. Debs, is small, but it has advanced opinions.

Its national convention met this year at Indianapolis and began its platform by demanding the revision of "our antiquated federal constitution." Its idea is that the people shall have "complete control of the government, irrespective of sex," which being interpreted means that the Social Democrats are in favor of woman suffrage, as in another plank they say that they are.

In the second place, the Debs party demands that the government, or the public, shall own "all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines." The adoption of this policy would, of course, transfer the right of refining "monopolies, trusts and combines" from the courts to congress. Congress would then have the power to say that a certain industry was controlled by a monopoly or a trust, and proceed to take its property, at a valuation of course, and manage its business.

Without regard to their character as monopolies, the Social Democrats contend that the government shall own all public utilities, specifically railroads, telegraph and telephone companies, all means of transportation and communication, all water-works, gas and electric plants, "gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal and all other mines, and all oil and gas wells." In other words, the government, according to this platform, is to produce all metals and minerals, and is to distribute these and all other products; natural and artificial. What an army of office-holders this would create for bosses and spoilsmen to manipulate!

The platform demands that as the facilities of production increase the hours of labor shall diminish. In some industries one man does the work which ten men did before. The ten men worked ten hours each day. The logical meaning of the Social Democrats is that the one man ought now to work one hour per day. All labor legislation, says the platform, should be national. The party favors the inauguration of a system of public works for the employment of the unemployed, the money for the payment of wages to be borrowed on the public credit. The nation is also to insure "working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age." —New York World.

Subscribe for "The Herald"
26 weeks for 20 cents.

SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST

In northern zones the raging bear
Protects himself with fat and hair;
Where snow is deep and ice is stark,
And half the year is cold and dark,
He still survives a clime like that
By growing fur, by growing fat.
These traits, O bear, which thou trans-
mittest,

Prove the survival of the fittest.

To polar regions, waste and wan,
Comes the encroaching race of man;
A puny, feeble little lubber,
He had no fur, he had no blubber.
The scornful bear sat down at ease
To see the stranger starve and freeze;
But, lo! the stranger slew the bear,
And ate his fat and wore his hair!
These deeds, O man, which thou com-
mittest,

Prove the survival of the fittest.

In modern times the millionaire
Protects himself as did the bear;
Where poverty and hunger are
He counts his bullion by the car;
Where thousands suffer still he thrives.
The wealth, O Croesus, thou trans-
mittest,

Proves the survival of the fittest.

But, lo! some people, odd and funny,
Some men without a cent of money,
The simple, common human race,
Chose to improve their dwelling place.
They had no use for millionaires;
They calmly said the world was theirs;
They were so strong, so wise, so many—
The millionaires?—There wasn't any!
These deeds, O man, which thou com-
mittest,

Prove the survival of the fittest.

—Charlotte Perkins Stetson.

THE TRUE BASIS OF FREEDOM

Social Democrats the world over understand that the real basis of freedom is to be found only in the passing of the present system of capitalist production and distribution and the inauguration of social production and distribution, in which all men are given equal opportunities in life by the social guaranty of individual access to the means of gaining a livelihood. As William Dean Howells clearly states elsewhere in this paper, no man who is dependent upon another for the means of getting a living, is free. And no party except that whose candidates are Debs and Harriman, the Social Democratic party, faces the real issue of the times. That issue is to make men free, to establish economic freedom. The following extract from "A Summary of the Principles of Socialism," by H. M. Hyndman and William Morris, is of special interest and value:

"Proletariat production—capitalist appropriation, workers make—traders take. Socialized production—individual exchange. Work in concert; exchange at war. Supremacy of town; subservience of country. Overcrowded cities; empty fields. Such are the briefest possible statements of the economical and social forms which result in our present anarchy, not for one class

Freedom Defined According To Social Democracy

A man is free if he has the means of livelihood and is assured in their possession; if he is independent of others.

But if he is dependent upon some other man for the means of earning a livelihood, he is not free.

Freedom is only occasionally a political affair, a civic affair; it is constantly a social affair, a pecuniary affair, an economic affair.

In a democracy no man is free without the means of livelihood.

—William Dean Howells.

alone, though that suffers far the most, but for all. And the system, as a whole, is now world-wide, though in different shapes. Capital dominates the planet, acts irrespective of all nationalities, grabs its profits irrespective of all creeds and conditions; capital is international, unsectarian, destitute of regard for humanity or religion. The proletariat must learn from the system which they have to overthrow to be equally indifferent to class, creed or color, religion or nationality, so long as the individuals sink their personal objects in a resolute endeavor against the common enemy. Unite! for this we educate, to this end we agitate, to achieve a certain victory for all we or-



JOB HARRIMAN,
Candidate for Vice-President.

ganize. Unite! Unite! Unite!

"How then would individuality, that unceasing cry of bore and the dullard, be stunted by a system which should leave full play to the highest faculties of every man in return for trifling, pleasant social labor, nay, which should develop those faculties for all classes far more than they are developed today? Under such a system, where mankind collectively controlled their means of production, with machinery ever improving by the genius of their fellows, but used for instead of against the mass of the human race, men would at length be really free in every sense, economical, social and political, save that they would no longer possess the freedom to enslave and enslave their fellowmen. Individuality is crushed today in every direction. The poor slave to the machine, the overworked hind or domestic drudge have no time for individuality, no strength left for their own education or development. Under our present system there is no individuality for the mass of mankind.

"Our first principle as Socialists is that all should be well fed, well housed, well educated.

"We appeal to men and women of all classes, all creeds and all nationalities to join us in the struggle wherein none can fail, to prepare for themselves and children a nobler, higher lot than has hitherto been theirs, and to pass on to countless generations that joy, that beauty and that perfect contentment which can arise from true Socialism alone."

Reader, in joining the Social Democratic movement, which is international, you are following the path trod by such beautiful characters as William Morris, who, as has been aptly remarked, "could have been willing to call himself a 'sociologist' instead of a Socialist."

Hurrah for Debs and Harriman and "the scientific organization of labor and the universal brotherhood of man!"

In the south of Russia, where about 20,000,000 Ruthenians live, there has been formed a new Socialist party, which has issued its programme. They wish to form a republic, and the articles of their programme are similar to those of the Socialists of the west. They state that they will act in concert with the Socialists in Poland and in Austrian Galicia. A newspaper—which will have to be published secretly—will soon appear, and it is to be called the Robitnyk (the Worker).

THE WHITE SLAVES IN COTTON MILLS

White Women of New England Work
Under Conditions Worse than
the Black Slaves of the
South Under Chat-
tel Slavery

DOES IT APPEAL TO YOU?

Fines are Substituted for the Whip and
Death Involves no Loss to the
Capitalist Master

By Jerry Knox.

The women of New Bedford will supply a chapter rather interesting to America when the time comes for writing truthful history. "Once," the historian will write, "we used in America to whip black women in the South. They were employed to pick cotton. They received no wages, so the plan to get work out of them was to whip them when they were careless. A severe whipping was found efficacious (says the New York Journal).

"The negroes at first would show sulkiness. When the time for whipping came she knelt and begged for mercy. During the whipping she screamed. After the whipping she was a much more valuable slave. She did her work carefully, and other negroes, observing her punishment, avoided her bad example.

"Nothing apparently could have been more satisfactory. But the people of the North, though entirely ignorant of the needs of cotton growing, interfered. The scream of those negroes so worked on their nerves, particularly in New England, that they fought for four years to stop slavery. And they were pleased with the result, although it cost millions of lives and thousands of millions of dollars.

"The American nation talked a good deal after that about American treatment of women, and much of this talk came from New England.

"Great surprise, therefore, when in 1898 an attempt was made to reduce to starvation wages by 10 per cent revealed a similar system of women treatment in New Bedford.

"Again the cotton industry was involved. White workers the women in this case. Great competition among cotton manufacturers, and mills paying about 10 per cent profits. A system discovered far better and cheaper than slavery.

"Instead of owning the worker, feeding her and taking care of her as valuable chattel, she was hired. She fed herself. Her sickness or death meant no loss. Invariably she sacrificed herself to her children, supplying workers to take her place at the loom when she should take her place in the grave.

The mill owners, by agreement, paid as little as would let the workers live and breed more mill hands.

"It was ideal. The slavery system was costly extravagance compared to it.

"And the getting of the most work was not difficult. The whip, of course, had been laid aside. After the grand national howl about the screaming negroes the whip could not be thought of. In the first place the mill owners were too refined to think of using it, and in the second place they would have been lynched if they had tried.

"But something, of course, had to be done. The tired woman, watching eight looms, working hard all day with an aching back, with tired eyes and brain and heart, would get careless. Her wages—\$4 or \$5 a week—seemed to inspire very little ambition in her. What should keep every particle of energy in that white woman centered in the mill owner's interest? That was the great problem. A genius solved it very simply by the system of fines. It worked thus:

"The white woman at the loom, aged from 15 to 60, was watched, by overseers. These made note of her conduct. If she looked up at the wrong moment, if through fatigue or unskillfulness she injured a piece of the precious merchandise passing through her hands, there was a ready lash that cut deeper than the old-fashioned blacksnake.

"Going for her pay she received instead of \$4, perhaps \$3.42. Fifty-eight cents deducted for fines," the clerk would tell her. "No explanation; please pass along."

"The white woman, whipped in this modern civilized manner, acted alto-

(Continued on Fourth Page.)

Social Democratic Herald

PUBLISHED WEEKLY SATURDAY AT THE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board
FREDERIC HEATH Chairman
SEYMOUR STEDMAN Secretary
EUGENE V. DEBS VICTOR L. BERGER
CORINNE S. BROWN

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, \$5.00. Six months, \$3.00. No papers sent to any one on credit. If, without having subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and no bill will follow. Foreign subscriptions \$1.00.

Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

A. S. EDWARDS, Editor
THEODORE DEBS, National Sec'y-Treas.
126 Washington St., Chicago.

115 is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 116 your subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, SEPT. 15, 1900.

NATIONAL TICKET Social Democratic Party

For President:
EUGENE V. DEBS.

For Vice-President:
JOB HARRIMAN.

THE FOUR BEASTS

The antagonisms among men are due to four thieves; we call them Rent, Interest, Profit and Wages. These thieves have human society in their grip and every interest of mankind is subject to their depredations and malevolent influence.

All institutions of whatsoever kind, from which higher conditions of civilization are expected to evolve, are victimized and their best efforts rendered only partially fruitful or altogether fruitless by these social marauders and murderers of whatever things among men are pure and of good repute.

Not one division of society alone, but all are more or less the willing and manacled subjects of these four thieves.

That there exists in human society today a division into classes, each competing against the other for the possession of power or of what the other had previously competed for, is a condition brought about by the four thieves.

The great dividers are Rent, Interest, Profit and Wages. They have been more productive of human misery than war, pestilence and famine. More than that, they have been the procuring causes of famine, pestilence and war.

The road which humanity has traveled is strewn with the sacrificial offerings of men, women and children to this four-headed beast, and notwithstanding the awful warning which past devastation presents to thinking minds, the people of all classes still permit the ruin to continue.

History teaches them no lesson; experience fails to enlarge their view or beget wisdom, and Rent, Interest, Profit and Wages are not only the living progenitors of a dead offspring, but also the ruling and ruining powers of the present generation.

The four thieves persist while the people perish.

Competition has passed into selfishness and has generated its own destroyer in monopoly.

The vulgar rich and the arrogant mob of plutocracy, with a majority of the capitalist hirelings of the country who love the clank of their chains, have bowed down with blind reverence to the golden image whose Briarean arms are Rent, Interest, Profit and Wages.

But the relief the blind rich mob has promised, the relief the blind poor mob expect, will not come, and in the result capitalism has only deepened the grave it has been digging and into which it must eventually fall.

A brief inflation may be "arranged," something of a "boom" may be started, but the boom will burst and prosperity will again turn to ashes.

The people are as certainly doomed to the bitterest disappointment as an unarmed and defenseless man in an Indian jungle full of tigers is doomed to die.

Why? Because the four beasts of the jungle of trade and commerce—Rent, Interest, Profit and Wages—are left to blight and slay in the future as in the past.

Vote the four beasts down!

DENIALS AND AFFIRMATIONS.

The Social Democratic party denies that capital privately owned is a social blessing.

It denies that indolence is a source of wealth.

It denies that the poor are growing rich.

It denies that wages provide for the wealth producers more than a bare subsistence.

It denies that private ownership of capital any longer accomplishes the best results for society.

The Social Democratic party affirms that the separation of men into laborers and capitalists is the chief factor now operating against progress.

It affirms that private ownership of the means of life (capital) is a social crime.

It affirms that wage labor, which creates wealth, creates it not for the working class, but for capitalists.

It affirms that with ever-increasing facilities applied to wealth production, there is ever-decreasing opportunity for the people to gain a livelihood.

It affirms that the last named condition, far from being capable of solution by the present system of wage labor, must of necessity grow worse.

It affirms that social evolution, past and present, gives unerring proofs of the final establishment of industrial peace and social justice, which is Socialism.

It appeals to workingmen to help destroy the capitalist system by voting the Social Democratic ticket.

GREETINGS FROM ENGLAND

The independent labor party of Great Britain offers fraternal greeting to our comrades and brethren of the United States of America and cordially wishes success to Debs and Harriman during the presidential campaign. They also desire to emphasize the fact that only when workmen wrest political power from the present ruling classes and substitute Socialism for wage slavery will poverty and war be abolished and white-robed peace and smiling plenty, as heralded by divine dreamers in all ages, fold their wings and be at rest in a contented and fraternally governed world.

J. Keir Hardie,
Chairman of the Independent Labor Party.

DEBS' CAMPAIGN

It is necessary that arrangements for Comrade Debs' meetings be made in advance. His campaign will take in many of the principal cities, but in all cases where comrades and friends are expecting him they should communicate immediately with Secretary Seymour Stedman, 126 Washington street, Chicago.

NOTES AND COMMENT

Vote for McKinley or Bryan and you vote for the capitalist system.

For a system that suppresses the individuality of the working class.

For a system that destroys the home and breaks up the family.

For a system that divides up social wealth and deprives those who produce it of a just share.

For a system that reduces men to a dead level through the wage system.

For a system that destroys the incentive to labor and also the opportunity.

For a system that denies the right of property to those who produce it.

All this and much more a vote for Bryan or McKinley does.

The Iowa judge who the other day declared that a labor union is a trust, basing his decision on the ground that labor is nothing more than a "commodity" and that part of the state constitution that declares any organization undertaking the "regulation of any commodity" a trust or pool, has rendered a decision that will probably open the eyes of the blind to the necessity of political action. When capitalist courts put the working power and skill upon the same legal footing with the mere things which that skill and power produce, it is time for wage slaves to think.

The Austrian Socialists' congress in session at Gratz declared in favor of making the establishment of old-age pensions, as well as pensions for laborers incapacitated for work, compulsory. The measure is intended to protect workmen in both large and small industries of every kind—transportation, mining, domestic service and agriculture. Minimum pension should amount to half of the recipient's actual wages. The old-age pension, it is specified, should begin at the age of 60, and that for invalided workmen at the date of their incapacitation.

A copy of an Italian Socialist paper, L'Agitazione, has come to this office. On the first page nearly three columns of space contain no reading matter whatever, nothing but the white paper, while the second and third pages are similarly lacking in what was, doubtless, good Socialist propaganda matter. The paper appears just as the government censor allowed it to go to press in the land that produced Mazzini and Garibaldi.

While the republican and democratic parties have been see-sawing for office and making "good times" or "hard times," what has the working class been getting? Homestead, Spring Valley, Cripple Creek, Coeur d'Alene, Pullman, New Bedford, Hazleton, Oshkosh, Pana and Idaho's republican-democratic bullpen! Are you going to vote for more bullets and bull-pens or for freedom?

Vote for a principle this year and not a capitalist ready-made issue. Vote for Socialism if you are a Socialist, not for a mere man, like Bryan, who denies that he is a Socialist. If you have a conviction that Socialism is right, assert it at the ballot box.

The bottom fact in human progress is that men have been forced from savagery to civilization by their common need for food, raiment and shelter. The infamy which trails over all progress is that the class which has created food, raiment and shelter has been shut out from the full enjoyment of the fruits of their toil.

When some wisehead of the old parties raises the frivolous objection that Socialism would destroy the incentive to labor, remind him that the capitalist system takes from the people the opportunity to labor. This is amply proven by overwhelming facts. What is incentive worth when opportunity is gone?

If Bryan were elected he never would be able to settle any question at home or abroad that involved the commercial interests of the Crokers, Whitneys, Olneys, Joneses, Clarks, Hills and other "good" capitalist democrats. Any man with half an ounce of brains should see that.

There is only one real democratic party in the field with Socialists nominated for president and vice-president. It is not the Bryan party, but the Social Democratic party. It stands for Socialism; the Bryan party stands for capitalism. Vote for Debs and Harriman.

There is no Socialism in the democratic platform, none in the democratic candidate and none in the democratic party. If you want Socialism you must vote for Debs and the Social Democratic party. Mr. Bryan is an individualist supporting a capitalist system.

The locked-out workmen are "class conscious"—conscious that they belong to a class whose stomach-walls are flapping like a barn door. But a vote for "anti-imperialism" will fit that—and also the Wardner "bull pen." Yes it will—try it and see!

The industrial system, which has been defended on the ground of individual liberty and individual initiative, is now admitted to be a system in which there is no liberty for millions and initiative only for millionaires.

Get into a progressive movement, man, and stand for something that no capitalist or capitalist politician wants. Join the Social Democratic party, which stands for the next necessary step in social and industrial evolution.

In Adam Smith's day it was considered a wonderful achievement for ten men to make 48,000 pins in a day; now it is quite an ordinary thing for three men to make 7,500,000 pins of vastly better quality in the same time.

The capitalist class relies upon the working class to support either the republican or democratic national ticket. That is a good enough reason why the working class should support neither, but vote for Socialism.

To keep slaves ignorant of their condition is the chief requirement for the perpetuation of slavery. The requirement is met by capitalist newspapers and politicians howling "prosperity."

The Building Contractors' council of Chicago has entered into a conspiracy to boycott the woodworking firms who sign an agreement with the woodworkers' union.

"Five Powers Agree—Pekin Looted" was a big headline in the Chicago Record a few days ago. That headline can stand stripped of all paragraphic adornment.

The policies of the republican party produce beggars and protect capitalist bullies. And the policies of the democratic party? Not one whit better.

What with killing miners in Idaho, negroes in New York, Chinese and Filipinos, our great Christian nation is cutting a wide swath.

The regular shooting of coal miners by order of the plutocrats seems to have temporarily stopped while the plutocrats "save the country" again.

Doesn't it seem odd that McKinley don't open a lot of those trust mills that are closed? Maybe he has lost his jimmy.

The 17,500 cotton-mill workers in Fall River, Mass., recently had an aggravated case of "prosperity." Ask them.

Many a poor man's alleged mind is fearful for the success of his favorite old party. It makes so much difference to him!

When in doubt take a g. o. p. gold-standard capsule or a "paramount-issue" democratic pellet.

For "that tired feeling" there is nothing like shouting "Prosperity at home and prestige abroad."

There are mansions in the skies for the poor who build mansions on earth.

POSERS FOR BRYAN FROM A SOCIALIST

A Batch of Pertinent Questions by Eugene V. Brewster that the Neb-raskan and Anti-Socialist has Not Answered

STICKERS FOR STEP-AT-A-TIMES

(Mr. Brewster, having left his high place in the democratic party and declared himself a Socialist, sent Mr. Bryan the following letter. The questions are sufficiently pertinent to entitle them to be put in permanent form.)

Here are a few questions for my old and esteemed friend, Mr. W. J. Bryan:

1. Some of your followers claim that your doctrines are a step toward Socialism. Is this true or untrue? When asked if you believed in Socialism you answered in writing, "No." Do you not hope and believe, then, that your program is a step away from Socialism?

2. You say that you are opposed to trusts and would crush them. You believe in competition. Is not the post-office business the greatest trust and the most complete monopoly? If so, would you destroy it and go back to competition, where every man is to deliver his own mail?

3. Do you believe in economy—in eliminating waste, in doing away with useless labor, in getting the greatest good from mother earth with the least possible effort? If so, how can you consistently destroy the trusts, which are rapidly doing all this? If not, why don't you propose to destroy all improved machinery also?

4. Do you know that competition means enormous waste—means parallel railroads, useless clerks and drummers, wasteful advertising, innumerable small and needless plants, etc.? If you are a friend of labor why put it to all this useless work? If you simply want to give employment (regardless of its usefulness) why not hire men to dig holes and then hire them to fill them up again?

5. Do you believe in land monopoly? If not, why not say so?

6. Do you believe that the tools of production should be owned by a class who do not use them or did not make them? And do you not see that the monopoly of these tools has made labor dependent upon this class of work, and therefore existence?

7. Do you really want to destroy the money lender? If so, must you not destroy interest? And if you would destroy interest, why don't you favor letting the government issue and lend all money direct to the people without interest?

8. Are you really opposed to wars? If so, why did you enlist? If not, why not?

9. You are opposed to imperialism. Do you believe in capitalism? If so, you must know that wars and imperialism are necessary to capitalism. If not, why do you not say so, and show how you would remove the capitalist system and what you would substitute?

10. Are you satisfied with the present wage system, which is turning out such as the man with the hoe? If you are, how are you going to make the slave owners give to their slaves anything more than a mere living wage? If you are not, what other system than universal co-operation do you propose?

11. You speak of workmen as producers. Is the producer entitled to his product or not? If he is, how do you propose to get it for him? If he is not, how are you going to prevent an idle rich class that you so much condemn?

12. Do you believe in a system that permits a large class to consume without producing? If not, what other system do you favor? Or, how do you propose to make them produce?

13. In 1896 you said you wanted free silver because it meant rising prices. You say you still want free silver. Do you want any higher prices than we have now?

14. You say the trusts have arbitrarily raised prices to the consumer, and you would therefore destroy the trust. Do you want higher prices or lower prices, Mr. Bryan?

15. You say free silver is a blow at the money lender and a favor to the money borrower. In which, if either, of these classes does the wage earner belong, and if to either, how will it benefit him?

16. If free silver means double the volume of money, and this means double prices (according to your quantitative theory), and if the holdings of the monopolistic capitalists are mostly invested in land, machinery and commodities, and if these are all to be doubled in price, how would free silver be a blow at monopoly?

17. Granting that free silver means rising prices, and admitting that wages are always the last to rise, which you of course admit, when will labor benefit by free silver and how much more will his increased wage buy of the high-priced necessities?

18. Granting that the theory of bimetallicism is sound; granting that 16 to 1 is the proper ratio; granting that we need more money and that bimetallicism will yield more; granting that it will

make rising prices and that rising prices mean better times and better (money) wages; granting that the bullion price of silver would soon rise to the mint price, making a 100-cent dollar, while we now have less than a 50-cent dollar—granting all this, and we believe it to be true—show me, if you can, how there can possibly be any more prosperity under bimetallicism than there is today. We now have about all the prosperity we can possibly have under the present wage system. Can there be any other than a class prosperity under this system?

19. You say you believe in equality, but you say it means only equality before the law. Don't you believe also in equality of opportunity? If so, how can this be when nearly all the means of production are owned and controlled by the capitalist class? To have an equal opportunity should not these social implications be owned by the collectivity—by all?

Do you believe in a step at a time in the industrial evolution? If so, won't you admit that everything points to combination, to solidarity, to co-operation, and that competition and individualism are doomed? If so, if you would take a step at a time, shall you take a step forward or backward? Are you now stepping backward by seeking to destroy these marvelous industrial organizations known as trusts? Can you not see that they are both proper and natural, that their present evils are due only to mismanagement by the few when they should be a blessing to the many—to all? Can you not see the inevitable finality of the trusts, that they are permanent, indestructible features, and that their natural and final place is beside the first and greatest of all, the post-office trust?

Curse not then the trust makers, because they are, unconsciously, perhaps, doing the world a great benefaction. To quote from the Scripture (1 John ii: 11): "He that hateth his brother is in darkness and walketh in darkness and knoweth not whither he goeth, because that darkness hath blinded his eyes."

Eugene V. Brewster.

MASSACHUSETTS PICNIC

The branches in the eleventh congressional district of Massachusetts, including Jamaica Plain, Roxbury, Roslindale, Dedham and Hyde Park (all loyal), will hold a picnic on Sunday, Sept. 23, at Oakland grove, East Dedham. This beautiful grove is situated on the banks of a branch of the Charles river, has plenty of level, cleared space, as well as shade, a handsome pavilion, booths and swings, and is only three minutes' walk from the electric cars. For a 10-cent fare it can be reached from any part of Boston, or from Malden, Everett, Cambridge and Somerville, changing cars at Forest Hills for Boyden square, East Dedham. It can also be reached from Quincy and Brockton, via Milton Lower Mills, for 15 and 20 cents respectively. There will be addresses by Mayor Coultas of Brockton, F. O. MacCartney, Dr. Gibbs and others. The tickets are 35 cents with refreshments and 25 cents without. The latter price is made for the benefit of those in the neighborhood who may want to come in after dinner for the sake of hearing our speakers. The proceeds will go to the national campaign fund, and affords a good and sufficient reason why every comrade should do his utmost to make the picnic a financial success. However, were it to be a financial success only, it would deserve, as a Socialist picnic, to be classed as a failure. While we hope to make money for the campaign fund, we are still more anxious to make it an occasion for cultivating and developing that feeling of solidarity, of mutual helpfulness, interest and comradeship which distinguished our organization before it was disrupted by "union." It is true that we are a political party, but God forbid that we should therefore degenerate into a party of politicians. It is a danger to be avoided as we would avoid the plague. Let us upon this and every other possible occasion seek to kindle and to keep alive among our new recruits, as well as our older members, the genuine spirit of comradeship and of disinterested devotion to the cause for its own sake alone, and to arouse the desire and confirm the purpose in each other to apply the principles we profess in our platform and demands to the carrying on of our organization and to our own personal characters and our relations with our comrades and our party. They talk about "Christian character." Why is it not proper to talk of "Socialist character," a character whose foundations should be justice, love of liberty, equality and comradeship, fidelity to principle and loyalty to the highest we know? If we can gather our loyal comrades together in this spirit our picnic will be a real success, whether we make many dollars or few.

Margaret Haile.

If some people would devote one-tenth as much time and energy to reading up on the principles of Socialism as they do to consuming large quantities of bad liquor and acquiring the inevitable "bust-head" the next day, they would soon be thorough Socialists. Yet these folk stand around and say, "Can it be done?" and then vote for "the lesser of two evils!"

CONDITION OF MINERS IN DAYS OF "PROSPERITY"

Winifred Black, the newspaper correspondent, has been investigating the condition of the miners in Pennsylvania and has this to say of workmen who are being forced to strike to live:

I have been among those suffering miners who are about to strike for the right to live. I have visited them in the mines which they call homes, have seen how they exist, how they are cheated and down-trodden; how they are forced, against the law, to pay tribute to the piratical company stores.

Every half mile or so in the mining region of Pennsylvania there is a hole in the ground, a yawning, black hole, and near it are the dumps and screens of the mines. Clustered around the yawning hole are the houses where the miners live. They are in every instance hideous sores upon the beautiful landscape.

The best of them are sheds that would disgrace any farmer's stable. The most of them are horrible sties, unfit for a decent pig to live in. They are, for the most part, built in barrack style, so that no man may have a roof to himself and his family, but must burrow with a hundred others.

The miners are of so many nations and of so many kinds. It is with the Americans that I had the most to do. Big, simple-hearted giants they are for the most part, with faces full of patient resignation that sets ill on the American visage. The woman-kind of these American miners are worn and haggard.

The children—there are no children in the mines. Little creatures there are, creatures who look like dwarfed images of their parents. But in all my seeing of the miners of Pennsylvania I never saw a laughing or crowing baby.

Time and again I saw a toddling creature and went up and spoke to it, only to have it turn and look at me with the eyes of old, old, anxious, worried men and women. I saw the women. They all talk alike.

"Do we women want the men to stay out on strike? Yes, we do. We'll starve anyway, so we'll take the chances. I've got eight children. My man makes sometimes \$12 a pay, and sometimes \$10 a pay, and sometimes \$16 a pay. A pay is for two weeks' work, you know. "Live? How do we live? We eat meat once in a while. Now we pick berries, and we make bread and do the best we can. So what's the use? Strike? Yes, I believe in it. If my man went to work I'd lock him out of the house."

FREESPEECH AND DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT

To have a free exercise of their religious beliefs, to be freed from extortionate taxation without a voice in the law-making assemblies and an opportunity to express themselves freely on all subjects, led our forefathers, the Puritans, to seek an asylum on New England's bleak and unwelcome shore over three hundred years ago.

From their toil and patriotism has sprung a great nation, "the land of the free and the home of the brave."

They made for themselves a home and a new government, a government that we all idealize; it is "a government of the people for the people by the people."

It was intended to be a government that would satisfy the governed in every essential feature. The constitution was not intended to remain forever unchanged, but was to change as the people desired, and the many amendments already adopted show how the people have progressed.

As a people advance in ideas and accomplishments, so their government must advance in steady union or become a menace to the nation's peace.

China may be pointed to as a country whose people advanced beyond the laws and customs of their rulers, but dared not, till recently, force a change of government to suit them.

Let a government abridge the right of free speech of its subjects and progress is handicapped in a like proportion.

Where despotism reigns and the government becomes unbearable to its subjects civil war results, and of the very worst kind; but where freedom of speech is allowed a change may, and often does, take place just as important and effective, while it is a peaceful change, with all the horrors of war wholly averted.

A man who dares not speak his mind freely, though it be in opposition to the existing government, is a slave to that government and not a free citizen thereof.

European nations are never truly at peace except in name, nor will anarchy ever be rooted out by tyranny. Class legislation and tyrannical rulers will forever breed anarchy.

France's civil war, the most bitter struggle between citizens of a country for freedom of speech that the century has seen, was the result of unbearable oppression of one class upon another keeping them in political bondage.

Russia is ever hearing the internal mutterings of discontent rising from her desperate and almost enslaved subjects, while anarchy is, like a wolf, clutching at her throat.

Even the great religious denomina-

tions have come to see that people will progress in ideas and are determined to express them, therefore to maintain their membership they find it necessary to break down many traditional barriers and grant liberty of thought and action in their ranks.

I notice in a recent paper a comment on the assassination of King Humbert of Italy, in which the writer goes so far in his censure of anarchists and their crimes that he thinks all speech which is against a government should be suppressed and the speakers treated as criminals.

Now, that kind of talk savors somewhat of tyranny and despotism. True, a monarchy would not long exist if every one could speak as he thought, but to hear this from an American citizen is truly surprising.

In time of our civil strife John Brown was deemed a criminal and forfeited his life, and William Lloyd Garrison, for his too open opposition to slavery, was dragged through New York's streets; but who will deny the justness of the cause they supported?

They foolishly employed improper methods too soon, and, like the assassin of King Humbert, received the censure of the world.

Humbert was doubtless a good ruler as monarchs go, but the people are not satisfied and only a few dared show this to the world, and they are classed as anarchists. Give them a right to remove their rulers by law and the killing of kings will cease. Give them free speech and they will progress.

Could the executive officials censure our every utterance that criticizes their official acts it would not be long ere laws would be for the classes and not for the masses, resulting in an oligarchy.

Anarchy, when riot and bloodshed results, is terrible to think of, and, like civil war, should be avoided; but freedom of speech and liberality in law-making will do more to satisfy a people than all the prisons you can build.

Anarchy cannot exist where all are happy and content, therefore, look after the people who are dissatisfied and legislate for them, not against them.

V. Homer Cragun,

St. Joseph, Mo.

MASSACHUSETTS' LOYAL BRANCHES HEARD FROM

The loyal branches of Massachusetts have organized and will carry on their work of educating and organizing as heretofore. This step is a protest against the corrupt methods by which a few have attempted to override the decision of the majority of the party and against the degradation of the sacred cause of Socialism, for which so many brave comrades in other lands have gone to prison and to death, to the level of ordinary American ward politics.

At the time of our state convention many comrades supposed that political co-operation and not organic union with the anti-Deleoneites was all they were committed to, and were satisfied. But the same week the two state conventions met and organized as one committee, and "organic union" was heralded far and wide. Still there were some who believed that the vote on the conference committee's report would fall so far short of a majority that it would never be heard from again. But it was announced, and with a great flourish of trumpets, 1,000 was declared to be an overwhelming majority of 7,000. Even after this, so reluctant were our members to believe ill of their brother Socialists, some of them maintained that the new headquarters would never be set up. Nevertheless, they were set up, and their faith in the honest intentions of the so-called unionists was shattered.

Following close upon this came a circular from the new party's headquarters offering a new charter in exchange for the one now held by each branch, and blandly informing the comrades how their branch would in future be designated. Then our comrades began to get mad. Next they were startled by the announcement of a tax of 5 cents per month per capita, which had been levied by the joint state committee without having been submitted to referendum. Next they heard that the joint state committee had ordered \$50 worth of due stamps from the new party's headquarters, buying them at 5 cents each and retailing them at 10 cents to the branches which should transfer their allegiance to the new party. In other words, the joint state committee of Massachusetts had become the agent of the Springfield party, with a 50 per cent profit as an incentive to activity.

It is true the 5 cents profit was to be taken by the state committee in payment of the tax of 5 cents per capita per month above mentioned, levied without consent of the membership; but with its \$50 worth of Springfield stamps on hand, to be disposed of at 50 per cent profit, it was not at all surprising to find, as we did, that when new branches sent to the state committee for applications for charter in the S. D. P. it was the new party's application which was sent to them, though the other one was desired.

In view of all these circumstances, on Sunday, Sept. 2, at the call of two branches (Rockland and Whitman), to their credit, be it spoken, at only ten days' notice, loyal members from all over the state gathered at 724 Wash-

ington street, Boston, in mass conference, to discuss the situation and determine upon their future course. Twenty-three branches were represented and nine others, which were unable to send representation, have assured us of their loyalty. A clear majority, therefore, of the branches of the state are staunchly loyal to the original S. D. P., as represented by the N. E. B. at Chicago.

And this majority, these thirty-two branches, are represented on the state committee (of twenty-four members) by just one loyal member, who got on accidentally through a slip of "the machine" at the state convention.

It did not take the assembled loyal comrades long to decide that it was the sense of the conference that they should organize a central committee, which should hold the branches together and keep them in touch and working harmoniously together. As to the kind of committee, there was considerable discussion. Many wanted a state committee, holding that the formation of a new party ought not to be allowed to deprive the original party of a state committee. The majority, however, were satisfied with asserting their absolute right to have a state committee of their own if they so chose, and, voluntarily yielding that right for the present, in the interests of a harmonious campaign, decided upon an organizing committee instead.

The following were then elected to constitute this committee: F. O. MacCartney, Dr. Gibbs, Charles E. Lowell, Charles H. Coulter, Charles W. White (Jamaica Plain branch), W. E. Dixon of Mendon, Hart of Everett, W. C. Soper of Rockland and Margaret Haile.

S. E. Putney, secretary of the joint state committee, came into the conference, claiming to be "loyal" on the ground that his branch had paid last quarter's dues to Chicago, and used his best endeavors to bring about a postponement of action; but this conference was well informed, and all his arguments rolled off the resolute crowd like hailstones off the gilded dome. Although a large proportion voted for the amendment to have a state committee, when the original motion favoring an organizing committee was put it was carried without a single dissenting vote.

The matter of a national organizer was then taken up and it was voted that this conference favored co-operation with the N. E. B. in putting a national organizer in the field for the original S. D. P., and over half of our share of the necessary amount was raised on the spot, the balance to be paid out of the regular quarterly dues of the loyal branches, which the conference advises the branches to empower the organizing committee to select.

The selection of the national organizer was left to the committee subject to referendum vote. The choice of the committee coincides with that of the national executive board, and the nomination of Comrade MacCartney only awaits the ratification of the loyal branches.

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted amid much enthusiasm: "We, the members of the loyal branches of Massachusetts, in conference assembled, believe that a national organization is a necessity for the harmony and solidity of the Socialist movement and that it will be supreme in all party matters."

"We, therefore, accept the referendum of May 8 as binding both on state and local organizations, and declare that it should be considered final till repealed."

"We believe the N. E. B. at Chicago during the two years of its existence has stood for a broad and tolerant Socialist movement and true to the fundamental principles of Socialism. We therefore unequivocally affirm our allegiance to the N. E. B. at Chicago."

"We pledge our support to Debs and Harriman as national candidates, and endorse the state ticket nominated at Boston July 8."

As this was a mass conference, it was voted that the proceedings be submitted to the branches for referendum vote.

The conference then adjourned, the comrades feeling thoroughly satisfied with the afternoon's work, as well they might be, having demonstrated their independence of thought, their loyalty to their ideal of a Socialist party run upon Socialist principles and their ability to grasp and hold the conceptions of a grand national movement, which shall unite New England and the far West, vast Texas and the states on the great lakes, in the onward march towards national and international Socialism.

Margaret Haile.

Social Democrats of Marion county (Indianapolis), Ind., have made the following nominations: For congress, Hugo Miller; Senators, Albert Rall, Adrian Babcock, Reinhold Grueling; for representative of Marion and Hancock counties, William L. Hamilton; for representatives, Charles Hein, Thomas Catton, William Spreen, William Collmann, George Mueller, H. H. Prasuhn, Charles Reffes; for sheriff, William Mulbarger; treasurer, H. Henninger; prosecuting attorney, W. A. Mueller; county commissioners, George Zorn, John Huebemann; surveyor, George Zorn; coroner, George M. L. S.

Subscribers will find their expiration number on wrapper. Prompt renewal is requested.

ILLINOIS CAMPAIGN

WHAT CAN YOU DO?

To all Socialist organizations, Turner societies, trade unions and all other associations in sympathy with the Socialist movement in Illinois, greeting:

The Socialist movement of this state is united politically and has one ticket, with Eugene V. Debs and Job Harriman as our presidential candidates. With a desire to make the campaign successful, we solicit your co-operation and financial assistance. We therefore request a contribution proportionate to your ability to give, either in a single sum or in weekly contributions during the campaign. Please send all contributions to Frederick G. Strickland, secretary, either care Workers' Call, 36 North Clark street, or care Social Democratic Herald, 126 Washington street.

Philip S. Brown,
R. A. Morris,
Committee.

CHICAGO NOTES

Last Sunday afternoon Comrade Strickland spoke to a good audience at Humboldt park.

Comrade A. S. Edwards addressed a meeting of about 400 last Thursday evening at North Clark and Walton place.

Meetings are announced this week at Oakley and Twenty-fourth streets Thursday evening and Paulina and Milwaukee avenue Saturday evening at 8 o'clock.

We regret to announce that Comrade H. C. Perry, candidate for governor of Illinois, is unavoidably detained at home by the illness of his little daughter. He is, consequently, unable to attend to the work of organization assigned to him by the national committee.

A mass meeting will be held Sunday, September 16th, 2 p. m., at Elke's Hall, 1148 63d st. Members of the united Social Democratic Party, as well as all unattached socialists living in or about Englewood, should make it their business to attend this meeting and lend every assistance to make the campaign in that part of the city an aggressive one.

Enthusiastic audiences turn out to Comrade McSweeney's meetings in the southwestern counties of Illinois and much good is being done by the irrepressible Mac. This week he has been at Arcadia, Chapin, Springfield and is billed at Taylorville, Pana, Decatur, Lincoln, Bloomington, Pekin and Peoria.

LOCAL BRANCHES

Notices of Branch Meetings inserted for 25 Cents per Month

CALIFORNIA
Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evening, commencing at 8. Admission free. Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening.
Membership, Social Democrat to Herald free to each member, 25 cents per month.
Apply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk street.

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 8 o'clock at Woodmen's Hall, 1254 Spring St. J. Francis, 700 Dayton Ave., Secretary.

Branch No. 1, Denver, meets every Sunday at 8:30 p. m. at 1715 California Ave., Chas. M. Davis, Secretary, 1629 17th Street.

Branch No. 2, Goldfield, meets every Sunday at 7:30 p. m. at City Hall, Chas. La Camp, Secretary.

CONNECTICUT
The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at 2 p. m. at P. S. Hall, 1030 Main St., Hartford. Louis Schaff, Sec., 26 Spring St., Rockville, Conn.

Branch No. 1, New Haven, meets every Wednesday evening at 8 p. m. at P. S. Hall, C. Valmer, Sec.

Branch No. 4, Rockville, Conn., meets first and third Thursdays at Turn Hall meeting room, Village street. Secretary, Richard Niederwerfer, Box 760.

ILLINOIS
Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and third Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. E. Greer's office, 82 Dearborn St.

Branch No. 1, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening, Thomas Kirwin, Secretary, 264 West North Ave.

Branch No. 2 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets first and third Saturday at 8 p. m. at Nagi's Hall, 435 Blue Island Ave. Ferdinand Sbrodka, Secretary, 694 West 18th Street.

Branch No. 3 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Mondays at 8 p. m. in Dundas's place, 1080 W. 18th place. Joseph Under, Secretary.

Branch No. 4, Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays of each month at 8 o'clock at Nagi's Hall, 435 Blue Island Ave. near 18th St. Albin Gelsier, Secretary, 726 W. 20th St.

Branch No. 5 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets second and fourth Sunday, at 8 a. m. at 2622 Lincoln Street. J. A. Ambros, Secretary, 4840 Wood Street.

Branch No. 6, Chicago, meets at 11:15 W. 63rd st., first and third Sundays at 3 p. m. Gus Larson, Secretary, 6243 Center avenue.

INDIANA
Branch No. 6, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichwein's Hall, corner Market and Noble st. Address all communications to Sec. of State Executive Board, Thomas Catton, 617 Arbor ave.

IOWA
Branch No. 2, Hiteaman, meets every fourth Friday in the month at opera house. James Baxter, chairman, Wm. Truman, secretary, Box 151.

KENTUCKY
Branch No. 4, Bellevue, meets 1st and 3rd Sunday, at 2 p. m., and 2nd and 4th Wednesday at 8 p. m., at 91 Fairfield ave. We will aim to make it interesting for all. Henry Listerman, Sec., 126 Foote ave.

MASSACHUSETTS
Branch No. 2, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Tuesday of each month at Springfield Turner Hall, Carl Schwaab, Organizer, 24 Jackson St.

Branch No. 4, Lynn, permanent headquarters, 71 Monroe St. Business meeting every Monday night at 7:30. Open house. Public invited. Harry Gotsman, Sec., 435 Essex St.

Branch No. 6, Brockton, meets Friday nights at 8 p. m. for business at Socialists Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Center Sts. Every comrade is expected to attend one meeting a month. Mrs. Annie Bosworth, Secretary, 81 Prospect St.

Branch No. 12, Roxbury, Mass., meets at 24 Warren st., 2d and 4th Fridays of every month. Public invited.

There will be a meeting of all Socialists interested in the election of Debs and Harriman held at the Twelfth Street Turner hall, corner Twelfth and Union streets, Sunday, Sept. 16, at 2 p. m., to consider means and methods for carrying on the campaign in the Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, Eleventh, Twelfth, Eighteenth and Nineteenth wards. All Socialist organizations in these wards are urged to be present. An active campaign has been planned and it is necessary that all the forces co-operate. By order of joint campaign committee, S. P. Levenberg secretary.

MORE SIGNATURES NEEDED

Comrades: Signatures are still needed on the county petition lists.

You have until Sept. 20 to get your lists filled.

You must keep at work. We must have all the names that can possibly be secured. We cannot have too many. So hustle them along, boys. Put your shoulder to the wheel and send them in. Fraternally,

The Campaign Committee.

STATE COMMITTEE MEETING

The most important business transacted by the state campaign committee of the Illinois Social Democratic party Sept. 5 was as follows:

Moved and carried that the ratification meeting provided for by resolution at the convention Aug. 26 now be taken up. The following resolution was adopted:

"Resolved, That the ratification meeting ordered by the united Socialist convention of Aug. 26 be held under control and management of the state and county campaign committee elected by the said convention."

Moved and carried that we suggest to the county committee that we invite Comrades Debs and Harriman to attend a ratification meeting on a date between Sept. 26 and Sept. 29.

Moved and carried that the secretary be instructed to inform Comrades Debs and Harriman of the action of this meeting.

Moved and carried that Comrades Daly and Strickland constitute a committee to arrange for the ratification meeting.

The treasurer reported \$5 received from the secretary.

Moved and carried that when the accounts and revenues of the old state campaign committee, S. L. P., are turned over to this committee that their present continuous obligations for literature, speakers, etc., be continued.

Moved and carried that three delegates be elected to meet with the county committee. Comrades Svoboda, Saunders and Strickland elected.

MICHIGAN

Branch No. 1, Battle Creek, Mich., meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of each month, at 8 p. m., at 10 W. Main Street, in the International Congress Hall. All are cordially invited. L. C. Rogers, Secretary.

MINNESOTA

Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Gesswein on Main St. A. Kingsbury, Secretary.

MISSOURI

Branch No. 7, Kansas City, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m., 1200 Union Ave. G. J. Storr, Secretary, 1200 W. 9th St.

MONTANA

Branch No. 1, Butte, meets every Thursday, at 8:30 p. m., Engineers' Hall, Owsley Block. G. Frankel, Sec. 11 E. Park Street.

Branch No. 2, meets first and third Sundays of each month at G. W. Wood's house, Chico, Mont.

NEW JERSEY

Branch No. 1, Secretary, Michael W. Schor, 87 Livingston st.

Branch No. 5, Camden, N. J., meets every 3d Sunday of the month. For particulars address Paul Rberding, 1208 Knight's Avenue.

Branch No. 2, (German) Newark, meets every third Saturday, at International Hall, 7 Bedford St. Hans Hartz, Secretary, 7 Bedford St.

Branch No. 4, (German), Paterson, N. J., meets first and third Mondays at 8 p. m. at Helvetia Hall, 54-56 Van Houten St. Karl Linder, Secretary, 248 Edmond St.

NEW YORK

The City Central Action Committee of Greater New York, meets every second Tuesday at 412 Grand street, Windsor Hall. James Allman, Secretary, 32 outlook st. care of P. O. Box 100.

East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every first and third Thursday at 113 Clinton St. A. Guyer, Secretary, 123 Suffolk St.

Branch No. 5 Brooklyn, New York, meets every Saturday at 8 p. m., at 35 Moore St. Visitors welcome. Comrades desiring to organize should communicate with Secretary Sol. Pressman, 190 Boerum St.

Branch No. 10, New York, meets every Friday, at 8 p. m., 209 E. Broadway. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Organizer, Joseph Williams, 56 Henry st.

OHIO

Branch No. 4, Cincinnati, meets at Richelieu Hall southeast corner 9th and Pine Sts., every Sunday at 3 p. m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Joe Jasen, Secretary, 1410 Central Avenue.

PENNSYLVANIA

Branch No. 1, Philadelphia, meets every Monday, at 8 p. m., at 423 E. 3rd Street, until further notice.

Branch No. 4, Connersport, meets every second and last Wednesday of each month in K. of L. Hall, Chas. Knispel, (Chairman); L. H. Moore, Secretary, Ben. Codrington, Treasurer.

Branch No. 5, Philadelphia, meets first Friday of each month—Executive meets every Sunday morning at 8. D. P. Club Rooms, at 423 E. Third St. Organizer, M. Gillis, 1007 E. Third St.

Branch No. 10, Williamsport, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2 p. m., in Social Labor hall, No. 76 East 3d St. G. B. Smith, chairman; Jess. Lyon, Secretary, 743 Second St. Public invited.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee Central Committee, S. D. P., meets second and fourth Monday of the month at Brewers' Hall, northeast corner Fourth and Chestnut sts.

Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Thursday evening, between State and Prairie, every second and fourth Thursday evening.

Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Friday in Geatke's Hall, corner Green Bay and Concordia Ave.

Branch No. 3, Sheboygan, meets every second Thursday of the month at Kretz Hendel's place, 1011 Michigan St. Secretary, Eugene P. Kichenberger, 1701 N. 11th street.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday each month at Miller's Hall, corner 2nd and Brown Sts. George Moerschel, Secretary, 801 25th St.

Branch No. 5, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at R. Sigel's Hall, south east corner Orchard St. and 9th Ave. O. Wild, Secretary.

Branch No. 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of each month at Volkmann's Hall, corner Center st., 8 p. m. Secretary, Rudolph Loeschman, 1128 23rd St.

Branch No. 23, Milwaukee, meets second and fourth Wednesday of each month, at 524 Clark street. Henry Harbicht, Sec., 1074 7th Street.

Have your card inserted in the
BRANCH DIRECTORY, 25 Cents per
Month. It will help you in the work
in your locality.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

CAMPAIGN OF 1900

THE PARTY.

The Social Democratic Party was organized at Chicago, June 11, 1898. It is the party that elected the first Socialist mayors of American cities, at Haverhill and Brockton, Mass., and in different sections of the country not less than thirty members of the party have been elected to public positions.

ITS METHOD.

Five or more members can organize a branch of the Social Democratic Party. Any reputable person subscribing to the principles of the organization is eligible to membership.

Desiring to organize a branch, application should be made to the national secretary for copies of the constitution, which should be placed in the hands of prospective members. In these will be found the declaration of principles, as also the laws of the organization.

ITS OBJECT.

First—The organization of the working class into a political party to conquer the public powers now controlled by capitalists.

Second—The abolition of wage-slavery by the establishment of a national system of co-operative industry, based upon the social or common ownership of the means of production and distribution, to be administered by society in the common interest of all its members, and the complete emancipation of the socially useful classes from the domination of capitalism.

TRADES UNIONISM.

The trades union is the arena where all wage-workers may be brought together for joint action to resist the encroachments of capitalism on the economic field and to participate in the class struggle of the proletariat which will finally develop into the political alignment of the forces of labor in the struggle for emancipation.

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

ROBERT MEISTER.....Chairman
JOSEPH R. FINN.....Treasurer
SEYMOUR STEDMAN.....Secretary
Address, 126 Washington St., Chicago.

FINANCE COMMITTEE

EDWARD ZEIGLER.....Chairman
JOSEPH R. FINN.....Treasurer
JAMES WRIGHT.....Secretary
Address, 126 Washington St., Chicago

COMMITTEE ON LITERATURE

A. S. EDWARDS.....Chairman
CHRIS. MICKELSON.....Secretary

COMMITTEE ON PRINTING

JOSEPH WINNEN.....Chairman
PHILIP BROWN.....Secretary

COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

SEYMOUR STEDMAN.....Chairman
ARTHUR DENNISON.....Secretary

COMMITTEE ON SPEAKERS

OSCAR LOEBEL.....Chairman
SEYMOUR STEDMAN.....Secretary

NOMINATIONS FOR EXECUTIVE BOARD

Allman, James, New York
Brown, Corinne S., Illinois
Berger, Dr. Henry C., Wisconsin
Berger, Victor L., Wisconsin
Clemens, G. C., Kansas
Doerfler, Jno., Wisconsin
Folen, T. P., Oregon
Foreman, A. B., Wisconsin
Farmer, W. E., Texas
Greer, J. H., Illinois
Gordon, F. G. R., New Hampshire
Haak, F. C., Wisconsin
Haile, Margaret, Massachusetts
Heath, Frederick, Wisconsin
Horgan, W. C., Illinois
Kelher, S., Indiana
Kelley, J. W., Indiana
Ladoff, Isadore, Wisconsin
Lake, H. S., Geneva, Washington
Mohr, Aug., Wisconsin
Roderus, Frank, Illinois
Ricker, A. W., Iowa
Riley, Geo. W., Illinois
Rooney, Eugene H., Wisconsin
Smith, S. L., Massachusetts
Strobel, Geo. H., New Jersey
Tuttle, H., Wisconsin
Uhlhorn, Henry, Illinois
Winnen, Jacob, Illinois
Vaclav, Mudra, Illinois

THE CAMPAIGN FUND

Branch No. 1, New York	\$ 5.00
Geo. H. Strobel, Newark	25.00
Geo. Hooker, Chicago	5.00
Branch No. 17, Missouri	4.00
A. A. Heller, New York	1.00
Branch No. 4, Illinois	10.25
" 6, Wisconsin	5.00
" 1, Indian Territory	2.00
L. R. Gage, Hoquiam	1.00
Jas. Wall, Terre Haute	.15
Chas. Wall	.10
H. Stumpff	.50
J. A. Hatchell	.25
Judson O'Neal	.25
Jno. Hoagland	.25
C. E. Kingery	.25
Sam'l Moore	.25
Joseph Dunham, Pacific	.50
Previously reported	\$97.75
Total	\$1,058.50

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

FREDERICK HEATH.....Chairman
SEYMOUR STEDMAN.....Secretary
EUGENE V. DEBS.....VICTOR L. BERGER
CORINNE S. BROWN

NATIONAL SECRETARY-TREASURER

THEODORE DEBS
No. 126 Washington Street, Chicago.

ITS PLATFORM.

Revision of our federal constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to complete control of government by the people irrespective of sex. Public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

Public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones; all means of transportation and communication; all water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities. Public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal, and other mines, and all oil and gas wells.

Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production. Inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

Useful inventions to be free, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

Labor legislation to be national, instead of local, and international when possible.

National insurance of working people against accident, lack of employment and want in old age.

Equal civil and political rights, for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

The adoption of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by voters.

Abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

NATIONAL PAPER OF THE PARTY:

The Social Democratic Herald
50 CENTS A YEAR.
126 Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.

HEADQUARTERS: 126 WASHINGTON STREET, CHICAGO

NOTES FROM THE FIELD

Fifteen cents will purchase *Merrie England in the German language*, adapted to American needs. If you don't read German, buy one for your friends.

Places desiring Comrade Debs for a meeting must send in applications at once.

Branch dues for last quarter of the year are payable October 5th. Comrades, please take notice.

Send in your order now for Ben Atterbury's letter to workmen. Leaflet No. 2; \$1 a thousand.

Branch 33, Wisconsin, held a mass meeting in Yeager's hall, Thirteenth ward, Milwaukee, last Wednesday night.

The small 4-page leaflet used by the Chicago comrades is good for any part of the country; 1,000 to any address, postage paid, for 75 cents.

Comrade Jesse Cox declines the nomination for membership on the national executive board and his name is removed from the list of candidates.

All loyal members of the Social Democratic branches in Washington are hereby requested to communicate with Comrade L. W. Kidd, 1115 Sixth avenue, North, Seattle, Wash.

Socialists willing to assist in forming new branches of the Social Democratic party are requested to communicate with the secretary, Theodore Debs, 126 Washington street, Chicago.

The Debs leaflet, at 75 cents per thousand, charges paid, is much the best leaflet for propaganda in some localities. We should receive more orders for them. They are small, but to the point, and will make S. D. P. votes.

Every branch should order a five-dollar bunch of literature, which would include 33 Debs lithographs and 4,000 leaflets. Every Socialist can place a few lithographs where they will make votes for the party and increase the local branch membership.

The management of the demonstration of the 29th inst., when Debs will open his campaign at Chicago, has been turned over to the state and county committees. Contributions of money for that occasion are needed and may be sent to Comrade Strickland, secretary.

It is advisable to stamp all leaflets, etc., with the local branch address and time of meeting, in order to get more direct returns for the work of distributing them. Let the voters of your locality know of your meeting, and then provide a good speaker to explain the principles of Socialism.

Our platform, object, methods of organization and "The Man Under the Dray," by Prof. George D. Herron, are printed in the Debs leaflet with a fine picture of our candidate. This leaflet the campaign committee sends out, charges paid for 75 cents per thousand—little above cost.

The portrait of the presidential candidate gives great satisfaction. Thousands have been mailed to branches and comrades in all sections of the country. It should be seen in every community; it informs the observer, directs attention to the party and makes votes. Ten copies, 35 cents; 33 for a dollar; single copy, 10 cents; postage prepaid.

Comrade E. V. Debs informs The Herald that he is overwhelmed with letters from every part of the country, to which it is impossible for him, owing to preparations for his national campaign and other work, to reply. He desires to make this general acknowledgment to all friends and requests their consideration and indulgence during the trying campaign upon which he is about to enter.

The stickers ordered by the national campaign committee are ready and orders can be filled as fast as they come in. They can be furnished only in packages of 500 or more, just as they come from the printer. Five hundred sent to your address by mail for 50 cents. An order for 10,000 has been received from Milwaukee. You will have more fun with this little sticker than you can imagine. One thousand, \$1; in lots of five or ten thousand, 75 cents per thousand.

A large and enthusiastic meeting, under auspices of Branch 57, was held at East Braintree, Mass., Wednesday, Sept. 5. Comrade Harry E. Mooney of Brockton was the principal speaker. He acquitted himself most creditably and the comrades rank him with the best speakers in the state. "He is competent to address any audience," writes our correspondent, "being both forceful and logical; he kept his listeners up to concert-pitch all the time."

To one whose eyes are opened economically our present system is so absurd and so fearfully unscientific that it seems almost marvelous that thinking, honest people are not insulted when any claim is made in its favor. Yet millions are still unable to see it, even after reading on the subject and hearing it explained. It is so hard for people to break up their ugly, useless idols and follow the truth. They are stimulated in this ignorance by the old-party politicians, who ride into office on side issues, and by the great capitalists, who are shrewd enough to understand it thoroughly. So the hollow cries of "prosperity at home and prestige abroad" on the one hand and "anti-imperialism" on the other will fool a lot of fairly sensible people again this year. But won't they be disgusted when they cut their economic eye teeth two or three years hence!

THE WHITE SLAVES

(Continued from First page)

gether differently from the black woman of the South. She said nothing. She scraped up the pennies and the three dollars paid by the mill for that week of her life and went home. When she got there she thought hard about it. The thing had happened before, but it was a problem how to live for a week on a little less than cost of living. The problem solved—a little less to eat or a little less to wear—she put her head on her arms to think and weep until the time came to go to bed and get strength to work at the mill again.

"No screaming as the negroes screamed. But the lesson was well taught. It was rarely necessary for a good many weeks to fine that same white woman again."

The above chapter of history, as the future will write it, is not imaginary. Every man knows that the New Bedford strike has brought out the fight of the mill women against the system of fines.

What do you think of the system? What do you think of the man whose pocket holds the fines taken from that woman?

Subscribe for the Herald.

NOTICE TO BRANCHES

The quarterly dues for the quarter ending Dec. 31 are due at the headquarters, 126 Washington St., Chicago, Ill., on or before Oct. 5. Prompt remittance is of the highest importance to insure the interests of the organization, and the branches are urged to provide for the collection, which should be begun at once.

NEW BRANCHES

Indiana, two.
Louisiana, one.
Virginia, one.
Wisconsin, one.

NEW LEAFLETS

FOUR NEW LEAFLETS ARE NOW READY.

No. 3—Machine Production

Where the Profits Go.

The argument of this leaflet is a clincher because taken from the government reports made by the Commissioner of Labor, and proves that machinery, combinations, trusts and systematized production must lead to socialism. It's the only way out.

No. 4—Toilers of America

Vote for Your Freedom.

This is a remarkably effective campaign document. Written by a prominent member of the United Mine Workers, it sets forth in a convincing manner the reasons why the miners of the country, railroadmen and all other wage workers should support the Social Democratic ticket.

No. 5—Industrial Crises

Cause and Cure.

A strong appeal to the common sense of the voters, this leaflet gives the Socialist view of industrial crises and convincingly shows that Socialism is the necessary solution.

No. 6—Platform and Debs Epigrams.

This is a very attractive addition to our campaign literature; it gives the party platform complete with a collection of the very best epigrammatic sentences from the lectures of Eugene V. Debs, together with other striking contributions.

Put Them Into the Hands of Every Workingman

PRICES.

50 Copies	\$.10
100 Copies	.15
250 Copies	.25
500 Copies	.50
1,000 Copies	1.00
5,000 Copies	5.00

POSTAGE PAID.

Send orders to Campaign Committee Social Democratic Party, 126 Washington street, Chicago, Ill.

Debs and Harriman Buttons

At last we have the BUTTONS, and at the right prices, UNION MADE. Both candidates on the button.

PRICES.

2 Buttons,	5 cents
5 Buttons,	10 cents
12 Buttons,	20 cents

All larger orders than a dozen, 1 1/2 cents each. Charges paid.

National Campaign Committee, S. D. P., 126 WASHINGTON ST. CHICAGO

Grand Socialist Demonstration

Inaugurating the First National Campaign, of the Social Democratic Party, at Chicago.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 9, 1900

In which all Socialist Organizations, clubs, societies and trades unions are invited to participate

Day Parade and Two Mass Meetings

The Central Music Hall and New Twelfth Street Turner Hall have been engaged for Mass Meetings at night to be addressed by.....

EUGENE V. DEBS

Candidate for President

JOB HARRIMAN

Candidate for Vice President and other able speakers whose names will be announced later.

The occasion will also be made a Reunion of the men who fought the Lexington of the Labor Struggle, the American Railway Union.

A BANNER OR A DOLLAR.

This opening meeting of the Campaign must be made a great success and every Society, Branch or Section is called upon to contribute money or send a banner with Comrades to bear it through the streets of the Commercial Heart of the Country.

Remember the Date—September 29.

Let every man be ready and make it a day memorable in the Socialist movement—the irrepressible rise of the Democracy of Labor.

STICK UP THE STICKERS MAKE THE FACT STICK

That Socialism is Here to Stick

STICKERS NOW READY

They are two inches square, and a capital thing for Propaganda because they can be used in a hundred ways.

Sent only in packages of 500 or more. Price of 500, by mail, 50 cents.

Address, CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE, 126 Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

It is hoped that every Branch will contribute \$10 to the Campaign Fund; some can do better; some have done so and will make a canvass for individual subscriptions as well. What is your Branch doing? Send all money to the treasurer of the National Committee, Joseph R. Finn, 126 Washington street, Chicago.



IF YOU SYMPATHIZE WITH TRADE UNIONS

You will encourage the sale OF UNION LABEL GOODS

If you want Union Label Shoes demand the above Union Stamp. No shoe is Union made unless it bears the Union Stamp. No charge or royalty for the Union Stamp. Visit your shoe dealer and take no excuses. Send for latest list of factories. Subscribe for "The Union Boot and Shoe Worker," 50 cents per year.

Boot and Shoe Workers Union, 620 Atlantic Ave., Boston, Mass.

BRANCH SUPPLIES

Membership Cards (per 100)	1.00
Membership Applications (100)	.25
Constitutions (each)	.03

Send orders with cash to Theodore Debs, 126 Washington Street, Chicago. No supplies sent on credit.

The Herald will be sent to any address in the United States 26 weeks for 20 cents.

SPLENDID LIFE-LIKE PORTRAIT

EUGENE V. DEBS

CANDIDATE OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

SIZE—21 X 28 INCHES, ON GOOD PAPER

Price, 10 Cents, Single Copy

Sent by mail, securely enclosed in tube to insure safe transmission, on receipt of price. Address,

CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY,

126 Washington St., Chicago

Social Democratic Party Leaflets

FOR CAMPAIGN PURPOSES

The National Campaign Committee of the Social Democratic party will issue for the campaign a series of well-written, effective four-page leaflets, two of which are now ready for delivery. These leaflets will be sent to branches and individual workers at cost of printing and postage.

LEAFLET NO. 1 is an address to unorganized Socialists; contains information concerning the Socialist movement, the party and its methods, object and program.

LEAFLET NO. 2—"An Open Letter to the Average American Workman," by Ben Atterbury. This is an admirable and convincing paper on the wage question, production, distribution of wealth and an appeal to the intelligence of the working class.

New Ready! 126 Pages!

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

RED BOOK

EDITED BY FREDERICK HEATH

Printed on Plate Paper Handsomely Illustrated

This is an annual publication for Social Democrats who will find it indispensable for reference purposes. This first issue is of especial value because of the historical character of its contents. Among the features are:

A HISTORY OF SOCIALISM IN AMERICA

Covering 76 pages, with portraits of Robert Owen, Etienne Cabet, Wilhelm Weitling, etc., etc.

ALBERT BRISNANE

The first American agitator, with portrait.

A TRIP TO GIRAUD

By Wayfarer, with view of Appeal to Reasonism.

KARL MARX ON THE SINGLE TAX

Compiled from government reports by Lester Ladoff.

SHORTER PIECES

Labor Conflicts in 1899. Greenland. Great Atlas. Chronology for 1899. Directory of Social Democrats. Socialist Controversies of 1899. The "Golden Rule Map." Prof. Herron's Own Social Democratic Platform, etc.

BIOGRAPHIES OF WELL-KNOWN SOCIAL DEMOCRATS

Twenty in all.

ELECTION STATISTICS

Covering the Socialist movement down to the present year. A valuable reference.

A SOCIALIST PORTRAIT GALLERY

Comprising seventeen likenesses of leading workers in the movement, distributed through the world.

Sent postpaid on receipt of price, 15 CENTS.

DEBS PUBLISHING CO.

TERRE HAUTE, IND.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

THIRD YEAR. No. 14.

CHICAGO, ILL., U.S.A., SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1900.

Whole No. 116.

INGLORIOUS END OF NON-PARTISANISM

An Attempt to Defile the Standard of
Socialism by Trailing it in Mire
of Capitalist Politics—Will
Influence No Social
Democrat

JONES SUPPORTS BRYANISM

These Who Are Not for Socialism this Year
Are Against It—A Socialist Who Votes
for Competition is a Traitor

By Seymour Stedman

The attitude of Mayor Samuel M. Jones of Toledo in supporting William J. Bryan is not a surprise to those who were familiar with his economic views. His course is a lesson to all, that when the clash between economic freedom and industrial serfdom wrestle for the possession of the future, those men who are so sincere and whose hearts are so big and warm, will often try to lay our standard at the feet of the enemy. Had Jones understood the philosophy of Socialism, the glass struggle, he never could have made such a terrific blunder. His hope to bring Socialism through the Democratic party is about as sound as the judgment of a man who with equal logic and more discretion might have joined the Jesse James gang in the hope of doing away with robbery, or of a Hindoo joining the Catholic Church in the hope of introducing his theology into the halls of the Vatican! Lincoln was a most superb fool; he should have had Jones to advise him, and then the Union soldiers would have gone forth and joined the Confederate army in the hope of destroying slavery.

After reading the letter of Mr. Jones and stripping it of the poetry and song, we find practically two points made: a protest against imperialism and the juggling of the Philippines. This is one reason why Mr. Jones is going to support Mr. Bryan. We wonder if Mr. Jones has forgotten the fact that Bryan went to Washington and urged upon the Democratic senators the ratification of the Paris treaty and the buying of the Philippine islands. Bryan used his influence to buy these foreign islands for \$20,000,000, then he opposes imperialism and Jones comes forth with cheers for Mr. Bryan, the "non-partisan leader." Mr. Jones is supporting Bryan because he wishes every man to have equal rights, etc., and to prove that Mr. Jones knows exactly what he wants, he is going to support a party which has done more to disfranchise the voters in states where it has absolute control than any other party or government in the world. The Czar is at least going forward to some extent. When the Democratic party disfranchises the voters it is surely going backwards and against this outrage, which is subversive of the liberty not of the Philippines, but of people at home, the Democratic party and Bryan enter no protest.

In Charlotte, South Carolina, children thirteen years old work in the cotton factories from 6 o'clock in the evening to 6 in the morning, twelve long hours in a factory in a Democratic state, which sent a solid delegation to a Democratic national convention, and which national convention never said one word against child labor, or in favor of factory legislation; and in Democratic New York city in one day thirty-seven babies were taken from the tenement district to the morgue, and now the leader of this party, with Mr. Jones, will stand upon these wretched infant forms and shed tears over Philipinos thousands of miles away. It is always so easy to weep and deplore the sorrows that are not standing at our door. Mr. Jones objects to "Gatling guns" and standing armies. At Hazleton, bullets whistled through the hearts of children and their blood moistened the highway; in Idaho martial law was declared. Men were shot and women outraged under a Democratic governor, and in all the thousands of words in the Democratic platform, not one is said about the conditions in this state, where men were required to obtain permission before they could work; but Mr. Jones' mind is resting in the Philippines.

This may be regarded as too severe, but I respect the motives of Mr. Jones, satisfied that he has a warm heart and therein lies his power for injury. Uncle George was a good slave owner; he had a warm heart. With him Uncle Tom was on "Easy street." Simon Legree

INSIDIOUS AND AUDACIOUS CLAIMS OF THE BRYAN DEMOCRACY

WHAT is erroneously and insidiously called Socialism in the Populist and Democratic parties, is a popular determination to do away with the inequitable and oppressive industrial advantage held by corporate combinations of capital.

If favoring municipal ownership of the so-called natural monopolies is to be called Socialistic, then Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, notably, and the leading men of all England must be called Socialists, and the great municipalities of England are Socialistic. And so if a considerable demand for state ownership of railways in this country is Socialistic, then the governments of the principal countries of continental Europe have long been Socialistic. If the Democratic demand for a graded income tax makes Socialists of Democrats, then Mr. Gladstone and Beaconsfield were, and Salisbury is Socialistic.

Whatever may be said of Mr. Bryan's audacious opportunism, of the facility with which he catches political sentiment of the hour and turns it to his own account, yet he undoubtedly retains the traditional or instinctive spirit of individualism inherited from a Democratic ancestry; and this quality still inheres in the Democratic party in the main.

The great body of Mr. Bryan's supporters have no thought of instituting or advancing Socialism. On the contrary, they are in a campaign for overcoming obstacles to competition and individualism in all the ordinary industrial pursuits.

—Albert Watkins in The Arena.

had no heart; he looked at Uncle Tom and broke his bones, and killed him, but this brutal monster and his act did more to free the negro than the warm-hearted "Master George."

When the Christians entered Rome and threatened the destruction of the economic conditions that supported her imperial power, the Emperor became alarmed. Imagine a warm-hearted man, sincere and foolish, saying to the converts, behold Nero hates war, loves poetry, he writes day by day, he thinks he is a re-born Homer and loves music; he fiddles hour by hour, we want an industrial system where all can fiddle, where all can write. Nero is coming our way, and at "a step at a time," and he yells three cheers for Nero, poetry and fiddling. That man unconsciously would be doing as much to light the skies of Rome with the burning bodies of converts as the Pretorian with his flame.

Mr. Jones seems to believe that opposition to the Philippine war will be a step towards ending all wars. It is strange that he cannot understand that the carrying on of war is born of internal conditions which make it necessary. The brutality of militarism and imperialism did not commence at the Philippines. It commenced the day the laboring people were unable to buy the product and consume the wealth which they have created. Expansion is logical from the capitalist system and if necessary to carry it out, all required force will be used. You can never treat foreigners kindly, whether Philipinos or Cubans, nor justly until you treat those at home the same way. Liberate and free the American laborer and he will never subjugate or take the freedom from any other people, but join the master classes, the employers, capitalists and those who hold the means of production and distribution and they will subjugate the workers at home and the slaves abroad, and I pay no compliment to the intellect of Jones by questioning his understanding of this proposition. It may be well here to call attention to another proposition of Mr. Jones, who hopes for the time when "the daily warfare of the competitive strife" will be no more and the party he supports and Mr. Bryan stands upon a platform which is against "private monopoly" of all kinds because "they destroy competition" (Democratic platform), in other words, the platform of the Democratic party believes and declares in favor of competition, and Jones says he is opposed to competitive warfare.

It may be opportune to ask how long it will take to bring the co-operative commonwealth by supporting a party which declares in favor of competition and that "corporations should be protected in all their rights and their legitimate interests should be respected" (Democratic platform). The interest of the corporations is to secure more profits; in other words, a greater share of that which labor produces. Mr. Jones, who professes to believe in the co-operative commonwealth, is found in the position of supporting exactly the opposite from what he says he believes in. The motive of Mr. Jones I should have no right to touch upon ordinarily, but when he opens his letter or declaration casting a light upon his intentions, I have a right to question them. The reason Jones is not supporting "the great souls who have a clear vision of the perfect social state" (Jones' letter), is because those who carry that "ideal" and bear this standard are surrounded by "the man with the hoe," and the sans-culotte, and is lacking in respectability, and because there is no hope of the immediate triumphant success of those who hold aloft the great ideal. The hour has come when men of moral courage will declare themselves for Socialism or against it and take their stand as they yearn toward the future or the past. This is no time to skulk nor to join the enemy and still proclaim a friendship and loyalty to the principles deserted and those who stand for them.

Subscribe for "The Herald"
26 weeks for 20 cents.

THE OLD PARTIES AND THE TRUSTS

The Owners of Both Parties are the
Owners of the Trusts—Satisfied
with Things as They Are, Bryan,
if Elected, Could Not Dis-
turb Their Interests

BRYAN'S PROGRAM IS ABSURD

Push the Evolution to its Logical Termination, Social Ownership of the Means
of Production and Distribution

By Rev. Chas. H. Vail

Industry has passed through several stages of development. The difference between the several stages is not one of principle, but solely one of size and complexity of industrial organization.

At first the hand laborer worked alone and organized industry on a very simple basis and a very small scale. This was the handicraft stage—the period of small industry. In the latter part of this era the master workman had several journeymen and apprentices.

Then came the manufacturing stage, in which the master workman extended the field of his operations. The small shop was transformed into the manufactory and the workers increased in like proportions. It was here that the capitalist appeared, and consequently the beginning of capitalist production. The capitalist organized industry on a more extended scale and complex basis—employing more men and dividing and specializing their labor.

Next came the factory stage—the period of modern industry. In the beginning of this era the tools of production were owned by the individual capitalist, but machinery soon became so gigantic that it became almost, if not quite, impossible for the individual capitalist to furnish the necessary means to operate the improved methods, so the joint-stock company or corporation arose. By this association or concentration of capital industry was organized on a more complex and extended basis.

As individual capitalists unite and form a corporation, so corporations unite and form a combination or trust. This greater concentration of capital makes possible a more minute differentiation of labor and a higher industrial organization. As the corporation represents a greater aggregation and centralization of capital than the individual capitalist, so the trust represents a greater aggregation and centralization than the corporation. In each change the new form came because it was necessary. The trust, like the corporation, arose because the new method was necessary to secure the best economic results.

In this industrial evolution each stage has come and remained because it was more efficient than its predecessor—each new method lessened the cost of production else it could not have sustained itself in competition with the old method. It must be evident that the centralization of capital is necessary to the utilization of the best methods in modern industry. The business of the future must be done by organized capital; it is the only way the needs of the people can be met. Capital is the most effective in producing wealth when most concentrated. The modern factory, the great steamship lines, the railway system, the telegraph and telephone plants, could not have come into existence without the aggregation of large capitals. The whole history of industrial evolution has been one of concentration of capital into larger and larger establishments. If the railroad supplanted the stage coach, and the large factory and farm the small one, it must have

been because they served the community better and cheaper. To return to the old methods would be reactionary. If the people do not receive the full benefit of these improved methods there is a remedy, but to destroy the methods would be absurd. The trust represents the most effective tool in production. To cry out against this tool is to evidence ignorance of the whole economic process. The trouble is not with the tool but with the method of ownership and control. The solution of the problem is not along the line of tool smashing, and yet this is the only remedy offered by the Democratic party. The Republican party does not pretend that it would destroy the trust, it merely condemns all "conspiracies" and reserves the right to pass judgment as to what combinations come under this head. Of course, as the Republican party is owned and controlled by the trust magnates, they have no fear of adverse legislation so long as that party is retained in power. The Republican party, then, has no solution to offer to the trust problem; in fact, it is not looking for one. The owners of the party own the trusts, and are satisfied with things as they are. They wish to retain the ownership of these great combinations that they may continue to reap the advantages of the improved methods of production. These "owners" have no complaints to offer, they are getting along fairly well under present conditions.

While the Democratic party is reactionary, the Republican party has become stationary. It is opposed to further progress. It recognizes the fact of economic evolution, but wishes to check its consummation. The policies of this party has thus become a block to the wheels of progress. We have now reached that point in the economic evolution where further progress is impossible under the present system. The private ownership of these perfected instruments of production is incompatible with the nature of these instruments. The Republican policy of "stagnation" has necessitated the rise of another party that would champion the cause of progress. This party represents the world-wide movement of Socialism.

The Socialist party is the only party in accord with economic progress. It recognizes the fact of the industrial evolution, and the advantages of organization in industry. The problem which it is called upon to solve is to show how this improved method of production can be retained and at the same time secure the benefits to the people as a whole.

Collective ownership, the Socialist says, is the only solution of the problem. When the people own the tools they will receive all the benefits. We ask that the next step in the industrial evolution be taken; as individuals have combined into corporations and corporations into trusts, so trusts should combine into a great trust, a trust of all the people—the co-operative commonwealth. It is only in universal or complete combination that the industrial evolution can be consummated. The Social Democratic party, which is a Socialist party, points out the necessity of pushing the evolution on to its logical termination—public or collective ownership of all the means of production and distribution. It is only by this consummation that the economic evolution can prove beneficial to society as a whole.

As no argument is needed to show the advantages of combination, this is evident upon every hand; none should be needed to show the advisability of society utilizing this principle. The principle is sound and should be extended to the whole social order. When these large combinations and trusts, which embody the principle of combination, are socialized, then the evils threatened by Democratic "reaction" and those realized by Republican "private ownership" will disappear, leaving only the benefits resulting from co-operation which are now appropriated by the few, and which will then accrue to all the people.

REPUBLICANISM AND DEMOCRACY IN 1900

Comparison of the Democratic and
Republican Platforms—One Party
Incapable and the Other Dis-
honest According to the
Platforms of Each

THE BURIED ISSUES OF 1896

A Vote for Either the Republican or the
Democratic Parties is a Vote for the
Trusts, a Vote for Imperialism

Job Harriman in International Review

The national platforms of both the republican and democratic parties are so wordy that a reproduction of them would require more space than is herein available, and yet there is an abundance of room for the consideration of all points worthy of notice.

When reference is made to these parties it will be understood to include only the authors of the platforms and their associates, rather than the rank and file of the voters. It will be interesting to note the compliments each party pays to the other; their vociferous professions of their own sincerity; the contradictions contained in each platform; how the platforms conflict with the acts of each party; their feigned love for the workingman; their professed loyalty to the flag, to the constitution and to the declaration of independence; their "noble responsibility" (?) for the Porto Rican, Cuban and Filipino; their hatred for corporate "conspiracies and combinations," and their effort to keep the producing class divided by riveting their attention to these superficial declarations, while the capitalist class holds the scepter and reaps the harvest.

The republican platform compliments the democratic party in the following language: "Under democratic administration business was dead, industry paralyzed, and the national credit disastrously impaired"; "capital was hidden away, labor distressed and unemployed"; "the menace to prosperity has always resided in democratic principles and in the general incapacity of the democratic party to conduct public affairs"; "the democratic party has never earned public confidence." Meanwhile the democratic platform compliments the republican party as follows: "The Porto Rico law enacted by a republican congress is a flagrant breach of the national good faith"; "the republican carpet-bag officials plunder the revenues (of Cuba) and exploit the colonial theory to the disgrace of the American people"; "the declaration that the republican party steadfastly adheres to the policy announced in the Monroe doctrine is manifestly insincere and deceptive"; "the republican party supports the trusts in return for campaign subscriptions and political support." Thus the one is said to be incapable and the other dishonest; and who is there that would dare dispute such high authority? Indeed, upon reflection one is inclined to be even more liberal and to concede that what each party says is not only true of the other, but is also applicable to themselves. The logic of events has driven both parties from the issues of the last presidential campaign; the tariff and the money question are buried, and the respective planks in the platforms only serve as headboards to their graves.

The democratic party has openly confessed that the issue of 16 to 1, upon which only four short years ago the institutions of this country were to eternally stand or fall, is now of minor importance, and the question of imperialism has taken its place. Thus the burial ceremonies were said; while the republican party insists that their legislation on money and tariff has been followed by "prosperity more general and abundant than we have ever known." And this claim is made in the face of the facts that a high "tariff" and a "gold standard" prevailed under Cleveland at the time when the republicans insist that "business was dead," "industry paralyzed," "credit impaired," "money hid away," "labor distressed," and also in the face of the facts that they made no material change in the tariff and the gold-standard laws, and the slight alteration in the currency law was not made until the last session of congress, after the "wave of prosperity" had passed. Priding themselves on the "wisdom of the gold-standard legislation of the fifty-sixth congress," passed after

(Continued on Second Page)

Social Democratic Herald

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board
FREDERIC HEATH Chairman
SEYMOUR STEEDMAN Secretary
EUGENE V. DEBS **VICTOR L. BERGER**
CORINNE S. BROWN

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, \$5.00. Six months, \$3.00. No papers sent to any one on credit. If, without having subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and no bill will follow. Foreign subscriptions \$1.00.

Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

A. S. EDWARDS, Editor
THEODORE DEBS, National Sec'y-Treas.
 186 Washington St., Chicago.

116 is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 117 your subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, SEPT. 22, 1900.

NATIONAL TICKET

Social Democratic Party

For President:

EUGENE V. DEBS.

For Vice-President:

"JOB" HARRIMAN.

WORD AND ACT COMPARED

Mr. Jones of Toledo, claiming to be a Socialist, will support Bryan, who is an individualist.

Mr. Jones, claiming to believe in co-operation, will support Bryan, who believes in competition.

Mr. Jones, claiming to be a "non-partisan," has gone to the democratic party camp.

Mr. Jones, professing to believe in what he calls "new politics," has thrown his influence on the side of the rottenest "old" politics in the world.

Mr. Jones, proclaiming that "patriotism and partyism cannot abide together," has abandoned his own standard of patriotism and tumbled head-first into the most disreputable party in existence.

Mr. Jones, lustily denouncing "imperialism," has come out in support of Bryan, who used his influence with Democratic senators to force that "issue" upon the country and enlisted in the army to emphasize his at-one-ness with the McKinley policy.

Mr. Jones, declaring the position of the administration with respect to the Philippine war a "denial of equality," has gone to the party of Bryan, which denies political equality to black men in the south.

Mr. Jones, to emphasize his "hope for the future of America," which is "in the patriotism of the whole," has come out for the patriotism of a part of the whole.

Mr. Jones, sentimentally asserting his unswerving devotion to equality and justice, gives his support to a candidate whose policies are purely reactionary and, if possible of being carried out, would arrest the industrial evolution that leads to justice and equality.

Mr. Jones, instead of choosing to stand by "the high ideals of a few great souls who have a clear vision of the perfected social state" (see his letter), will stand by a mere man who is insidiously and distinctly using his popularity and his opportunities to make the attainment of the "perfected social state" impossible, or to postpone its attainment in the interest of the capitalist system, to which he is wedded.

Mr. Jones, asseverating his belief that the co-operative commonwealth is to be "set up" on this continent, instead of joining hands with those who work for it, goes over to a temporary popular politician and party that distinctly opposes what he says he wants.

Mr. Jones, deprecating Gatling guns and standing armies, declares for a party that says: "The national guard of the United States (used to murder workingmen who strike for a chance to live) should ever be cherished in the patriotic hearts of a free people!"

Mr. Jones, declaring himself for "brotherhood Socialism" and against "party Socialism," has come out for bull-pen democracy.

Mr. Jones, who would have you believe he is a Socialist, has arrayed himself squarely on the side of capitalism, on the side of a capitalist political party, on the side of a capitalist candidate for president.

THE STRIKE OF THE MINERS

The most important facts relating to the miners' strike to get before the people of the country are the causes which have made the strike necessary. No one can foresee what will be the result of a strike in which 140,000 men, most of them heads of families, are engaged. Already it is feared that thousands of industries will be shut down for want of fuel, and the poor miners of Pennsylvania will likely have plenty of company in their struggle before it is ended. No man able to discriminate between right and wrong and disposed to see fair play in this dispute will be justified in taking

sides without first knowing what the miners demand and the reasons advanced therefor. The more important of these demands are as follows:

Abolition of the company stores.
 Reduction in price of powder to \$1.50 a keg.
 Abolition of company doctors.
 Semi-monthly payment of wages and payment in cash.

Two thousand two hundred and forty pounds of coal to the ton.

An advance of 20 per cent in wages less than \$1.50 and not exceeding \$1.75 a day.

All classes of day labor not receiving \$1.50 and not exceeding \$1.75 shall receive 15 per cent over present wages; that all day labor now receiving \$1.75 shall be advanced 10 per cent.

There is no doubt whatever that the mine owners are able to concede every one of these demands, if they will. Public sentiment should force them to do it, even though public comfort is to a great degree sacrificed. The average miner makes 90 cents a day when he works. Out of that he has to buy his powder and oil at the company store. He pays \$2.75 for powder that costs 88 cents at the mill. The law fixes a ton of coal at the mines at 2,240 pounds, but the miners are compelled to load 3,300 pounds for a ton. When a ton is delivered at the home of the consumer it weighs only 2,000 pounds. These facts illustrate in part only the cruel and inhuman treatment meted out to the miners by republican and democratic mine owners. The sufferings and hardships of the miners of Pennsylvania beggar description, and while we hope they will win in the struggle, even against fearful odds, we hope, too, that they will see the impossibility of any great improvement in their condition so long as they remain slaves of private corporations and come out boldly next November for Debs and Socialism.

DEMOCRATIC NOTIONS OF FREEDOM

For some time past Comrade W. C. Bohanon has been working in the interest of the Social Democratic party at Fort Wayne, Ind., a city which has the doubtful advantage over some others of having a Democratic mayor and administration. Bohanon has succeeded in arousing great interest in the cause of Socialism—so much so, indeed, that the local politicians sent to the national headquarters of the Democratic party in Chicago an urgent appeal to have Bryan, the anti-socialist, sent there to repair the damage. And Bryan went. But Bohanon kept on the even tenor of his way with that persistence for which he is well known in Chicago. The Democratic lovers of freedom at Fort Wayne started all sorts of untrue and ridiculous stories about the agitator, but the people would go to the Socialist meetings to hear him. At last, driven to desperation and with a desire to preserve the freedom of the American citizen, of which Democrats prate so much, the mayor threatened to arrest Bohanon and actually stopped one of his meetings.

This incident is in perfect accord with the course pursued by Democratic officials and the Democratic party elsewhere. That party is a political prostitute; it joined with the Republicans at Haverhill and elsewhere to beat the Socialists. It is an old hypocrite serving the interests of capitalism under the guise of devotion to freedom and humanity.

And this is the party that has assimilated Jones of Toledo!

TO MAYOR JONES.

For a' that and a' that,
 Your good desires and a' that,
 You wish us well, but still mon,
 We're comin' yet for a' that.

NOTES AND COMMENT

One of the largest manufacturing plants in the United States, a concern that employs 6,000 workmen and pays big dividends to its shareholders, is the Illinois Steel Company at South Chicago. The work performed by the men is laborious and the product has been in great demand. One would be justified in supposing that in this establishment the workmen knew what "prosperity" is and were sharing in it. The company evidently think their workmen are sharing it, for the fact that the monthly pay roll for Wednesday, August 16, was \$218,000 was given out as a "record breaker." The figures are imposing; they sound big; but what do they mean to the 6,000 men? Simply an average of only \$36.33 per month for each man, or about \$1.25 per man each working day. This is another example of your dollar-a-day prosperity under McHannaism.

Fifty years ago in England the Chartists told the workers that they could not hope for emancipation simply by relying upon unions of the skilled trades, which must act as an obstacle to complete socialization of the means of production. And the Chartists were right. Not until the working class organized for the purpose of controlling the forces of production instead of striking and frittering away its energies to gain trifling ameliorations of wage slavery, will it be emancipated. Vote the Social Democratic ticket and begin the work this year.

The kings are getting restless, confirming the testimony of King Henry when he said, "Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown." Leopold of Belgium is ready to abdicate in favor of his nephew, and Victor Emmanuel has renounced \$772,000 of his civil list—part of his pay as king—to win favor with the people of Italy. The purpose of this giving up so large a fortune is to reduce the tax on salt. These royal sops may win temporary favor, but they will not give the people what the rising Social Democracy of the world demands—absolute freedom from economic slavery.

Your "good citizen" is a fellow who, having had opportunities to get rich by plundering society and the producers of wealth, shirks his duty in contributing to the maintenance of the institutions which exist chiefly to protect him in his possession. The board of assessors of Cook County, Illinois, have just raised the valuation of one estate from \$800 to \$300,000, and of another from \$12,000 to \$300,000. These fellows who would escape with a tax 20 times too small are "good" citizens while another who holds you up and takes your week's wages at the point of a revolver is a criminal.

A vote for Bryan is a vote for the party of Steunenberg and the bull pen.

A vote for Bryan is a vote for the party that disfranchises American citizens in North Carolina.

A vote for Bryan is a vote for the perpetuation of the capitalist system, for competition, for war, for the imperialism of private capital.

No thorough Socialist can consistently vote for Bryan.

Competition reaches its tragic climax in militarism and imperialism.

Bryanism proposes more competition, which will of necessity lead to more imperialism.

Therefore, Bryanism, which favors competition, also favors war and all the imperialism necessary to maintain competition.

Bryan is an Individualist and Capitalist Politician

Lincoln, Neb., May 11, '97

Mr. F. G. R. Gordon,
 Manchester, N. H.

Dear Sir.—You ask me whether I am in favor of Socialism and define it to mean "the collective ownership of all the means of production and distribution," and desire an answer "Yes" or "No." I answer, No.

Yours truly,
 (Signed) W. J. Bryan.

The British having annexed the Transvaal, are now hanging or shooting the brave Boers who cannot be reconciled to British rule. Weyler was damned in Cuba, but Butcher Roberts is deified in Britain.

The best things for the campaign are the six four-page leaflets issued by the National Committee. Mailed to any address for one dollar a thousand.

Every workingman who votes for Bryan in the expectation of improving his condition will throw his vote away.

You are a Socialist. But not of the Jones stripe, we hope. You can't be a Socialist and vote for an individualist.

You can't put out too many of the Campaign Leaflets. Each one is good and will do its work.

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN FUND

The national campaign committee has so far done very effective work with the funds at its disposal, and now has a series of six powerful, vote-making leaflets for circulation. More money is needed, however, and it is hoped that the comrades everywhere will realize the magnitude of the task committed to the hands of those who are exerting themselves to the utmost to enlighten the people in the principles of our party and the Socialist movement. At least a quarter of a million leaflets should be distributed in the mining districts of Pennsylvania during the next two or three weeks. To do this work requires money, and the committee can appeal only to Social Democrats for contributions. During the next three weeks, comrades, make your contributions to the fund as large as possible, thus enabling the committee to more effectively carry out its plans. The emissaries of capitalism are everywhere active and the people everywhere receptive. No comrade should allow the opportunities for disseminating the emancipating principles of Socialism to pass unimproved. Send your dollar now to the fund and give the committee the encouragement of your active work and support.

Who will be the first to contribute one dollar to a special fund to send a quarter of a million assorted leaflets into the coal mining districts of Pennsylvania?

REPUBLICANISM AND DEMOCRACY IN 1900

(Continued from First Page)

the boom was over, they proceed to bury the tariff, with the following inscription upon the tombstone: "We renew our faith in the policy of protection to American labor," "whose constantly increasing knowledge and skill have enabled them to finally enter the markets of the world." Thus they paid tribute to the dead issue, for of what value is a tariff if we are able to "enter the markets of the world"? But since that is a fact, could protection have caused the boom of which they boast? Surely this will need no argument. These issues buried, they take their respective position upon the new issues of imperialism; of the trust and of expansion, with a bait on the side for labor. The republican party, in its efforts to justify imperialism, declares that the "war was for liberty and human rights," and that "ten millions of the human race were given a new birth of freedom and the American people a new and noble responsibility." If these men are free, are we responsible for them? Is it really freedom or slavery into which they have been born? The republican party says that the "largest measure of self-government consistent with their welfare and our duties shall be given them." What right have we to determine upon the measure of self-government consistent with their welfare? Was this not precisely what England said of us when we were weak? Is this not always the excuse of the powerful when they are unscrupulously forcing tribute from the weak? Thus our constitution and declaration of independence are trampled under foot, and taxation without representation becomes the policy of the republican party.

The democratic party, being ever watchful for political advantage, perceives this flaw and promptly declares "that any government not based upon the consent of the governed is a tyranny . . . and is a substitution of the methods of imperialism for those of a republic," "and that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." Indeed! and did the democratic party disfranchise the colored people of North Carolina because "all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed?"

The democrats assert that "no nation can long endure half republic and half empire." Can any state long so endure? Look again at North Carolina. Again they warn us that "imperialism abroad will lead quickly and inevitably to despotism at home." Has not despotism already followed imperialism in North Carolina? Were the democrats in power, would they be more just to the colored Porto Rican than they are to the colored Carolinian? Is not democratic imperialism and tyranny as hateful in North Carolina as republican tyranny and imperialism is in Porto Rico and the Philippines?

The republicans are doing in Porto Rico and the Philippines precisely what the democrats are doing in North Carolina, and there is no reason to suppose that either would change their conduct if they were to exchange places. Give them power, and they will both be imperialists. The democratic platform declares that "the burning issue of imperialism grew out of the Spanish war," and yet they declare that "trusts are the most efficient means yet devised for appropriating the fruits of industry to the benefit of the few, at the expense of the many, and unless their insatiable greed is checked all wealth will be aggregated in a few hands and the republic destroyed." Is this not imperialism? Does not imperialism reign in all our industries? Did it grow out of this Spanish war? Can a nation long exist half republic and half empire? Can imperialism continue in our industries and democracy in our politics?

The democratic platform says that "private monopolies are indefensible and intolerable." They destroy competition, control the price of all material, and of the unfinished product, thus robbing both producer and consumer." While the republican platform "condemns all conspiracies and combinations intended to restrict business, to create monopolies, to limit production, or to control prices, and favors such legislation as will effectually restrain and prevent all such abuses."

Since they are both agreed upon this proposition, and since they are the only parties represented in congress, it is pertinent to ask why they did not do something toward carrying out their professions? Each blames the others, and again they are both right, for they are both at fault. The proof is to be found in the fact that they are agreed upon two still more fundamental propositions, from which the other issues arise. They endorse the wages system, and uphold the rights of capital. The republican platform says, first: "We renew our faith in the policy of protection to American labor," by which "the wages in every department of labor has been maintained at high rates." Second: "We recognize the necessity and propriety of the honest co-operation of capital to meet new business conditions."

The democratic platform says, first: "We favor arbitration as a means of settling disputes between corporations and their employees." Second: "Cor-

porations should be protected in all their rights and legitimate interests."

Upon these two propositions they are certainly agreed. But the wages system means that one man employs another for a part of his product and keeps the rest. It also means that the employer will keep more of the worker's product than is sufficient to live upon; otherwise he would do well to work for a wage. But since the workers produce more than enough to pay themselves and to keep their employers, where is there to be found a market for the rest? Evidently there will be no home market for such products. That which is left over will first become capital. The aggregation of this capital will grow into corporations with their alleged "legitimate interests." The aggregation of these corporations means trusts. In proportion as the number of trusts increases the number of employers decreases. As the machinery of production is improved in its efficiency, so also can fewer men perform the task and at the same time live on a smaller proportion of their increased product. Thus is the surplus for which there is no market constantly and necessarily increased.

It is for this reason that the republican platform says that "new markets are necessary for the increasing surplus of our products," and the democratic platform says "we favor trade expansion."

It was this surplus that caused our war with Spain, under the pretext of freeing the suffering Cuban. Yet the republican party claims that the war was "unsought and patiently resisted." It is also this surplus which is causing the war with China, under the pretext of saving the missionaries and legations. The republican platform says that "every effort should be made to open and obtain new markets, especially in the Orient." And those markets or people which are conquered will be given that "measure of self-government consistent with their welfare and our duties." And thus is political imperialism becoming established as a result of our industrial imperialism, and taxation without representation is the ruling policy. But it is to be expected that this will be the political policy when every industrial establishment in our country is a little empire, with an employer as absolute monarch, "protected in his legitimate interests," and where the workers are his subjects. Nor should we be surprised at the policy of taxation without representation in the colonies, for this is our custom in our industries.

(Continued Next Week)

STATE ORGANIZATION EFFECTED IN MONTANA

I am instructed to inform you that in pursuance to a call issued by Butte Branch, No. 1, S. D. P., a convention of the S. D. P. was held in the city of Butte on Tuesday, Aug. 28, 1900. The convention was called for the purpose of electing an executive board and to begin the necessary preliminary work required by law for the placing of a new party in Montana's political arena—at present the most turbulent in the west.

The convention was called to order by Chairman Davis of Butte Branch, No. 1, who was thereupon nominated as temporary chairman. O. M. Partelow was nominated as temporary secretary, as also was Fred Staub, who declined, and there being no further nominations, Comrade Davis was elected chairman of the first state union of the S. D. P. held in the state of Montana. Comrade Partelow was elected secretary pro tem.

A motion to appoint a committee on credentials was then put and carried, and the following committee appointed: L. E. Beaudry of Anaconda, V. S. Anderson of Livingston and Gustave Frankel of Butte. A committee on permanent organization and order of business was appointed as follows: J. F. Fox, M. J. Elliott and W. N. Holden, all of Butte.

A recess was then taken to allow the committees time to report. After a recess of twenty minutes the union was called to order and the committee on credentials presented their report, which was adopted as read. The committee on rules of order and permanent organization reported the temporary officers as permanent. The selection of an executive board, the selection of time and place for a nominating convention and the adoption of the national platform of the S. D. P. party.

The report of the committee was then adopted as read, and the executive board of five was then nominated, and upon ballot elected as follows: Martin J. Elliott, J. F. Fox, O. M. Partelow, W. N. Holden, all of Butte, and L. E. Beaudry of Anaconda, Comrade V. S. Anderson of Livingston declining.

After some animated discussion, the date and place of the nominating convention was set for Sept. 18 at Butte.

The committee on resolutions, composed of Gustave Frankel, Martin Elliott, O. M. Partelow, V. S. Anderson, L. E. Beaudry, simply adopted the national platform of our party.

The convention then adjourned and the executive board met at 8:30 p. m., and Comrade Elliott was elected chairman, Comrade Beaudry vice-chairman, Comrade Partelow secretary, Comrade Fox treasurer.

Oscar M. Partelow,
 Secretary State Executive Board,
 Butte, Mont.

WHY NOT NOW?

George C. Clemens' Caustic Criticism of the "Fusion Reformers" of Kansas

(From Western Socialist News)

Referring to Mr. Hoffman's address at the Fort Scott convention, a fusion paper says:

"The hearty applause which greeted Chairman Hoffman's allusion to Socialism as the great issue of the future demonstrated very conclusively the sentiments of the populists on that proposition."

And why is not Socialism "the great issue" of the present? Are we waiting for the capitalist system to come so Socialism will have something to fight? Or do some people wish to be elected to office now, and become militant Socialists when the party gets votes enough to elect them to office in the future? While the people's party lived, I steadfastly refused to join a Socialist party in Kansas, for the people's party of Kansas was headed for outright Socialism. In 1898 its platform declared for it in a pointed paragraph. What became of that paragraph at Fort Scott? Did it get lost in the shuffle?

I find much "talk" in the Fort Scott platform, but I do not find Socialism. Mr. Hoffman knows as well as any man that the democratic party is not hungering and thirsting after Socialism. He knows that Bryan and Stevenson are no more Socialists than McKinley and Roosevelt. He knows that it makes not a particle of difference to the poor whether the capitalist government they live under is a republic or an empire; that all governments are alike in their treatment of the poor. All this humbug about "saving the country" is so old that it is to be found satirized in George Eliot's novels. Oliver Goldsmith took a humorous shot at it a hundred and fifty years ago. It won't do. Mr. Hoffman is too much a man of the world to seriously believe any such nonsense. Then what other really important issue is there to prevent Socialism being "the great issue" of the living present? Last year, and up to the very hour I left the triune fake, I was constantly assured that the paramount issue of this campaign would be trusts, and that in the discussion of that issue we Socialists could and would discuss Socialism as the only remedy. For this reason, it was urged, the Socialists should remain with the "reform forces" and not throw away their opportunity for agitation. But the Kansas City convention not only declared "imperialism"—of trusts—the "paramount issue" of the campaign, but adopted such a reactionary trust plank as must effectually close the mouth of every Socialist, if he campaigns for the fusionists, as to the Socialist view of trusts. I knew it would be so. I knew also that if I waited for that convention it would be too late to organize the Socialists of Kansas for this year. I did not propose to be tricked again as I was in 1898, when at the urgent request of Socialists, a Socialist platform was adopted, thus putting us in a position which precluded our bolting, and the state committee persistently refused to put that platform on the stump except as pressure compelled them at last to put me on the stump with great reluctance. So I left early, and I am glad I did. It is my opinion that Socialism is "the great issue" of the present, and that it will be "the great issue of the future" also until capitalism shall be no more. Militant Socialism is organized in Kansas today in such a way that no fusionist need hope to ever fuse it with anything else. "Public ownership" don't go. The men afraid to say "Socialism" may go where they please. They will have no voice in the Social Democratic party. Government ownership of railroads and municipal ownership of municipal utilities, with the rest of the Bismarkian program of state Socialism, do not constitute scientific Socialism, nor even approach it. Many governments own railroads and telegraphs. Indeed, this is the rule outside of America. Many cities own public utilities. Yet has poverty diminished in those nations or cities? Glasgow is the shining example of municipal ownership, yet Glasgow can show you poverty at which, if humane, you cannot look, I know, for I have been there, and, when retreating before the appalling misery, the special constable who was conducting a party of us protested that we had reached only "the edge."

Let the government own the American railroads and under civil service security of employment you build up an aristocracy of labor—you will have a great army of employees who will care nothing for the condition of their brethren, who will take no part in the agitation for Socialism. Nationalize and socialize enough "public utilities" without touching the resources of nature and the tools of industry, and you set back Socialism for centuries, by withdrawing its voting and agitating strength under the operation of stringent civil service regulations. How many members of the paid fire departments of America are active Socialists? How many postal employees? How many teachers in the public schools? From colleges, not from public schools, have come Socialism's martyrs of the chair. From every avoca-

tion come Socialists in capitalistic employ. How many come from the departments at Washington? Socialism, as Socialists understand it, is not mere "public ownership of public utilities." It is the public ownership and operation of all the means of production and distribution, and their management to the exclusive end that all the people may have equal chance to live full human lives. All the Fort Scott platform stands for, Bismarck long ago proposed. It could all be accomplished and the great mass of the people be miserably poor. We Socialists refuse to be deluded. We will not compromise. We will not retreat a single inch to elect somebody to office. We will be "harsh as truth, as uncompromising as justice"; and we will be heard, even if every man on the triune ticket has to earn his bread like the rest of us. The poor we stand for do not want a few men to hold government jobs. They wish every man and woman to be in public employ. Appeals to Socialists, to support the triune ticket, national or state, might as well be omitted in convention addresses. The end of that sort of thing has arrived. You tell us "Breidenthal is an ardent Socialist?" "Where the carcass is, there will the eagles gather." If Debs were a candidate for governor, on a ticket hoping to win, as Breidenthal is today, would bankers and conservative republicans be for him? Would he have the support of leading republican, conservative newspapers? Why not? Can you think of any reason why not but that every voter would know that were Debs elected he would stand by the poor, and look after the rich only in case he had spare time? Why do bankers and conservative republicans and democrats support Breidenthal, while they would denounce Debs were he the candidate of the very same party? Answer this if you can consistently with the idea that, in the estimation of these conservative supporters, Breidenthal is as good a Socialist as anybody? He may be "a theoretical Socialist," as Webb McNeill says some men are "theoretical prohibitionists." What will Mr. Breidenthal do in case of a strike? Will he say? Dare he say? Dare he say he would do as Debs would? Will he dare say he would do as I would. Let us have done with this palaver. The fusionists are running on a capitalist ticket—a ticket capitalist to the core. The Socialists are through. If alleged Socialists in the triune ranks are nursing, as they seem to be, the fond delusion that the militant Socialists of Kansas are making sacrifices this year and enduring the abuse of the cohorts of reform for the sole purpose of building up another party for them to fuse and wreck, it would be well for them to disabuse their intellects at once. Until now there was reasonable excuse for Socialists in Kansas to refrain from joining a Socialist party, for, left to itself, the people's party was certain to become the Socialist party. But with no people's party in the field, and with the fusion national candidates anti-Socialists, upon a platform absolutely negating all discussion of Socialism, what excuse, but a desire to be with the winning crowd and secure the possible spoils, has any Socialist in Kansas to stand aloof from the Socialist party? The alleged Socialists who fight this year will be permitted to join us, of course, hereafter, for we welcome the world; but they will not be made "bosses" the first week or two. They are making their beds and must try to lie in them with what comfort they can. A republican is a man who votes the republican ticket. A fusionist is a man who votes the fusionist ticket. And from today henceforth only that man will be recognized as a Kansas Socialist who votes a Kansas Socialist ticket. The time has come to draw the line. Henceforth people can no more claim to be Socialists and vote against a Socialist ticket in order to get office, than after John Brown's scaffold had stood out against the bleak Virginia sky a man could claim to be an abolitionist while voting with a slaveholder's party. In every movement there comes a time when the sheep and goats divide. It has come in the Socialist movement in Kansas.

LIGHT, MORE LIGHT

A Suggestion to Socialist Societies and Branches of the Social Democratic Party.

By Isador Ladoff

Thirteenth Lesson—General Tendencies and Protest of Herbert Spencer—The State and National Monopolies; Municipal Control or Ownership; State Control or Ownership of Means of Transportation; State Care of Indigent and Vicious; Questions of Land Tenure, Land Transfer and National Finance Significance of These Questions in Politics. Protest of Herbert Spencer. (Books: H. C. Adams, Relations of State Industrial Action; Ely, Taxation; Bemis, Municipal Monopolies; Proceedings of American Economical Association, Vols. 1, 2 and 6; Hadley, Railroad Transportation; Dixon, State Railroad Control; Gide, Political Economy; Spencer, Man vs. the State; Mackay, A Plea for Liberty.)

Fourteenth Lesson—The New Political Economy—Economics; the Mathematical Method; the Historical Method;

Contemporary Writers in Europe and America; the Several Schools. Economics and Sociology; Social Reformation. Contrast Between the Old and New Attitude of Liberalism Toward the State. Some Unsolved Problems. (Books: Lecky, Democracy and Liberty; Marshall, Principles of Economics; Gide, Political Economy; Keynes, Scope and Methods of Political Economy; Clarke, The Philosophy of Wealth; Ritchie, Principles of State Interference.)

CALENDAR

Paper—The Sociological Basis of Ethics. Discussion—The function of ethics in social progress.

Paper—The Race and the Individual. Discussion—The philosophy of human life.

Paper—The Present Condition of the Family. Discussion—The ethics of sex relationship.

Paper—The Causes of the Social Evil. Discussion—The best social policy with respect to the social evil.

Paper—The Present Social Position of Women. Discussion—The social effects of the new status of women.

Paper—The Rights of Children. Discussion—The duties of society and parents to children.

Paper—Industrial Ideals. Discussion—The social tendencies of industrialism.

Paper—Land as a Factor in Production. Discussion—Influences of city life on social development.

Paper—Combinations of Labor and Capital. Discussion—The attitude of society toward industrial conflicts.

Paper—The Problems of Wealth Distribution. Discussion—The ideal basis of property rights.

Paper—Types of Social Theory—Individualism, Collectivism, Communism. Discussion—Influences of industrialism upon social theories.

Paper—The Function of Society Respecting Public Health. Discussion—The ethics of public sanitation.

Paper—The Philosophy of Government. Discussion—Where should governmental sovereignty be located?

Paper—The Future and Ethical End of Government. Discussion—What policy should govern the United States with respect to the acquisition of new territory?

Paper—The Contributions of the Liberal Professions to Social Welfare. Discussion—Is representative government threatened by a monopolization of governmental functions by one class?

Paper—Problems of Municipal Government. Discussion—Does centralization of government threaten local interests?

Paper—The Sociological Significance of Education. Discussion—Educational methods in the public schools.

Paper—The Ethical Idea of Education. Discussion—Ethical instruction in the public schools.

Paper—Religion as a Social Factor. Discussion—Is morality dependent upon a supernatural sanction?

Paper—The Ideal Position of the Church in Society. Discussion—Does the right principle of authority or that of freedom in religion best conserve moral progress?

Paper—Social Customs as Fostering Luxury. Discussion—The use and misuse of luxury.

Paper—The Causes of Social Dependency. Discussion—Do the present methods of charity administration reach the root of the evil?

Paper—The Causes of Criminality. Discussion—Are the present methods of criminal correction ethical?

Paper—The State and the Liquor Traffic. Discussion—Is the social welfare conserved by legal restriction of the liquor traffic?

Paper—The Problems of Immigration. Discussion—Is human welfare conserved by the policy of unrestricted immigration in the United States?

Paper—Science from the Sociological View Point. Discussion—Is a scientific training conducive to a sound philosophy of life?

Paper—The Sociology of Useful Arts. Discussion—Is the modern tendency in the useful arts toward a caste system desirable?

Paper—Natural Harmony as a Foundation of the Fine Arts. Discussion—Has art a natural or a conventional basis?

Paper—The Social Function of Fine Art. Discussion—How can the fine arts be socialized?

Annual Business Meeting. Discussion—The results of the year's work and the outlook for the future.

HEPRO IN MA CH'ETTS

Our branches are now voting upon the report of the proceedings of the conference of Sept. 2. As soon as the votes are returned we will get to work regularly and systematically. One comrade, whose branch was not represented at the conference for good and sufficient reasons, writes, upon receipt of the report: "To every section of the report of the conference I say 'Amen,' and feel certain that every comrade of Branch will gladly and even joyfully do likewise as soon as the work of the conference becomes known to them. Our next regular meeting comes on Sept. 23, but I will call a special one in a few days, as the news is too good to keep from the boys any longer than is necessary." Massachusetts will yet re-

deem itself. If we had a national organization composed of branches like that one, we would have the "bomb-proof organization" that Comrade Keliher wants.

The action of the conference has put new life into us. The comrades are active everywhere. Three new branches are under way, and another good healthy branch that I have classed a "doubtful" has this week declared itself loyal to the original S. D. P. and come into our loyal federation.

Open air meetings are popular these cool, pleasant September days. Everett branch holds one every Saturday evening. Sunday afternoon is a favorite time for out-door meetings. The one held at Island Grove, Abington, a week ago was attended by 1,500 people—"a good Plymouth county crowd, too," as one comrade expressed it. The Quincy boys are to have one next Sunday, the 16th, at Bellamy Grove, which they intend shall surpass the one they had last year, and that is saying a great deal.

Don't forget the picnic at Oakland Grove, East Dedham, on the 23d. In addition to our always popular Dr. Gibbs, Mayor Coulter and National Organizer MacCartney, we are to have Dr. Keown of Lynn, whose impassioned speech at the conference pleading that we hold high the standard of Socialism far above the defilement of political trickery and keep our organization worthy of the high principles we profess, made a deep impression. We expect to net a considerable sum for the national campaign fund.

But the greatest and choicest piece of news I have reserved to the last. Listen: On the 18th inst., at Rockland, in the opera house, we are to have speak for us Prof. George D. Herron. Isn't that good news, comrades? MacCartney is going to have a hard fight to get back to the legislature this year, but the boys realize it and have their coats off and sleeves rolled up already. There is one man who can produce more effect upon the people of Rockland than almost any other in the whole country, and that man is Prof. Herron, and we are to have him. You see, some four years ago he held a series of meetings in Rockland and made a profound impression. He was not a Socialist in those days, but he got hold of the people of this staid New England town, these descendants of the Pilgrims; and he holds them still. To have him come back as an avowed Socialist and speak under the auspices of the S. D. P. will have a tremendous effect. More about it next week. Margaret Haile.

LOCAL BRANCHES

Notices of Branch Meetings Inserted for 25 Cents per Month

CALIFORNIA

Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evening, commencing at 8. Admission free. Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening. Membership, Social Democrats: \$1.00 per year, \$0.50 per month. Apply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk street.

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock at Woodmen's Hall, 1254 Spring St. J. Frank, 300 Dayton Ave., Secretary.

COLORADO

Branch No. 1, Denver, meets every Sunday at 8:00 p. m. at 1715 California Ave., Chas. M. Davis, Secretary, 1629 17th St.

Branch No. 2, Goldfield, meets every Sunday at 7:30 p. m., at City Hall, Chas. Le Camp, Secretary.

CONNECTICUT

The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at 2 p. m. at P. Schaffer's, 1039 Main St., Hartford. Louis Schaff, Sec., 36 Spring St., Rockville, Conn.

Branch No. 2, New Haven, meets every Wednesday evening at 8 p. m. at Aurora Hall, C. Volmer, Sec. Branch No. 4, Rockville, Conn., meets first and third Thursdays at Turn Hall meeting room, Village street. Secretary, Richard Niederwieser, Box 160.

ILLINOIS

Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. E. Greer's office, 65 Dearborn St.

Branch No. 1, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening. Thomas Kirwin, Secretary, 2604 West-north Ave.

Branch No. 2 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets first and third Saturdays at 8 p. m. at Nagl's Hall, 535 Blue Island Ave. Ferdinand Brodoka, Secretary, 894 West 18th St.

Branch No. 3 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets second and fourth Mondays at 8 p. m. in Dunder's place, 1080 W. 18th place. Joseph Dunder, Secretary.

Branch No. 5, Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays of each month at Plank's Hall, cor. Centre Ave. and 19th St. Joe Cerny, Sec'y, 810 W. 18th St.

Branch No. 6 (German) Chicago, meets every first Saturday at 8 p. m. at 8 o'clock at Nagl's Hall, 535 Blue Island Ave., near 18th St. Albin Geisler, Secretary, 724 W. 20th St.

Branch No. 8 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets second and fourth Sunday at 9 a. m., at 8025 Line Street. J. A. Ambrose, Secretary, 4840 Wood Street.

Branch No. 8, Chicago, meets at 1145 W. 3rd St., first and third Sundays at 2 p. m. Gus Larson, Secretary, 6243 Central Avenue.

INDIANA

Branch No. 4, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichert's Hall, corner Market and Noble sts. Address all communications to the Sec. of State Executive Board, Thomas Cation, 617 Arbor ave.

IOWA

Branch No. 2, Hittman, meets every fourth Friday in the month at opera house. James Baxter, chairman, Wm. Truman, secretary, Box 131.

KENTUCKY

Branch No. 4, Bellvue, meets 1st and 3rd Sunday, at 2 p. m., and 2nd and 4th Wednesday at 3 p. m., at 91 Fairfield ave. We will aim to make it interesting for all. Henry Listemann, Sec., 125 Fools ave.

MAMASQUETTE

Branch No. 2, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at Springfield Turner Hall, Carl Schwabe, Organizer, 24 Jackson St.

ILLINOIS CAMPAIGN

WHAT CAN YOU DO?

To all Socialist organizations, Turner societies, trade unions and all other associations in sympathy with the Socialist movement in Illinois, greeting:

The Socialist movement of this state is united politically and has one ticket, with Eugene V. Debs and Job Harriman as our presidential candidates. With a desire to make the campaign successful, we solicit your co-operation and financial assistance. We therefore request a contribution proportionate to your ability to give, either in a single sum or in weekly contributions during the campaign. Please send all contributions to Frederick G. Strickland, secretary, either care Workers' Call, 36 North Clark street, or care Social Democratic Herald, 126 Washington street.

Philip S. Brown,
R. A. Morris,
Committee.

ILLINOIS CAMPAIGN FUND

For week ending Sept. 10:
Income from Wellington Hall...\$20.95
Comrade Zeigler.....5.00
Comrade H. Singer.....5.00
Collected by Jos. Weiss on list No. 355—

Jos. Weiss.....25
M. Mortimer.....15
S. Levinton.....15
J. W. C.....15
Deno.....15
H. Landfield.....10
S. Landfield.....10
M. Steinert.....10
H. Landfield.....05

Collected on list No. 373—

E. Jordi.....1.00
E. Wennel.....25
W. Dein.....25
K. Rudolph.....25
H. Dose.....50
P. Bischoff.....25
A. Fittig.....50
P. Roseman.....50
M. Miller.....50
M. Deschler.....50
A. Kleinschmitt.....50
Th. August.....25
J. W. Saunders.....50
J. Dobleman.....50

Total.....\$38.40

Every branch should order a five-dollar bunch of literature, which would include 33 Debs lithographs and 4,000 leaflets. Every Socialist can place a few lithographs where they will make votes for the party and increase the local branch membership.

Places desiring Comrade Debs for a meeting must send in applications at once.

MICHIGAN

Branch No. 1, Battle Creek, Mich., meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of each month, at 8 p. m., at 10 W. Main Street, in the International Congress Hall. All are cordially invited. L. C. Rogers, Secretary.

MINNESOTA

Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Geaswein, on Main St. A. Kingsbury, Secretary.

MISSOURI

Branch No. 7, Kansas City, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1200 Union Ave. G. J. Stors, Secretary, 1280 W. 9th St.

MONTANA

Branch No. 1, Butte, meets every Thursday, at 8:30 p. m., Engineers' Hall, Oswald Block. G. Frankel, Sec. 71 E. Park Street.

Branch No. 2 meets first and third Sundays of each month at G. W. Wood's home, Chico, Mont.

NEW JERSEY

Branch No. 1, Secretary, Michael W. Sobor, 87 Livingston St.

Branch No. 3, Camden, N. J., meets every 3d Sunday of the month. For particulars address Paul Eberding, 1208 Kaighn's Avenue.

Branch No. 3 (German) Newark, meets every third Saturday, at International Hall, 7 Bedford St. Hans Hartwig, Secretary, 7 Bedford St.

Branch No. 6 (German), Paterson, N. J., meets first and third Mondays at 8 p. m. at Halveta Hall, 54-56 Van Houten St. Karl Linder, Secretary, 246 Ed-mund St.

NEW YORK

The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York, meets every second Tuesday at 412 Grand street, Windsor Hall. James Altman, Secretary, 32 Suffolk St. care of "Forward."

East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every first and third Thursday at 111 Clinton St. A. Guyer, Secretary, 118 Suffolk St.

Branch No. 5 Brooklyn, New York, meets every Saturday at 8 p. m., at 55 Moore St. Visitors welcome. Comrades desiring to organize should communicate with Secretary Sol. Freeman, 190 Boorum St.

Branch No. 10, New York, meets every Friday, at 8 p. m., 209 E. Broadway. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Organizer, Joseph Williams, 56 Henry St.

OHIO

Branch No. 4, Cincinnati, meets at Richelieu Hall southeast corner 9th and Plum Sts., every Sunday at 2 p. m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. J. Vasin, Secretary, 1410 Central Avenue.

OREGON

Branch No. 1, Portland, meets every Monday night at Washington Hotel, Cor. 3d and Flanders Sts. Everybody invited. T. C. Wendland, chairman; Mrs. N. E. Fortsch, secretary.

PENNSYLVANIA

Branch No. 1, Philadelphia, meets every Monday, at 8 p. m., at 423 E. 3rd Street, until further notice.

Branch No. 4, Camdenport. Meets every second and last Wednesday of each month in K. of L. Hall, Chas. Knispel, Chairman; L. E. Morse, Secretary, Ben. Conington, Treasurer.

Branch No. 5, Philadelphia, meets first Friday of each month—Executive meets every Sunday morning—at S. D. P. Club Rooms, at 423 E. Third St. Organizer, J. Gillis, 1077 S. Third St.

Branch No. 10, Williamsport, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2 p. m., in Social Labor Hall, No. 25 East 3d St. G. B. Smith, chairman; Joe Lyon, secretary, 743 Second St. Public invited.

WINCHESTER

Milwaukee Central Committee, S. D. P., meets second and fourth Monday of each month at Brewers' Hall, northeast corner Fourth and Chestnut sts.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

THE CAMPAIGN FUND

J. J. Rittman, Raymond, Mo.	1.00
Branch 51, Massachusetts	10.00
Branch 51, Wisconsin	10.00
Elizabeth Thomas, Roxbury, Mass.	1.00
Peter Riley, Chicago	.50
David White, Chicago	.50
W. A. Downing, Chicago	.50
Margaret Hall, Chicago	.50
A. C. Mendall, Chicago	.50
Klein and Olin's list, Chicago	21.40
Branch 3, Wisconsin	10.00
Hugh Crumley, Cincinnati	1.00
H. Richter, Chicago	1.00
R. Biederman, Chicago	1.00
Franciscus, Chicago	1.00
A. E. Schuttenhelm, Chicago	1.00
Z. B. Mead, Chicago	1.00
A. Nagel, Chicago	1.00
P. Desher, Chicago	.50
W. H. Brockmire, Chicago	.50
Emil Lang, Chicago	.50
A. Berry, Chicago	1.00
John Hirsch, Chicago	.50
R. Hitchens, Chicago	.50
Branch 1, Wisconsin	10.00
Aug. Kharson, Milwaukee	.50
Frank Bauer, Chicago	.50
J. D. Dietrich, Chicago	.50
John Merget, Chicago	.50
Karl Ruess, Chicago	.50
John Heumann, Chicago	.50
C. A. Blodgett, Chicago	.50
J. Lorch, Chicago	.50
L. Knechtel, Chicago	.50
Geo. Moerschel, Chicago	.50
Nick. Petersen, Chicago	.50
Henry Stoltenberg, Chicago	.50
Wm. Hall, Chicago	.50
Error in transfer	5.10
Previously reported	1,58.50
	\$1,156.00

NATIONAL SECRETARY-TREASURER

THEODORE DEBS
No. 126 Washington Street, Chicago.

THE NATIONAL PLATFORM

Adopted at the Indianapolis Convention, March, 1900

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness depend upon equal political and economic rights.

In our economic development an industrial revolution has taken place, the individual tool of former years having become the social tool of the present. The individual tool was owned by the worker who employed himself and was master of his product. The social tool, the machine, is owned by the capitalist and the worker is dependent upon him for employment. The capitalist thus becomes the master of the worker and is able to appropriate to himself a large share of the product of his labor.

Capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people; but the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system will necessitate the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare.

The present system of social production and private ownership is rapidly converting society into two antagonistic classes—i. e., the capitalist class and the propertyless class. The middle class, once the most powerful of this great nation, is disappearing in the mill of competition. The issue is now between the two classes first named. Our political liberty is now of little value to the masses unless used to acquire economic liberty.

Independent political action and the trade union movement are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its political, the other its economic wing, and both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system.

Therefore the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be:

First—The organization of the working class into a political party to conquer the public powers now controlled by capitalists.

Second—The abolition of wage-slavery by the establishment of a national system of co-operative industry, based upon the social or common ownership of the means of production and distribution, to be administered by society in the common interest of all its members, and the complete emancipation of the socially useful classes from the domination of capitalism.

The working class and all those in sympathy with their historic mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America. The control of political power by the Social Democratic party will be tantamount to the abolition of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting the millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international Socialism, the brotherhood of man. As steps in that direction, we make the following demands:

First—Revision of our federal constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to complete

control of government by the people irrespective of sex.

Second—The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

Third—The public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones; all means of transportation, and communication; all water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

Fourth—The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal, and other mines, and all oil and gas wells.

Fifth—The reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

Sixth—The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

Seventh—Useful inventions to be free, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

Eighth—Labor legislation to be national, instead of local, and international when possible.

Ninth—National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.

Tenth—Equal civil and political rights, for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

Eleventh—The adoption of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

Twelfth—Abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

ROBERT MEISTER Chairman
JOSEPH R. FINN Treasurer
SEYMOUR STEDMAN Secretary
Address, 126 Washington St., Chicago.

FINANCE COMMITTEE

EDWARD ZEIGLER Chairman
JOSEPH R. FINN Treasurer
JAMES WRIGHT Secretary
Address, 126 Washington St., Chicago

COMMITTEE ON LITERATURE

A. S. EDWARDS Chairman
VICTOR L. BERGE Secretary

COMMITTEE ON PRINTING

JOSEPH WINNEN Chairman
PHILIP BROWN Secretary

COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

SEYMOUR STEDMAN Chairman
ARTHUR DENNISON Secretary

COMMITTEE ON SPEAKERS

OSCAR LOEBEL Chairman
SEYMOUR STEDMAN Secretary

NATIONAL PAPER OF THE PARTY:

The Social Democratic Herald
50 CENTS A YEAR.
126 Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.

HEADQUARTERS: 126 WASHINGTON STREET, CHICAGO

NOTES FROM THE FIELD

Fifteen cents will purchase Merrie England in the German language, adapted to American needs. If you don't read German, buy one for your friends.

See notice of new leaflets—they make Socialists.

The new buttons are union made and all right. Twenty cents per dozen.

You write letters? Put a sticker on the back of each envelope. Five hundred for 50 cents.

Branch dues for last quarter of the year are payable October 5th. Comrades, please take notice.

Send in your order now for Ben Atterbury's letter to workmen. Leaflet No. 2; \$1 a thousand.

The small 4-page leaflet used by the Chicago comrades is good for any part of the country; 1,000 to any address, postage paid, for 75 cents.

The Graham Gem, formerly a populist paper, published at Hill City, Kan., has hoisted the entire Social Democratic ticket, national and state.

Comrade Ricker of Iowa filled several appointments in Nebraska this week, speaking at Omaha, Council Bluffs, Plattsmouth and South Omaha.

Comrade E. V. Debs spoke to a deeply interested audience at Van Horn, Iowa, September 11, the occasion being the Firemen's annual field day.

All loyal members of the Social Democratic branches in Washington are hereby requested to communicate with Comrade L. W. Kidd, 1115 Sixth avenue, North, Seattle, Wash.

Socialists willing to assist in forming new branches of the Social Democratic party are requested to communicate with the secretary, Theodore Debs, 126 Washington street, Chicago.

If any reader of the Herald has information of the whereabouts of Richard Scholl he will confer a favor by communicating with Wm. E. Eckart, 1211 Armstrong avenue, St. Louis, Mo.

The Debs leaflet at 75 cents per thousand, charges paid, is much the best leaflet for propaganda in some localities. We should receive more orders for them. They are small, but to the point, and will make S. D. P. votes.

Do you know the motto of the capitalist party voters? "We don't care if we never wake up." Socialists are awake, but must wake up the old party men before we can improve our condition.

It is advisable to stamp all leaflets, etc., with the local branch address and time of meeting, in order to get more direct returns for the work of distributing them. Let the voters of your locality know of your meeting, and then provide a good speaker to explain the principles of Socialism.

For \$5 the national campaign committee will send, postage paid, thirty-three Debs lithographs (21x28 in.) and 4,000 Leaflets, the latter to include an assortment of all the six Leaflets so far issued. Every one is a vote-maker—every one will convert thinking people to Socialism. The expenditure of \$5 in your community for this campaign outfit will start a movement where you live.

PROF. HERRON WILL SPEAK.

We have great pleasure in announcing that Prof. George D. Herron has accepted an invitation to speak at the Central Music Hall meeting, with Comrade Eugene V. Debs, Saturday evening, September 29. This will be Prof. Herron's first public appearance in Chicago since his return from Europe.

The office force at Campaign Headquarters had to call in volunteers this week to help with the work. But there are plenty of comrades ready to respond, so pile in your orders every day to the close of the campaign.

Watch our campaign fund grow—and help it along. Every dollar sent in will tell hundreds of wage slaves how to vote; that the Socialists are making a great campaign against capitalism; that Socialism will win out because we are here to stay. We are IT.

Samuel Hoar, of Terre Haute, has been nominated on the Social Democratic ticket for Congress; Pickett Connett for State Senator; Redman Keenan, of Clinton, for Joint Representative, and John Hoagland for Commissioner of the First District of Illinois.

Our platform, object, methods of organization and "The Man Under the Dray," by Prof. George D. Herron, are printed in the Debs leaflet with a fine picture of our candidate. This leaflet the campaign committee sends out, charges paid for 75 cents per thousand—little above cost.

The Social Democrats of the Pekin (Ill.) district met September 12 and nominated J. E. Edwards, of Canton, for Congress; B. F. Ordway, of Peoria, for Member of State Board of Equalization; C. E. Crandall, of Pekin, for Senator from the 26th District, and F. W. Moore, of Middle Grove, for Representative 26th District.

The portrait of the presidential candidate gives great satisfaction. Thousands have been mailed to branches and comrades in all sections of the country. It should be seen in every community; it informs the observer, directs attention to the party and makes votes. Ten copies, 35 cents; 33 for a dollar; single copy, 10 cents; postage prepaid.

The Stickers have made a hit. You should have a thousand or ten thousand to put up in your community. They are two inches square, put up in packages of 500 and very handy. They are designed to fix in the mind the fact that the Social Democrats are in the field with a candidate for president. They do the business. One thousand, postage paid, one dollar.

The Socialists would like to send a relief train to Texas sufferers—and to factory workers, farmers, railroad men, miners, and other wage workers in every state in the Union—but the relief we would send would be car loads of literature, and in place of doctors, nurses and medicine cases, we would send speakers, writers, organizers. Will some great newspaper pay for this? Has Hearst's American-Examiner-Journal something more important to do?

All organizations intending to take part in the parade of Sept. 29 are requested to carry banners and flags and assemble on Market square, between Madison and Randolph, at 6 o'clock p. m. The parade will start at 7 sharp, and line of march will be announced next week. Organizations will also send name, and marshal of the day to Ferdinand Svoboda, chief marshal, 694 West Eighteenth street.

NOTICE TO BRANCHES

The quarterly dues for the quarter ending Dec. 31 are due at the headquarters, 126 Washington st., Chicago, Ill., on or before Oct. 5. Prompt remittance is of the highest importance to insure the interests of the organization, and the branches are urged to provide for the collection, which should be begun at once.

NEW BRANCHES

California, one.
Indiana, three.
Missouri, one.
Ohio, one.
Maryland, one.

CAMPAIGN LEAFLETS

PUSH THEM OUT AND MAKE VOTES

No. 1—Address to Unorganized Socialists

Contains information concerning the Socialist movement in the United States, the party and its methods, object and program.

No. 2—An Open Letter to the Average American Workman

By Ben. Atterbury. This is an admirable and convincing paper on the wage question, production, distribution of wealth and an appeal to the intelligence of the working class.

No. 3—Machine Production Where the Profits Go.

The argument of this leaflet is a clincher because taken from the government reports made by the Commissioner of Labor, and proves that machinery, combinations, trusts and systematized production must lead to socialism. It's the only way out.

No. 4—Toilers of America Vote for Your Freedom.

This is a remarkably effective campaign document. Written by a prominent member of the United Mine Workers, it sets forth in a convincing manner the reasons why the miners of the country, railroadmen and all other wage workers should support the Social Democratic ticket.

No. 5—Industrial Crises—Cause and Cure.

A strong appeal to the common sense of the voters, this leaflet gives the Socialist view of industrial crises and convincingly shows that Socialism is the necessary solution.

No. 6—Platform and Debs Epigrams.

This is a very attractive addition to our campaign literature; it gives the party platform complete with a collection of the very best epigrammatic sentences from the lectures of Eugene V. Debs, together with other striking contributions.

Put Them Into the Hands of Every Workingman

PRICES.

50 Copies	.....\$ .10
100 Copies	..... .15
250 Copies	..... .25
500 Copies	..... .50
1,000 Copies	..... 1.00
5,000 Copies	..... 5.00

POSTAGE PAID.

Send orders to Campaign Committee Social Democratic Party, 126 Washington street, Chicago, Ill.

.. GRAND .. SOCIALIST DEMONSTRATION

Inaugurating the First National Campaign of the Social Democratic Party, at Chicago,

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 9, 1900

In which all Socialist Organizations, clubs, societies and trades unions are invited to participate

DAY PARADE AND MASS MEETING

The Central Music Hall has been engaged for a Mass Meeting at night to be addressed by

EUGENE V. DEBS
Candidate for President

PROF. GEO. D. HERRON

The occasion will also be made a Reunion of the men who fought the Lexington of the Labor Struggle, the American Railway Union.

A BANNER OR A DOLLAR.

This opening meeting of the Campaign must be made a great success and every Society, Branch or Section is called upon to contribute money or send a Banner with Comrades to bear it through the streets of the Commercial Heart of the Country.

Remember the Date—September 29.

Let every man be ready and make it a day memorable in the Socialist movement—the irrepressible rise of the Democracy of Labor.

STICK UP THE STICKERS MAKE THE FACT STICK

That Socialism is Here to Stick
STICKERS NOW READY

They are two inches square, and a capital thing for Propaganda because they can be used in a hundred ways.

Sent only in packages of 500 or more. Price of 500, by mail, 50 cents.

Address, CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE,
126 Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

IF YOU SYMPATHIZE WITH TRADE UNIONS

You will encourage the sale
OF UNION LABEL GOODS

If you want Union Label Shoes demand the above Union Stamp. No shoe is Union made unless it bears the Union Stamp. No charge or royalty for the Union Stamp. Visit your shoe dealer and take no excuses. Send for latest list of factories. Subscribe for "The Union Boot and Shoe Worker," 50 cts per year.

Boot and Shoe Workers Union,
620 Atlantic Ave., Boston, Mass.

BRANCH SUPPLIES

Membership Cards (per 100)	..... 1.00
Membership Applications (100)	..... .25
Constitutions (each)	..... .03

Send orders with cash to Theodore Debs, 126 Washington Street, Chicago. No supplies sent on credit.

The Herald will be sent to any address in the United States 26 weeks for 20 cents.

Debs and Harriman Buttons

At last we have the BUTTONS, and at the right prices, UNION MADE. Both candidates on the button.

PRICES:

2 Buttons,	5 cents
5 Buttons,	10 cents
12 Buttons,	20 cents

All larger orders than a dozen, 1 1/2 cents each. Charges paid.

National Campaign Committee, S. D. P.,
126 WASHINGTON ST., CHICAGO

SPLENDID LIFE-LIKE PORTRAIT OF

EUGENE V. DEBS

CANDIDATE OF THE SOCIAL
DEMOCRATIC PARTY FOR

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

SIZE—21 X 28 INCHES, ON GOOD PAPER

Price, 10 Cents, Single Copy

Sent by mail, securely enclosed in tube to insure safe transmission, on receipt of price.

Address,
CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY,
126 Washington St., Chicago

Now Ready! 125 Pages!

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRACY RED BOOK

EDITED BY FREDERIC HEATH

Printed on Plate Paper Handsomely Illustrated

This is an annual publication for Social Democrats who will find it indispensable for reference purposes. This first issue is of especial value because of the historical character of its contents. Among the features are:

A HISTORY OF SOCIALISM IN AMERICA
Covering 76 pages, with portraits of Robert Owen, Etienne Cabet, Wilhelm Weitling, etc., etc.

ALBERT BREIHANE
The first American agitator, with portrait.

A TRIP TO GIRARD
By Wayfarer, with view of Appeal to Reason.

KARL MARX ON THE SINGLE TAX

MACHINE vs. HAND LABOR
Compiled from government reports by leader Ledoff.

SHORTER TIMES
Labor Conflicts in 1899. Gronlund. Grant Allen. Chronology for 1899. Directory of Social Democrats. Socialist Controversies of 1899. The "Golden Rule Mayor." Prof. Herron's Social Democratic Platform, etc.

BIOGRAPHIES OF WELL KNOWN SOCIAL DEMOCRATS. Twenty in all.

ELECTION STATISTICS
Covering the Socialist movement down to the present year. A valuable reference.

A SOCIALIST PORTRAIT GALLERY
Comprising seventeen likenesses of leading workers in the movement, distributed through the book.

Sent postpaid on receipt of price, 15 CENTS.

DEBS PUBLISHING CO.
TERRE HAUTE, IND.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

THIRD YEAR. No. 15.

CHICAGO, ILL., U. S. A., SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1900.

Whole No. 117.

GEORGE D. HERRON A SOCIAL DEMOCRAT

His First Speech for the Socialist
Political Movement Delivered to
a Large Audience at Rock-
land, Plymouth County,
Massachusetts

PRESENT SYSTEM IS DOOMED

The System of Things Which Makes Men
Depend Upon Other Men for a Chance
to Earn Their Bread is Ele-
mentally Wrong

Reported by Margaret Hall

The opera house at Rockland was filled on the evening of the 18th inst. with an audience which was intensely interested in Professor George D. Herron's first speech as an avowed Social-Democrat. It was the opening meeting of the campaign in Comrade MacCartney's district, and for that particular district there could not possibly have been a more auspicious opening. Professor Herron's speech was reported verbatim, and will be published in pamphlet form and used extensively during the campaign and afterwards. It will be ready in about a week, but in the meantime you will be interested in some extracts which reveal the man, and show what a valuable addition our party has received in Comrade Herron. He said:

"In speaking as a Socialist, and I have never been anything else since I was a student and began to think, I must speak from my own point of view and in my own terms, and give my own reasons, which to me are strong reasons, for standing here tonight as an advocate of the first political expression of Socialism that has presented itself to us here in America. We are just now in the beginnings of the first attempt to crystallize in political action an American Socialist movement.

"I came into the Socialist movement from a different point of view, perhaps, from many others. I was, as most of you know, a preacher and a teacher in connection with an American college, and I have been seeking to know how the highest ideals of life might be made livable in the world. Whether we take Jesus or Plato or Buddha or Mazzini, the sum of all that they have taught is—that human life, in order to become livable for the bulk of mankind, in order to become happy and reasonable and healthful and noble must be lived out under what they called the law of love, which, translated into economic terms, might be called the law of co-operation. And out of a passion of soul, out of an infinite yearning to find some way by which that law of love, of co-operation, might be realized and change the world from an arena of struggling and competing and destroying men into a world that might be indeed a paradise, I came into the economic problem, and through that into Socialism.

"All political questions are today resolving themselves into economic questions. The politics of the future will be economic politics. Although we are not aware of it, all political questions are already merely property questions. Politics the world over have nothing else to do but be the great agent of great business interests. Socialism comes to make politics economic in an entirely new sense. In fact, all that we have understood by politics will pass away.

"Without any regard to what you desire or would have, the present industrial system is getting to the end of its string. Face to face with this world crisis, it is easy to define the attitude of the two great political parties. The republican party is frankly and avowedly the party of the capitalistic order of things. It stands for the perpetuity and development of the system of private capitalism. At any rate the republican politicians, and the class behind them, know exactly what they want. Those who represent the leadership of the democratic party do not know what they want, but in so far as they attempt to meet the great industrial problem they meet it with methods which are entirely inadequate and unhistoric. The election of a democratic president and congress would be a retrograde movement. Why? Because they propose to go back and begin again a century ago. We cannot go back to individual ownership and free competition though the capitalistic development had not taken place. To talk of legislating against trusts is as

WARNING NOTICE

To our Comrades and Friends:

The persistence with which the report is circulated that I have resigned, or intend to resign, in favor of the Democratic candidate, impels me to issue this denial of the falsehood originated by the capitalist press to deceive and mislead our friends and supporters.

Comrade Harriman and I have been nominated as candidates for vice-president and president, respectively, of the Social Democratic Party, and we shall stand as such candidates to be voted for on election day, all reports and rumors to the contrary notwithstanding.

It is not at all improbable that this report may be sprung afresh on the very eve of the election, too late to be met and contradicted by the weekly Socialist press of the country, and for this reason I take the liberty to request all Socialist papers, and any others that may be friendly to our party, to publish this statement and keep it standing in the last three or four issues preceding the election.

To resign at such a time would be rank betrayal, of which no honorable man would be guilty; but if from any inconceivable reason such a step became necessary, I would not under any possible circumstances resign in favor of the Republican or the Democratic party. They are alike the representatives of the capitalist system; they are one in the support of private property in the means of production; they are agreed as to wage slavery; they do not differ in their hostility to Socialism, and I would as readily think of resigning in favor of one as the other of these parties.

Our party comrades understand this, and cannot be misled; but there is danger that some of our friends may be deceived, and hence this warning note.

The Republican papers declare that Socialists will vote for Bryan, while the Democratic press charges that Socialists are in the pay of Mark Hanna. These old campaign liars know better, but they understand each other. This fall they will be made to realize that with all the corruption funds at their command there is no private property in Socialists.

Others may prefer Capitalism and Slavery. We stand unyielding as a wall of granite for SOCIALISM AND FREEDOM.

Terre Haute, Ind., Sept. 21, 1900.

EUGENE V. DEBS.

[Friendly papers please copy.]

foolish as to talk of legislating against the rising tides or the solar system.

"Taken broadly, Socialism means simply the ownership of the sources and means of production and distribution by the people and for the people, instead of by the few for the few. That is merely expressed economically; but it has very much larger meanings than that. It seeks justice and equality in production and distribution not because men ask for more things, but because men want those things wherewith to express themselves in full and free and noble living. We have not yet had any such thing as a coherent and orderly civilization. We have as yet only a menagerie world. We have not yet ascended into sanity. Nothing is more insane or benighted than the notion that one man can really prosper at the expense of other men. Socialism does not come as an attack upon property; it comes as an attack upon the world-method of stealing the property of the people. No property is sacred property until it becomes in the truest sense of the word common property.

"It is not a question of character. Though employers were archangels and trades union men angels, the system of things which makes men depend upon other men for a chance to earn their bread is elementally and eternally wrong. To be obliged to sell one's labor power at terms out of one's control is simply to sell one's self into slavery. A man's labor power is his life, and when he sells it he sells his life and sells it for bread. I am not blaming you for it, nor myself for it. I should blame myself if I did not seek to remedy it.

"Socialism comes, then, not as a remedy, not as a tinkering and mending of the old, but as a new state of society. It does not come attempting to cure civilization; it comes proposing a new civilization—a civilization that shall be at last so organized that every child shall be born into the world with an equal inheritance with every other child in all the opportunities and the resources that go to make fullness of life, and all the forces that are in the world shall surround that child to make it blossom in love, in trust, in good will, in healthfulness of soul as well as body, and push it upward in freedom and beauty of living.

"And it is because this coming presidential election offers you through its candidates, both national and local, the first tangible, even tentative, step towards crystallizing an American Socialist movement, that I have hastened across the seas to take my place in the stress and struggle of the pioneer work, and to make my plea for Social Democracy."

Some of the Boston papers had it next morning that Professor Herron had made the statement that he "did not believe that the American Socialist party had yet been formed." This is being quoted widely; and I want to say right here that it is absolutely untrue. I took every word the professor uttered, from beginning to end of his speech, and there was no such statement in it. Certainly the closing paragraph of his speech, as given above, doesn't sound as if he had much fault to find with the Social Democratic party.

Because there is "no hope of electing Debs," the democrats who have no principles themselves, think Socialists, who are through with old party policies and stand on principles, should vote for Bryan who is opposed to their principles. It's a funny kind of a Socialist who would vote for a man opposed to Socialism.

Hear Debs and Herron Saturday night

A WARNING NOTE TO MISSOURI SOCIALISTS

The Party of Bryan and Jones, for
Freedom and a Higher Civilization,
Declares that Social Demo-
crats Will Not Have a Place
on the Official Ballot

THREATEN TO DISFRANCHISE

Afraid of the Spread of Socialism the Bryan
Capitalist Party Have "Fixed" Things—
The Social Democrats Wide Awake
and Active

The following appeared in the "St. Louis Globe-Democrat," Thursday, September 13, 1900.
Special Dispatch to the Globe-Democrat.

Rich Hill, Mo., Sept. 10.—Socialism is a new political factor in Missouri. If the Debs electoral ticket obtains a place on the official ballot, it will receive such a number of votes as will surprise the old politicians. Labor day the mottoes displayed in the processions and the principles asserted by some of the orators were straws in the populous centers of the state. But there are Socialists who do not live in the cities. Scattered through agricultural Missouri are communities in which the tenets have gained believers in numbers sufficient to form clubs. There are socialists in that rock-ribbed democratic stronghold, Callaway county. The nominee of the socialists for governor, Mr. Caleb Lipscomb, lives at Liberal. The nominee for railroad and warehouse commissioner is a resident of Harviell. One of the presidential electors is a Milan man. At California there is a new socialist paper, called the "Missouri Push." Organizers are now going through western Missouri organizing the socialist party in the smaller towns. At the town of Liberal the socialists mustered sufficient strength to elect a member of the council. They are claiming that the voters of Barton county are divided by thirds into republicans, democrats and socialists.

Bates is a county in which the movement has gained notable headway. It is the home of Congressman De Armond, which has hitherto been counted by the democrats as good for 1,000 plurality in their column. At the present time the socialistic organizer is canvassing Bates town by town.

Rich Hill, the center of the coal-mining industry of the lower part of Bates county, has a socialistic club numbering over 100 members. This club meets weekly. Its membership is by no means confined to miners. On the other hand, it includes men of various vocations. Four of the members hold positions in one of the largest stores of Rich Hill. A. J. Peters, a business man and for years a member of the city council, counts himself among the socialists.

At Rich Hill, the Warren brothers, Fred and Ben, publish a paper called "The Critic," in weekly and monthly editions, devoted to the cause of socialism. They are young men, and were formerly republicans. They founded the "Rich Hill Tribune," ran it for

years, sold out, started the "Critic" as an independent paper, and developed it into an advocate of socialism. The new movement draws from both sides of the old parties, but in Bates county four-fifths of the socialists are former democrats. Probably in communities strongly republican the socialists drew more from that party. This Social Democratic club of Rich Hill by no means represents the voting support of the socialistic ticket. Caleb Lipscomb, the candidate for governor, was one of the speakers at the Labor day celebration last week. A quiet canvass seems to indicate that of the 900 coal miners in and around Rich Hill 400 are disposed to vote the ticket of the Social Democrats.

These Missouri socialists are not at all behind their fellows of other parts of the country in the sweeping character of the reforms they propose in existing conditions. "The Critic" sets forth "what socialists want" in the following form:

"Every human being to be well housed, clothed and fed and educated. The adoption of a social and industrial system that will put an end to profit, interest, rent and all forms of usury.

"Land, water, machinery, and all the means of production and distribution and all of the available forces of nature to be owned and operated for the benefit of the whole people.

"The gradual elimination, and finally the abolition of all useless and unproductive toil.

"Every person of suitable age and physical and mental ability must work or starve. He that will not work shall not eat."

"No child labor, except in the form of healthful, well-directed manual training.

"Every one to receive the full value of his or her labor."

Feeling their strength in the Sixth congressional district, the socialists have determined to add to their national and state tickets a candidate for congress. Their selection is A. E. Loudermilk of Rich Hill. Mr. Loudermilk is a commercial traveler for a Kansas City house. He has been on the road in this part of the state a dozen years and more. He has the reputation of being one of the smoothest talkers for socialism to be found anywhere.

"Unless a man is mighty well informed on the subject he's got no business to start an argument with Loudermilk," was the way one Rich Hill citizen put it. "He'll be run ashore sure."

To get Loudermilk's nomination on the official ballot the socialists of the Sixth district will have to resort to the certificate plan, and will be obliged to get a number of signatures of voters who will declare that they have not supported for the nomination any other candidate. The leaders profess to have no doubt of ability to comply with the law and have begun work on their petition.

Are socialists to be disfranchised in Missouri? The issue is up to the democratic organization and the democratic office holders. In the Labor day parade at St. Louis a week ago pictures of Eugene V. Debs, the presidential nominee of the socialists, were numerous. A former democratic secretary of state looking on, said:

"It will do them no good. There will be no opportunity to vote for Debs in Missouri. The socialists will not get their electoral ticket on the ballot. The last session of the legislature fixed that in the election laws."

PUBLIC UTILITIES WHAT ARE THEY?

Attempt of Municipal Ownership Ad-
vocates to Divide Public Utilities
into Those Which are Mon-
opolies and Those Which
are Not is a Failure

CAPITAL IS A SOCIAL POWER

It Makes No Difference Whether a Man is
Shut Out by a "Natural Monopoly" or
an Aggregation of Social Capital
in Private Hands

By Marcus Hitch

What are public utilities? There are many non-socialists who advocate the public ownership of certain things which they call public utilities. They see injustice in the private ownership of railroads, telegraphs, gasworks, etc., but no injustice in the private ownership of coal mines, factories, stores and the like. Is not a hotel or a store also a public utility? What use is a clothing store to a private individual? It is as useless to him as a telegraph line. It has only a public, i. e., a social utility. So with all commodities over and above what a man can convert to his personal use.

Money is a public utility. No individual should be allowed to traffic in a public utility as money and charge others a toll, called interest, for the use of the superfluity of it, which he holds and cannot use himself. If any toll is to be paid let it be paid to the government for public purposes.

With Socialists all public utilities are capital and all capital is public utility. What Socialists mean when they speak of capital is SOCIAL capital not personal capital. "Capital is not a personal, it is a social power." (Communist Manifesto, p. 33.) Socialists frequently speak of the collective ownership of ALL the means of production. To prevent misunderstandings and quibbling it is better to say all the social means of production; this excludes personal tools and belongings. Whatever has value is a public utility, a social utility, for the words "public" and "social" here mean the same thing. Value itself might be defined as public or social utility. With the old political economists a lead pencil, or a jack-knife, which a man carries in his pocket, is capital, the same as a rolling mill or the same as a carload of lead pencils or jackknives which are handled as merchandise. The latter are social capital, i. e., public utilities with which Socialism has nothing to do. It is one of those cases where a difference in quantity results in a difference in quality. The commingling of these two different kinds of capital enables quibblers to refute Socialism entirely to their own satisfaction.

The attempt of municipal ownership advocates to divide public utilities into those which are monopolies and those which are not is unsuccessful. There is no essential, though there is a superficial difference. Why is capital acquired by direct public grant or by condemnation proceedings under the law of eminent domain any more a monopoly than that acquired by the law of descent or by the law permitting the purchase and transfer of capital or the purchase and exploitation of labor power? One who has any social capital has an advantage which in effect amounts to a monopoly as against those who have none; and one who has a larger capital than others has a like advantage which in the long run generally ends in a monopoly. Different branches of industry are so interwoven and interdependent that if the larger capitalist cannot drive out his smaller competitor directly by underselling he will accomplish it indirectly by a flank movement, by branching out into other lines of business upon which his smaller competitor is dependent. What difference does it make to a man whether he is shut out by a natural monopoly like the anthracite coal business or by an aggregation of capital like the steel business? It is no consolation to him to be told that nature has not shut him out from the steel business; that the steel business is open to everybody; that all he needs is \$100,000,000 of capital instead of the \$10,000 which he may have on hand.

A difference in capital is another case where a difference in quantity results in a difference in quality. Hence we may say that wherever there is a

(Continued on Third Page)

Social Democratic Herald

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board
FREDERIC HEATH Chairman
SKYMOOR STEEDMAN Secretary
EUGENE V. DEBS VICTOR L. BEEGER
CORINNE S. BROWN

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, \$5.00. Six months, \$3.00. No papers sent to any one on credit. If, without having subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and no bill will follow. Foreign subscriptions \$1.00.

Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

A. S. EDWARDS, Editor
FREDERICK DEBS, National Sec'y-Treas.
126 Washington St., Chicago.

117 is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 118 your subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, SEPT. 29, 1900.

NATIONAL TICKET

Social Democratic Party

For President:
EUGENE V. DEBS.

For Vice-President:
JOB HARRIMAN.

FARWELL, THE MORAL ESSAYIST

One of the prominent men of Chicago, who is given to writing letters and articles for publication and whose nocturnal studies are given space in Chicago daily newspapers, is J. V. Farwell. It would be very difficult for any man of reason or ordinary good sense and powers of discrimination to say why the managers of these newspapers do not dump the rubbish which Mr. Farwell is addicted to inflicting upon their readers into the receptacle provided for communications which are noticeable only for an impoverishment of ideas and a reckless perversion of the truth. His prominence as a contributor to the Chicago press can only be accounted for on the ground that he is a wealthy man, one of that commercially successful class to which the capitalist press panders. His views on all public questions are uniformly dull and uninteresting to men who do not live in an atmosphere of cant and hypocrisy. When he attempts to deal with any phase of the social and industrial questions of the day, he is frank in the defense of his class and his class interests, even to the verge of brutality. Though he passes for a "Christian gentleman" and writes much about morals, individual honesty and national virtues, Mr. Farwell can lie as easily as a democratic ward heeler, and maintain a serenity in the process that comes only to those with consciences not troubled by human suffering and eyes blind to existing social wrongs.

The deacon's last prize essay is a mournful, almost lachrymose, column of mere words on "Our Duty to the People of the Philippines," printed in the Chicago Record of September 18. There is nothing enlightening in it to anybody, from his opening quotation that "The powers that be are ordained of God" to his closing intimation that a vote for McKinley is an endorsement of "God's plans." But, as usual, with this prominent and pious person, he manages to get in a statement concerning the Socialists which is not true, and which, if he were as well informed as some people suppose him to be, he would know is false. This is what he says: "The Socialist party has nominated a candidate for the high office of president with no hope of electing him. The Socialists represent the party of government by revolution and advocate an equal division of tangible property among all classes."

The Socialists, it is true, have a candidate for the office of president; if there is no hope of electing him, that is due to the baleful influence of men like Farwell, who, with an incontinence of words and a stringency of ideas, are yet able to deceive so many workingmen who are as ignorant as themselves of the fundamentally important questions of the day, which are economic questions. When Mr. Farwell says the Socialists "advocate an equal division of tangible property among all classes" he writes nonsense. Instead of informing himself intelligently as any man of really high moral purposes would do, as to what Socialists really advocate, he chooses to repeat a wormy old chestnut as to what they do not and never did propose. This he does because it serves the interests of his class to deceive workingmen.

Again let it be stated that Socialists do not propose a division of property, but to put an end to the division now going on under capitalist production, whereby the class to which J. V. Farwell belongs gather in four-fifths of the wealth produced and the producers themselves are forced to be contented with one-fifth or die. The system by which Mr. Farwell has been made wealthy at the expense of others is a system that keeps the others in per-

petual unrest and want; no more effective method for dividing property could possibly be devised than that which Mr. Farwell defends. The capitalist method does not result in "equal division"; it is distinctly unequal and unjust; it gives to the capitalist class as much as that class dare appropriate and leaves the working class enough to reproduce its kind.

The capitalist system is essentially a system of division—one-fifth to the wage slave, four-fifths to the capitalist.

Be sure and hear Debs and Herron at Central Music Hall, Saturday night.

THE COWARD'S REFUGE

The Elkhart (Ind.) Review, a Bryan organ, says: "No man with honest recognition of his duty as a citizen can be an independent in politics this year. The present policy of the government is either right or wrong. The two great parties stand for opposites on the present policies. The republican party stands for its endorsement; the Bryan party for its destruction. Between the two, there is no middle ground. The defenders of the policy want no change; the opponents suggest no new policy, no modification of the old, but positive destruction. Any man who votes for Social Democracy, or for any of the fold-out theories and parties is performing the act of a coward, a fanatic or a criminal."

The peculiarity about this sort of democratic argument is the assumption that an enlightened citizen can find no other ground to stand on except within the camps of the old parties. There has never been a time in the history of political parties, especially of the republican and democratic parties of the United States in twenty-five years past, when it has not been to the credit of any self-respecting man who believed in decency and loved freedom, to be outside both. There is absolutely no reason why any man who is looking for a solution of the economic question, which overtops all others, should hope to find it in democratic policies. The solution is not there. While there may be no "middle ground" between capitalist parties, as stated above, there certainly is advance ground which neither of these parties dares to take and which the Social-Democratic party occupies. They are the real cowards who fail to advance. The democratic party does not occupy ground where any true lover of freedom and human rights can stand. It is the coward's refuge, the hope of politicians who want jobs more than they want freedom.

NOTES AND COMMENT

What next? Hobson, just home from the Philippines, says Dewey did not destroy the Spanish fleet at Manila, but that the Spaniards themselves sunk the vessels. Thus the glory of another American reputation fades and the "hero" worshipers are greatly distressed. It is now in order for somebody to prove that Hobson didn't sink the Merrimack, and all the "heroes" will be satisfactorily disposed of.

Mr. Bryan wants to know if workmen are going to be content to live and die with "nothing more than a full dinner pail?" That is a matter for workmen themselves to settle. One thing is certain, however, assuming what is not true that their dinner pails are full, they will get nothing more by voting the democratic ticket.

Don't be fooled by the cry of imperialism or anti-imperialism. It does not make any difference whether you are governed by a president in broadcloth or an emperor in royal purple so long as the class which owns the means of life thereby exercises arbitrary and dictatorial power over your opportunity to gain a living.

The trusts are still wheeling into line for the support of Bryan. The latest to declare for him is David F. Brenner, one of the directors and principal stockholders of the biscuit trust. Bryan's new-found trust friends are crowding each other in their eagerness to get under his "anti-trust" standard.

A vote for Bryan and "anti-imperialism" is not a step toward Socialism and the co-operative commonwealth. It may easily turn out to be a vote to prevent a step away from a paltry political democracy which Bryan thinks is the final stage in human affairs.

The Haverhill Gazette concedes that the fight in Essex county, Mass., is between Debs and McKinley. It is now up to Bryan to instruct his friends in Essex to combine with the republicans to beat the Socialists.

It is not true that the trusts are afraid of Bryan, and there is no good reason why they should be. The trust attorney, Olney, is out for him, and the trust managers are coming out as fast as decency will permit.

A Social-Democrat is a man who is prepared to take a long stride toward the co-operative commonwealth. He is not "afraid of getting too much at once" and will vote for Debs and Harriman.

STORM FORT CAPITALISM

Words by Rev. H. S. Geneva Lake.
Tune—"Hold the Fort." (Gospel Hymns.) Key of D.

Hark! the watchword now is sounding
Over all the land;
See! the crushed are slowly rising;
Oh, the sight is grand!

Chorus:
Storm the fort, my gallant comrades,
'Tis a glorious cause,
Heart and soul against injustice,
We will make the laws.

Thunder tones the world are shaking;
From the prison wall
Forth came Debs, the prophet-hero,
With a ringing call.

Lo! the light is dimly dawning
Over land and sea,
As, with one accord we gather,
Shouting: Liberty!

Oh, we cannot shun the conflict,
Cannot be a slave,
Cannot wear these galling fetters:
Forward, then, ye brave!
Olympia, Wash.

COST AND PRICE OF COAL

The cost of hard coal laid down in Chicago is less than \$4 a ton. This total is made up of the following items of cost:

Rail transportation to Buffalo....	1.00
Selling price at mines.....	\$1.82
Lake to Chicago.....	.50
Unloading and loss.....	.50

Total.....\$3.82

(Chicago consumers are paying \$7.25 per ton, a profit of \$3.43. The miner, without whose labor there would be no coal and furnace fires would go out, is paid 90 cents a day. Vote the Social Democratic ticket and put down such infamy. Under Socialism the miners would be freed from their present slavery.)

WHEN JACK AND BILL WENT FISHING

(Tune—Yankee Doodle.)

Mack and Bill went to a brook
To catch a batch of suckers;
Mack put Expansion on his hook
And Bill an Ant for luck, sir.

Oh it was a jolly pair,
Eating peanut candy;
Jones and Hanna, too, were there
And Roo-se-velt, the dandy.

Says Mack to Bill: "There's something wrong,
My bait don't seem to fetch 'em."
Says Bill to Mack: "Oh go along,
Just see how I will catch 'em."

I'll give my line another twist,
Just watch and see me do it;
Democrat and populist
Will all be hanging to it.

For this brook I'll let you know
Is Popo-Democratic,
And where'er my line doth go
They're equally erratic.

He gave his line a good long twist,
But did not get a bite, sir.
The brook was full of Socialists
His face—it was a sight, sir!
Chorus: (Slow.)

Ah, it was a sorry pair,
Eating stale, old candy;
Jones and Hanna, too, were there
And Roo-se-velt, the dandy.

E. M. S.

JACK POTTS' POINTERS

Puts His Finger on the System that Would
Destroy the Coal Trust and Raise the
Miners' Standard of Living

Mister Workingman, you probably have heard it stated that all the financial burdens rest on the backs of the workers. Maybe you have caught it vaguely as one sees something through an early morning fog—something that does not interest one much—and then let it float out of your mind. And maybe you have even thought it is not a true statement. Well, it IS true, and our half-baked "civilization" has reached a point where from your standpoint it is most terribly, infernally true. Any honest scholar will tell you it is true. Now I want you to remember this, and if it is not clear to you just ask some Socialist about it and get him to explain it; after that you will be a Socialist yourself.

There is a great deal of talk about "capital" in the newspapers by demagogues, and these people can easily fool you if you are not careful, but just you remember that labor is before capital in importance; that without it there is no capital; that the smaller your wages are—the less you get of what you produce—the more the capitalist will have and the finer his houses and yachts and summer resorts and the more clothes and "airs" his family will put on; that his financial prosperity consists in keeping wages just as low as he can; the more he grinds you down the more he can spend on colleges and things. If you think this over awhile you will go gunning—not for the capitalist, but for the system. There is one party, all over the world,

that is gunning for this system, and that is the Social Democratic party. Every member of that party is a double-barreled gun loaded to the muzzle for the death of the competitive system.

Now, remembering that it is an economic axiom that the burden falls on the workers, let us talk a little about the Pennsylvania coal strike. The mine-owners are preparing to operate their mines "by force," the dispatches say. That means that they will be able to find enough poor creatures out of work in these "prosperous" times to go to work, submit to the "company" stores, "company" doctors, "company" powder and "company" everything else. They will swear in a lot of tough deputies to more or less protect the poor, hungry, "scab" miners, and if the deputies can't cope with the situation they will call on the state, and the state will furnish militia to fill the strikers full of good, cold lead. How kind the state is to the capitalists! But suppose the miners, realizing the importance of labor's part, should ask the state for troops to enforce THEIR demands; the officials would drop dead, wouldn't they? Honest, now, don't you think that the workers have just as much—even more—right to do that, as their employers have? Mind you, I am not advocating the state-troops business for either side, but simply putting the matter in a "different" way.

Now, there is another old saying among educated people—and for that matter, among all people who know enough to go in when it rains—and that saying is this: "No country can be truly prosperous unless the majority of the people are prosperous. In our country, as you can see, the welfare of the minority is carefully looked after by our officials. These mine-owners, for instance, arrogantly refuse an advance to the miners of not more than 20 cents a ton, which the public generally would be willing to pay, and then when the miners in desperation strike, they would raise coal prices to \$7.50 a ton; and under our present system the authorities help rob us all!

Now one thing the Socialists want is social ownership of coal mines, so coal can be furnished at cost. The price of labor is the cost. So you see that would everlastingly bust the coal monopoly and raise the wages. But the dear, "great dailies" and their satellites, the country weeklies, tell you that is "Socialism and anarchy," and will never do! (In their alleged minds the two words are synonymous.) And you and these miners, who are in the majority, listen to these false prophets and teachers and vote for old-party candidates on both sides who talk against monopolists publicly while privately the parties are levying tribute on all the trust magnates they can "touch." Mister Workingman, the Social Democratic party is the ONLY one that is out for a complete change in our industrial system. It wants the people to do the governing, to live as one great and good family under a co-operative system. The others want to keep the old throat-cutting competitive plan, which arranges men against each other in perpetual, miserable warfare. A vote for the democratic or republican "evils," no matter which you may think is the lesser, is a vote for competition to continue. The scared Belshazzars of the old parties can see the terrible sentence growing plainer day by day: "Thou art weighed in the balance and found wanting." This fall and henceforth thousands of clear-sighted ones will vote for what they want—Socialism and the co-operative commonwealth; I hope you are one of them!

If you were traveling the Jericho road and fell among highway robbers and were beaten and had your pockets "frisked," would it comfort you any to know that the robbers belonged to the same church or party that you do? The Wardner "bull-pen" is under the auspices of a representative of that "lesser of two evils," the democratic party; do you think the miners find it particularly different from the republican brand of despotism in Pennsylvania and elsewhere, or more enjoyable?

DOWNFALL OF CAPITALISM

By Eugene V. Debs

One state of society succeeds another in the ceaseless process of evolution, by virtue of which mankind reach higher elevations in the scale of being; and each period is so distinctive, so clearly marked that it is readily distinguished from all others which preceded or succeeded it.

The present capitalist system was quickened into life in the womb of feudalism, and sprang from that system. In its early stages it was received with ridicule and contempt, and the incipient capitalist was treated with the same lofty scorn by the feudal baron and subjected to the same social ostracism that the modern capitalist has decreed for the Socialist "agitator."

The progenitor of the full-blown capitalist was the Socialist of his day and generation. Capitalism has had its day; it has served its time; run its course, fulfilled its mission and must now give way, by the inexorable law of economic evolution, to its successor, which already appears upon the arena, and those with ears attuned can hear

the lusty urchin shouting with imperious authority his decrees to clear the road for Socialism, which henceforward has the right of way on the track of the centuries.

Capitalism is rushing to its doom. Every new machine abridges its reign, every competitor crushed limits its regime, and every workingman displaced hastens its downfall.

The machine is the vital force in the transformation of the social organism. The machine increases production, displaces workers, intensifies competition and lowers wages. Production increases, while consumption, determined by wages, diminishes. There is bound to be a surplus.

DEBS ON BRYANISM

The Socialist Candidate Gives His Opinion of Mayor Jones' Support of a Capitalist Party

The following letter written to a friend, Mr. L. A. Russell of Cleveland, by Eugene V. Debs has been published. It gives the Socialist candidate's views of the democracy and his estimate of Mayor Jones' "Socialism":

"My Dear Mr. Russell: The action of Mayor Jones in voting for capitalism, while avowing himself a socialist, will, in my judgment, end his political career. I have not time to discuss the matter further than to say that Mr. Jones has made a mistake, and, unless I am wholly in error about its consequences, he will never again be elected to public office. This may be in accordance with his desire, and, if so, his action in supporting a capitalist party will serve the purpose intended.

"As for the democratic party as such I have no faith in it, nor have I any use for it. It professes to oppose private monopoly, but does it suggest public monopoly? It declares that it will break up the trusts, but it knows such a proposition is idiotic, to put it mildly.

"All the old bloated leaders that were supposed to have been kicked out in 1896, are coming back, one by one. Cleveland will probably be the next to declare for the democratic party to preserve the republic (?), as against the empire. Perhaps the kind of a republic Cleveland, Croker, Olney, Whitney, Gorman, Steubenberg, Van Wyck, Belmont, et al, believe in may suit you, but it will not suit me. We have an industrial empire here and whether McKinley or Bryan is elected, will not alter the situation, for the means of production will still be private property, and the miners of Pennsylvania and the workers generally will still be slaves.

"I am a socialist and my face is set uncompromisingly against capitalism. You say that I should be practical; I am intensely so, and that is the trouble.

"Let me remind you that four years ago, just after the election, and just after I had made almost 100 speeches for Bryan and the democratic party, the leaders of the party met at Chicago and solemnly declared through the press, that such socialists and anarchists as Debs (and others that were named), were responsible for the defeat of the party, and must be gotten rid of, as they had driven out the reputable elements.

"Please bear this in mind, Mr. Russell: The democratic party has chloroformed the greenback party, the union labor party and the populist party, but I will guarantee that it will not deceive and destroy the Social-Democratic party.

"I have not the least fear of an empire, for socialism is coming. I have not one moment to waste on miserable makeshifts under which the millions are groaning. The total abolition of the capitalist system is our uncompromising demand, and with that as our controlling purpose, we are marching direct as a rifle ball to the goal of emancipation. That march may be slow, but it is sure and free from pitfalls.

"Eugene V. Debs."

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN FUND

The national campaign committee has so far done very effective work with the funds at its disposal, and now has a series of six powerful, vote-making leaflets for circulation. More money is needed, however, and it is hoped that the comrades everywhere will realize the magnitude of the task committed to the hands of those who are exerting themselves to the utmost to enlighten the people in the principles of our party and the Socialist movement. At least a quarter of a million leaflets should be distributed in the mining districts of Pennsylvania during the next two or three weeks. To do this work requires money, and the committee can appeal only to Social Democrats for contributions. During the next three weeks, comrades, make your contributions to the fund as large as possible, thus enabling the committee to more effectively carry out its plans. The emissaries of capitalism are everywhere active and people everywhere receptive. No comrade should allow the opportunities for disseminating the emancipating principles of Socialism to pass unimproved. Send your dollar now to the fund and give the committee the encouragement of your active work and support.

Subscribe for "The Herald"
26 weeks for 20 cents.

WAGES AND PRICES

How the Matter Looks to a "Feller Sittin' on the Fence"

By George L. McNutt

"It seems to me as if the very devil gets into the workingmen. Just about the time that business begins to get in good shape the workingmen turn in and raise a row and upset everything and everybody. Almost before we know it, the switch is turned from the trunk line of prosperity, down into the swamps of an industrial panic. Then everybody suffers—the workingman worst of all."

The speaker was one of the heads of a department in a general factory. At heart he was kindly disposed to laboring men. Of this I can testify from experience and observation. I remember his saying that "they" regarded \$2 a day the minimum wage of decent living. "They" had just had a meeting of all the heads of departments. The president had assured them that we have passed the crest of the wave of prosperity, and warned them to prepare for the inevitable panic.

Inevitable panic? True, the history of 100 years seems to show that there is an endless industrial chain, where panic follows close on the heels of prosperity, like a cat chasing its own tail, and with perhaps as much reason.

Are panics inevitable? If so, why? Who is to blame? Is it the workingman, who losing his head and his conscience, turns highwayman, sandbags the captains of industry, only to discover during years of bitter repentance that he has in the end stolen the food from his own children's mouths, the clothes from their backs, and torn down, like a blind Sampson, the very house that shelters him and all he holds dear? Maybe there is an industrial chain, where and because we go up, up into the sunlight of prosperity, we must go down, down, down to the bottomless pit of depression, of idle wandering, all but maniac men and women, who watch and weep over children, hungry and cold and sometimes still? Maybe it is inevitable.

Some folks say that the ways of Providence are very mysterious. Somehow, though, a "feller sittin' on the fence," looking out over the fields that stretch away down South to the cotton and the cane, and away to the west over seas of Indian corn and the billowed waves of Dakota's wealth of wheat, down where the sun sets among the orange groves; somehow, when he thinks of the exhaustless coal beds of Pennsylvania, the mines of Michigan and Missouri; of the precious metals securely locked in the safety vaults that stretch from the tropical gulf to the frozen North, with hints here and there where to find the key; somehow, to a plain, every-day mind, old-fashioned enough to see in the open mirror of nature, the broken reflections of a smiling Providence, a panic in such a country as ours, a stranger to famines and free from plagues, is unworthy the intelligence of a people one degree removed from the Hottentots.

There is plainly a nigger in the woodpile. Let us see if we can dig him out. Times are prosperous as never before. Mills are running night and day. Bosses are running after men. The volume of trade swells with its own momentum. Everybody ought to be happy. Times are prosperous. Are workingmen prosperous? "Why, yes, any fool knows that. Let us see. The panic broke in 1893. It had spent its fury in 1896; by 1898 the wave of prosperity was coming in; it has been high tide ever since. In 1893 and 1894 wages were cut, hours shortened or factories closed. Let us admit that by 1898 wages had been restored to the basis of 1892. Prices of goods had gone up to a normal standard. Granting that and that all men willing to work have had all they can do. Has the workingman since 1898 been a sharer in the country's prosperity? From careful inquiry I feel safe in giving the following table of advances, as reasonably correct:

	Per cent.
Shoes, advance	25
Groceries, advance	15 to 20
Tinware, advance	30
Stoves, advance	30 to 50
Beef, advance	20
Dry goods, advance	20 to 40
Table oilcloth, advance	100
Lumber, advance	30

These are the figures as the retail merchants give them to me. There may be individual inaccuracies, but all are agreed that 25 per cent is a conservative estimate of the average of the advance in the cost of the actual necessities of a workingman's family.

What is the meaning of these figures? Simply, plainly, bluntly this, the real wages of the mass of workingmen have been cut 25 per cent. I say the mass of laboring men. There has been what seems to the casual reader an advance in wages all along the line. The truth is that the advances since 1898 have been isolated and exceptional. Several branches of organized labor, share advances of 10 per cent, to even 30 per cent. But organized labor, though it cuts so large a figure in the labor world, is but a fraction of the country's wage-workers. The actual roll call of the laborers of Labor at Detroit last fall was less than 400,000. The rank and

file of the great American industrial army are keeping step to the same stiped of 1898.

What then? While the politician, the press and the preacher are jollifying over prosperity, the workingman and his wife find their daily income gradually losing its purchasing power. The prayer, "Give us, this day, our daily bread," is for a scantier or a coarser loaf. In one Indiana gas belt city of 10,000 in three of the factories, employing nearly 2,000 men, wages of the common laborer in 1898 were these:

Factory P, 12 hours	\$1.35
Factory A, 10 hours	1.25
Factory S, 10 hours	1.25

The wages today are the same. No more, no less—save in purchasing power. Those figures are eloquent with pathos. Deduct 25 per cent from such a wage, and then ask yourself what it means. It means, children taken from school and set before the furnaces. It means a scantier fare, thinner garments, the little home given up, sickness without the physician's help. It means lean cupboards and fat graveyards.

This is no disordered dream. It is what we see and feel every day. Maybe the workingman ought to keep very quiet while prosperity is marching by, lest the captains get scared, and there's a stampede—that is a panic. Maybe the wage-worker with a decreasing income ought to fortify his faith in a world where wages are never cut and the voice of bosses and the call of whistles are never heard. Maybe so. That's another question. The real question is one of the earth—earthly. Has the workingman combined to advance prices of abnormal figures, and forgotten to advance wages?

Who, then, has advanced the prices of products and forgotten to advance wages? It is plainly a clerical oversight. Just think of it. Can't any sane man see that if the giants who manipulate markets only had sense enough to raise wages first, that they would insure permanently widening markets, permanent prosperity for all, and banish forever the panic goblin that's going to "git us ef we don't watch out." The American goose has been laying golden eggs for two years. She is abundantly able to keep it up for years to come, provided we can keep some fellow in his financial zeal from killing the bird. Spot him! He is the nigger in the woodpile!

—George L. McNutt.

LIGHT, MORE LIGHT

A Suggestion to Socialist Societies and Branches of the Social Democratic Party.

By Isador Ladoff

What Is Sociology?—Sociology as a basis for Ethics.—History of Sociology and Anthropology.—Province of Anthropology and Sociology.—Discussion: Is Socialism scientific?

First Principles of Sociology.—The Race and the Individual.—Philosophy and Ethics of human life.—Classification of social functions.—Discussion: Has man evolved from the lower animals?

SOCIOLOGY OF FAMILY LIFE

Evolution of the Family.—Was Promiscuity the first stage?—Polygamy and Polyandry.—Marriage by compulsion, capture, purchase, contract.—Present condition of the family.—The ideal family.—Reports on marriage and divorce statistics of laws of—Discussion: Should divorce laws be relaxed?

The Social Evil.—A survival of savagism.—Its results.—Its treatment in other countries.—Report on the social evil in—Discussion: Government restriction and license.

The Position of Women.—Women's right to the Ballot.—Women's property rights.—Women as wage earners.—The education of women.—Report on women as wage earners in—Discussion: Should women vote.

The Condition of Children.—The Rights of children.—Child Labor.—Home and school training compared.—Report on child labor in—Discussion: Our child Labor Law.

THE NUTRITIVE FUNCTION

The Evolution of Industry.—Nutrition a Fundamental Need.—Individual and Social Industry.—Industrial ideals.—Economy in foods and drinks.—Report on budget of typical families.—Discussion: Municipal ownership of public utilities.

PUBLIC UTILITIES

The Means of Production.—Land, capital and labor.—Influence of land on population.—Single tax.—Report on ownership of land in—Discussion: Public vs. Private ownership of land.

Labor and Capital.—Their supposed and real antagonism.—Combinations of labor and capital.—Strikes and arbitration.—Report on strikes in—Discussion: Are strikes ever justifiable?

Distribution of Wealth.—Causes of poverty.—The unemployed.—The tramp question.—Report on distribution of wealth (and assessments and wages) in—Discussion: Should inheritance be taxed?

PROFOUND IMPRESSION MADE

The Van Horne (La.) Enterprise gives the following report of Eugene V. Debs' recent address at that place:

"The lecture by Mr. Debs made a profound impression upon his hearers as he was heard with closest attention. His statements bore the marks of truth. His arguments showed him to be a thorough student of history, of economics, and his earnestness gave evidence of his great heart, which goes out to all suffering and oppressed humanity. He explained clearly how the toiling millions would find no relief or amelioration in the triumph of either of the old political parties, for both represent and stand for one and the same system, namely the capitalistic. He showed that the real issue before the people is not imperialism, but capitalism. And that Socialism proposes to supplant this competitive, master making and slave producing system with the co-operative system. The system would mean equality, liberty and fraternity in industry, as we now recognize these principles in politics. The Trust cannot, will not, should not be abolished, but, he predicts, that it will grow until it perfects and completely organizes every branch of industry. By that time both the trust and the people will be ready for the next great step in the onward march of the race—to a higher, a better, a true civilization, namely, the absorption of the trust by the whole people to be publicly instead of privately owned and co-operatively managed in the interest of all the people. In other words the socialist of today stands for the same principle as the revolutionist of 1776 did. Our revolutionary Fathers advocated a governmental system of, for and by, the people. Socialism of today advocates an industrial system of, for and by, the people. We want industrial as well as political democracy. The speaker traced carefully the steps of human progress from the primitive tribal relations down to the grand finale, the program of the socialist, the co-operative commonwealth. In that system wealth will be produced to consume not to hoard. Production will be for public use and not for private profit. Finally he said in regard of attaining this end, that we can have these things just as soon as we are ready for them, just as soon as we become socialists and vote for the New Socialistic, Co-operative System."

Prof. Geo. D. Herren, who has declared for Debs and Socialism, will speak Saturday night at Central Music Hall.

Prof. Geo. D. Herren will speak for Social Democracy at Central Music Hall, Saturday night, Sept. 29.

Prof. Geo. D. Herren will speak for Social Democracy at Central Music Hall, Saturday night, Sept. 29.

Prof. Geo. D. Herren will speak for Social Democracy at Central Music Hall, Saturday night, Sept. 29.

Prof. Geo. D. Herren will speak for Social Democracy at Central Music Hall, Saturday night, Sept. 29.

Prof. Geo. D. Herren will speak for Social Democracy at Central Music Hall, Saturday night, Sept. 29.

Prof. Geo. D. Herren will speak for Social Democracy at Central Music Hall, Saturday night, Sept. 29.

Prof. Geo. D. Herren will speak for Social Democracy at Central Music Hall, Saturday night, Sept. 29.

Prof. Geo. D. Herren will speak for Social Democracy at Central Music Hall, Saturday night, Sept. 29.

Prof. Geo. D. Herren will speak for Social Democracy at Central Music Hall, Saturday night, Sept. 29.

Prof. Geo. D. Herren will speak for Social Democracy at Central Music Hall, Saturday night, Sept. 29.

Prof. Geo. D. Herren will speak for Social Democracy at Central Music Hall, Saturday night, Sept. 29.

Prof. Geo. D. Herren will speak for Social Democracy at Central Music Hall, Saturday night, Sept. 29.

Prof. Geo. D. Herren will speak for Social Democracy at Central Music Hall, Saturday night, Sept. 29.

Prof. Geo. D. Herren will speak for Social Democracy at Central Music Hall, Saturday night, Sept. 29.

Prof. Geo. D. Herren will speak for Social Democracy at Central Music Hall, Saturday night, Sept. 29.

Prof. Geo. D. Herren will speak for Social Democracy at Central Music Hall, Saturday night, Sept. 29.

Prof. Geo. D. Herren will speak for Social Democracy at Central Music Hall, Saturday night, Sept. 29.

Prof. Geo. D. Herren will speak for Social Democracy at Central Music Hall, Saturday night, Sept. 29.

Prof. Geo. D. Herren will speak for Social Democracy at Central Music Hall, Saturday night, Sept. 29.

Prof. Geo. D. Herren will speak for Social Democracy at Central Music Hall, Saturday night, Sept. 29.

Prof. Geo. D. Herren will speak for Social Democracy at Central Music Hall, Saturday night, Sept. 29.

Prof. Geo. D. Herren will speak for Social Democracy at Central Music Hall, Saturday night, Sept. 29.

Prof. Geo. D. Herren will speak for Social Democracy at Central Music Hall, Saturday night, Sept. 29.

Prof. Geo. D. Herren will speak for Social Democracy at Central Music Hall, Saturday night, Sept. 29.

Prof. Geo. D. Herren will speak for Social Democracy at Central Music Hall, Saturday night, Sept. 29.

Prof. Geo. D. Herren will speak for Social Democracy at Central Music Hall, Saturday night, Sept. 29.

Prof. Geo. D. Herren will speak for Social Democracy at Central Music Hall, Saturday night, Sept. 29.

Prof. Geo. D. Herren will speak for Social Democracy at Central Music Hall, Saturday night, Sept. 29.

Prof. Geo. D. Herren will speak for Social Democracy at Central Music Hall, Saturday night, Sept. 29.

Prof. Geo. D. Herren will speak for Social Democracy at Central Music Hall, Saturday night, Sept. 29.

Prof. Geo. D. Herren will speak for Social Democracy at Central Music Hall, Saturday night, Sept. 29.

Prof. Geo. D. Herren will speak for Social Democracy at Central Music Hall, Saturday night, Sept. 29.

Prof. Geo. D. Herren will speak for Social Democracy at Central Music Hall, Saturday night, Sept. 29.

Prof. Geo. D. Herren will speak for Social Democracy at Central Music Hall, Saturday night, Sept. 29.

Prof. Geo. D. Herren will speak for Social Democracy at Central Music Hall, Saturday night, Sept. 29.

ILLINOIS CAMPAIGN

ILLINOIS CAMPAIGN FUND

For the week ending Sept. 17:

H. M.	\$10.
25th Ward Branch	2.10
Old State Com., S. L. P.	5.60
Collected by Saunders	2.
F. Rappaport	1.
B. O. Berge	1.
W. Schimpp	1.
Fred Sherf, Genoa, Ill.	.25
B. Hines	.25
Dr. Wm. Leonard	.50
F. Svoboda	.50
J. Wright	1.
A. S. Edwards	1.
Jas. Kozak	.50
Theo. Debs	1.
Wm. Lindhal	.50
H. Phillips	.50
Peter Graw	.50
Herman Wiedwelt	.25
John Moock	.25
A. U. Oakes	.50
R. R. Walton	.25
J. E. McCalve	.25
Henry Berger	.25
Gus. Bartlett	3.00
W. A. McKenzie	.25
R. Waddell	.25
J. Bolander	.25
Geo. Ballard	.25
S. Finver	.50
Marcus Peilman	.50
A. Kolman	.25
Total	\$36.20

THE PARADE

The line of march for the parade Saturday evening is as follows:

Market Square is the place where all comrades and friends will assemble; Randolph to Madison, Madison to Fifth avenue, Fifth avenue to Washington, Washington to Dearborn, Dearborn to Adams, Adams to State, State to Congress, Congress back on State to Randolph and Central Music Hall.

All organizations are expected to report promptly at 6 o'clock.

THE CAMPAIGN FUND

Comrades:—It is a plain fact YOU ARE NEGLECTING THE CAMPAIGN FUND.

Are you troubled with 'over-confidence'?

Well, I will tell you that you must understand it takes money to keep this campaign going, and you, comrades, WILL HAVE TO DO better or the committee will be embarrassed.

Now it is UP TO YOU!

Let me call your attention to a few words uttered by the Great Boss Hanna, he says that "the Republican party

LOCAL BRANCHES

Notices of Branch Meetings inserted for 35 Cents per Month

CALIFORNIA
Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evening, commencing at 8 o'clock. Admission free. Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening. Social Democrat Herald free to each member, 25 cents per month. Apply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk street.

BRANCH NO. 1, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock at Woodman's Hall, 1234 Spring St. J. France, 304 Larson Ave., Secretary.
Branch No. 2, San Francisco (German), holds business meeting first Sunday each month at 1 o'clock p.m. at 117 Turk street. Admission free. On third Sunday evening same place, to which public is invited. August F. Mayer, secretary, 1400 Polk street.

COLORADO
Branch No. 1, Denver, meets every Sunday at 8:00 p.m. at 1715 California Ave., Chas. M. Davis, Secretary, 1629 17th Street.
Branch No. 3, Goldfield, meets every Sunday at 7:30 p.m. at City Hall, Chas. La Camp, Secretary.

CONNECTICUT
The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at 8 p.m. at P. Schaffer's, 1039 Main St., Hartford. Louis Schaff, Sec., 26 Spring St., Rockville, Conn.
Branch No. 3, New Haven, meets every Wednesday evening, at 8 p.m., at Aurora Hall, C. Volmer, Sec.
Branch No. 4, Rockville, Conn., meets first and third Thursdays at Turn Hall meeting room, Village street. Secretary, Richard Niederwerfer, Box 760.

ILLINOIS
Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 32 Dearborn St.
Branch No. 1, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening, Thomas Kirwin, Secretary, 3504 West 4th Ave.
Branch No. 2 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets first and third Saturdays at 8 p.m. at Nagel's Hall, 333 Blue Island Ave. Ferdinand Svoboda, Secretary, 694 West 18th Street.

Branch No. 3 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays, at 9 a.m., at 6022 Line Street, J. A. Ambrose, Secretary, 4640 Wood Street.
Branch No. 6, Chicago, meets at 8 o'clock at Nagel's Hall, 333 Blue Island Ave., near 18th St. Albin Geisler, Secretary, 728 W. 30th St.

Branch No. 8 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays, at 9 a.m., at 6022 Line Street, J. A. Ambrose, Secretary, 4640 Wood Street.
Branch No. 9, Chicago, meets at 11:45 W. 62nd St., first and third Sundays at 8 p.m. Gus Larson, Secretary, 6243 Cass avenue.

INDIANA
Branch No. 4, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichwein's Hall, corner Market and Noble st. Address all communications to Sec. of State Executive Board, The Gas Station, 471 Ar. or Ave.

IOWA
Branch No. 3, Hiteam, meets every fourth Friday in the month at opera house. James Baxter, chairman, Wm. Truman, secretary, Box 151.

KENTUCKY
Branch No. 4, Bellevue, meets 1st and 3rd Sunday, at 2 p.m.; and 2nd and 4th Wednesday at 8 p.m., at 61 Fairfield Ave. We will aim to make it interesting for all. Henry Listerman, Sec., 122 Foote Ave.

MARYLAND
Branch No. 2, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Tuesdays each month at Springfield Turner Hall, Carl Schwabe, Organizer, 24 Jackson St.
Branch No. 5, Lynn, permanent headquarters 71 Monroe St. Business meetings every Monday night at 7:30. Open house. Public invited. Harry Goldstein, Sec., 433 Essex St.

Branch No. 6, Brooklyn, meets Friday nights at 8 p.m. for business at Socialist Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Centre Sts. Every comrade is expected to attend one meeting a month. Mrs. Annie Bosworth, Secretary, 51 Prospect St.

Branch No. 19, Roxbury, Mass., meets at 24 Warren St., 2d and 4th Fridays of each month. Public invited.

IS NOT troubled by 'over-confidence.'

"Do you know what that means? Well, I'll tell you what it means. Simply this: the Republican capitalists are putting up 'the stuff' so they may carry on a rousing campaign."

We have witnessed your enthusiasm at the Unity convention.

We have seen your enthusiasm at other meetings; but plain facts, BACK UP YOUR ENTHUSIASM WITH MONEY, the thing that is important, AND NEEDED VERY MUCH.

Now we may sing, we may cry out with enthusiasm, we may tell what we are going to do, BUT WE CANNOT DO ANYTHING WITHOUT MONEY.

Let us get down to facts.

Let us not be over-enthusiastic.

MONEY IS NEEDED.

We hope that the new lists will

COME IN WITH LOTS OF MONEY

on them.

COMRADES, THE CAMPAIGN

DEPENDS ON YOU. RESPOND!

Fraternally,

Fred'k. G. Strickland, Sec'y.

Eugene V. Debs opens the national cam-

paign Saturday night, Sept. 29, at Central

Music Hall.

OPEN LETTER TO MR. BRYAN

St. Louis, Mo., Sept. 17, 1900.

Hon. Wm. J. Bryan, Presidential Nom-

inee.

Dear Sir:—I voted for you four

years ago and never voted the repub-

lican ticket in my life. I fully expected

to vote for you again. Will you kindly

impart a little information to such a

one and others equally interested?

1st. You propose to abolish or to

regulate the trusts. Please tell us how

you propose to do it?

2d. Having made suitable laws for

that purpose, how will you prevent the

bribing of officials? (Of course, every

intelligent man knows that the Presi-

dent does not make, but only executes

the laws made by Congress.)

3rd. When the trusts have been de-

stroyed, how will you prevent existing

causes from reproducing the same re-

sults?

4th. With the implements of labor in

the possession of a (comparatively) few

how will you secure the independence

of the laborers? Trusting that you

will think the foregoing worthy of no-

tice, I remain, sir,

Respectfully yours,

Pro bono publico,

A Voter.

Prof. Geo. D. Herren will speak for Social

Democracy at Central Music Hall, Saturday

night, Sept. 29.

MICHIGAN

Branch No. 1, Battle Creek, Mich., meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of each month, at 3 p.m. at 10 W. Main Street, in the International Convention Hall. All are cordially invited. L. C. Rogers, Secretary.

MINNESOTA

Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Gesswein, on Main St. A. Kingsbury, Secretary.

MISSOURI

Branch No. 7, Kansas City, meets every Tuesday at 8 p.m. at 1800 Union Ave. G. J. Storz, Secretary, 1800 W. 18th St.

MONTANA

Branch No. 1

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

THE NATIONAL PLATFORM

Adopted at the Indianapolis Convention, March, 1900

NOTICE TO BRANCHES

The quarterly dues for the quarter ending Dec. 31 are due at the headquarters, 126 Washington St., Chicago, Ill., on or before Oct. 5. Prompt remittance is of the highest importance to insure the interests of the organization, and the branches are urged to provide for the collection, which should be begun at once.

NEW BRANCHES

Arkansas, one.
Georgia, one.
Illinois, four.
Ohio, one.

NATIONAL SECRETARY-TREASURER

THEODORE DEBS

No. 126 Washington Street, Chicago.

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness depend upon equal political and economic rights.

In our economic development an industrial revolution has taken place, the individual tool of former years having become the social tool of the present. The individual tool was owned by the worker who employed himself and was master of his product. The social tool, the machine, is owned by the capitalist and the worker is dependent upon him for employment. The capitalist thus becomes the master of the worker and is able to appropriate to himself a large share of the product of his labor.

Capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people; but the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system will necessitate the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare.

The present system of social production and private ownership is rapidly converting society into two antagonistic classes—i. e., the capitalist class and the propertyless class. The middle class, once the most powerful of this great nation, is disappearing in the mill of competition. The issue is now between the two classes first named. Our political liberty is now of little value to the masses unless used to acquire economic liberty.

Independent political action and the trade union movement are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its political, the other its economic wing, and both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system.

Therefore the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be:

First—The organization of the working class into a political party to conquer the public powers now controlled by capitalists.

Second—The abolition of wage-slavery by the establishment of a national system of co-operative industry, based upon the social or common ownership of the means of production and distribution, to be administered by society in the common interest of all its members, and the complete emancipation of the socially useful classes from the domination of capitalism.

The working class and all those in sympathy with their historic mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America.

The control of political power by the Social Democratic party will be tantamount to the abolition of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting the millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international Socialism, the brotherhood of man. As steps in that direction, we make the following demands:

First—Revision of our federal constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to complete

control of government by the people irrespective of sex.

Second—The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

Third—The public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones; all means of transportation, and communication; all water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

Fourth—The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal, and other mines, and all oil and gas wells.

Fifth—The reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

Sixth—The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

Seventh—Useful inventions to be free, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

Eighth—Labor legislation to be national, instead of local, and international when possible.

Ninth—National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.

Tenth—Equal civil and political rights, for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

Eleventh—The adoption of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

Twelfth—Abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

ROBERT MEISTER Chairman
JOSEPH R. FINN Treasurer
SEYMOUR STEDMAN Secretary
Address, 126 Washington St., Chicago.

FINANCE COMMITTEE

EDWARD ZEIGLER Chairman
JOSEPH R. FINN Treasurer
JAMES WRIGHT Secretary
Address, 126 Washington St., Chicago

COMMITTEE ON LITERATURE

A. S. EDWARDS Chairman
VICTOR L. BERGER Secretary

COMMITTEE ON PRINTING

JOSEPH WINNEN Chairman
PHILIP BROWN Secretary

COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

SEYMOUR STEDMAN Chairman
ARTHUR DENNISON Secretary

COMMITTEE ON SPEAKERS

OSCAR LOEBEL Chairman
SEYMOUR STEDMAN Secretary

NATIONAL PAPER OF THE PARTY:

The Social Democratic Herald
50 CENTS A YEAR.
126 Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.

HEADQUARTERS: 126 WASHINGTON STREET, CHICAGO

NOTES FROM THE FIELD

Fifteen cents will purchase Merrie England in the German language, adapted to American needs. If you don't read German, buy one for your friends.

See notice of new leaflets—they make Socialists.

The new buttons are union made and all right. Twenty cents per dozen.

You write letters? Put a sticker on the back of each envelope. Five hundred for 50 cents.

Branch dues for last quarter of the year are payable October 5th. Comrades, please take notice.

Send in your order now for Ben Atterbury's letter to workingmen. Leaflet No. 2; \$1 a thousand.

Smiley's excellent pamphlet, "To What Are Trusts Leading?," sent free to any address for 5 cents.

The small 4-page leaflet used by the Chicago comrades is good for any part of the country; 1,000 to any address, postage paid, for 75 cents.

All Socialists living in the 25th Ward, Chicago, are requested to communicate with Comrade Geo. A. Bateson, 85 Evanston avenue, with a view to organization.

All loyal members of the Social Democratic branches in Washington are hereby requested to communicate with Comrade L. W. Kidd, 1115 Sixth avenue, North, Seattle, Wash.

Socialists willing to assist in forming new branches of the Social Democratic party are requested to communicate with the secretary, Theodore Debs, 126 Washington street, Chicago.

The Debs leaflet, at 75 cents per thousand, charges paid, is much the best leaflet for propaganda in some localities. We should receive more orders for them. They are small, but to the point, and will make S. D. P. votes.

The National Committee is now prepared to furnish Leaflet No. 2, Ben Atterbury's "Letter to American Workers," in German. The price is \$1.25 per thousand. Send in your orders at once and put it out among your German friends.

The first money collected in Cincinnati for the striking miners of Pennsylvania was contributed at a meeting of Social-Democrats, Tuesday night, Sept. 18, when Rev. Father Thomas McGrady of Bellevue, Ky., delivered an address under the auspices of the Social Democratic party.

It is advisable to stamp all leaflets, etc., with the local-branch address and time of meeting, in order to get more direct returns for the work of distributing them. Let the voters of your locality know of your meeting, and then provide a good speaker to explain the principles of Socialism.

For \$5 the national campaign committee will send, postage paid, thirty-three Debs lithographs (21x28 in.) and 4,000 leaflets, the latter to include an assortment of all the six leaflets so far issued. Every one is a vote-maker—every one will convert thinking people to Socialism. The expenditure of \$5 in your community for this campaign outfit will start a movement where you live.

The portrait of the presidential candidate gives great satisfaction. Thousands have been mailed to branches and comrades in all sections of the country. It should be seen in every community; it informs the observer, directs attention to the party and makes votes. Ten copies, 35 cents; 33 for a dollar; single copy, 10 cents; postage prepaid.

The Stickers have made a hit. You should have a thousand or ten thousand to put up in your community. They are two inches square, put up in packages of 500 and very handy. They are designed to fix in the mind the fact that the Social Democrats are in the field with a candidate for president. They do the business: One thousand, postage paid; one dollar.

Turn out Saturday night and hear the Social Democratic candidate for President at Central Music Hall.

The Socialist Woman's Club of Chicago met at the Hall House, Wednesday evening, Sept. 19, a large attendance being present, including many working women. Mrs. Corinne S. Brown spoke on "What Socialism Means for Women," bringing out strongly the point that Socialism would give security to women. The meetings will hereafter be held on Saturday evening in order to accommodate working women and an effort will be made to secure a permanent meeting-place down town. It is expected that Mrs. Anna R. Weeks of Winnetka will be the next speaker. The address of the secretary, Mrs. (Frank) Roderus, is 61st street and Madison avenue.

DEBS OPENS THE CAMPAIGN

Comrade Debs' itinerary has been arranged by the National Committee for next week as follows:

Chicago, Sept. 29.
Chicago, Sept. 30.
Battle Creek, Mich., Oct. 1.
Fort Wayne, Ind., Oct. 2.
Marion, Ind., Oct. 3.
Cincinnati, Ohio, Oct. 4.
Louisville, Ky., Oct. 5.
Indianapolis, Ind., Oct. 6.

All other dates, which were prematurely announced two weeks ago, are cancelled. Other appointments will be printed in next week's Herald.

ATTENTION, COMRADES!

Eugene V. Debs will speak Sunday afternoon, September 30, under the auspices of the Bohemian branches, also at the New Twelfth st. Turner Hall, near Western ave. Other speakers will be Herman C. Perry, Victor L. Berger, F. J. Hlavacek, Peter Knickrehm, Seymour Stedman, F. Svoboda, Jos. Kozak, A. S. Edwards and others. Both meetings will be opened at 2:30 o'clock.

THE MONTANA TICKET

The Social Democrats of Montana held their state convention Tuesday, Sept. 18, and nominated the following ticket:

Presidential electors—W. N. Holden of Butte, L. A. Van Horn of Butte, Jas. D. Graham of Livingston.

For member of congress—M. J. Elliott of Butte.

For governor—J. F. Fox of Butte, Fer lieutenant governor—Henry S. Davis of Butte.

For secretary of state—John M. Horne of Billings.

For state treasurer—Henry Tople of Bozeman.

For state auditor—Joseph G. Hoar of Butte.

For superintendent of public instruction—O. M. Partelow of Butte.

THE CAMPAIGN FUND

Branch 44, Massachusetts	\$ 3.85
Anon. Chicago	5.00
J. S. Myers, Marion	1.00
W. W. Miller	1.00
J. H. Hendermark	1.00
L. L. Woods	1.00
W. D. Hulgain	1.00
Jas. O'Connell	1.00
Herman Stenopde	1.00
Samuel Hoare	1.00
Friend	1.00
Henry Heesey	1.00
Branch 16, Indiana	1.00
Wm. L. Bessell, Kalamazoo	1.00
W. M. Stockwell, El Paso	1.00
C. B. Kinsbury	1.00
J. J. H. Stein	1.00
H. Feisab	1.00
Frank Kicke	1.00
Chas. Waler	1.00
Geo. Pikes	1.00
G. L. Hartford	1.00
Godfrey Hughes	1.00
Peter Klingberg	1.00
H. J. Linton	1.00
H. C. Chapman	1.00
M. A. Ananda	1.00
Wm. Housherry	1.00
Jas. L. Hauvitz	1.00
C. Potter	1.00
F. Wintman	1.00
David Henderson	1.00
Jos. R. Halmart	1.00
Otto P. Korduk	1.00
H. Ward	1.00
Austin Wrigg, Miller City	1.00
Branch 7, Pennsylvania	1.00
Anon. Chicago	1.00
Branch 18, Wisconsin	1.00
Fritz Spicker, St. Louis	1.00
M. D.	1.00
Fred Weddle	1.00
C. B. Kinsbury	1.00
F. W. Lennon, Adger	1.00
Chas. P.	1.00
Hoskin B-van	1.00
J. J. Reynolds, Besenart	1.00
Amos Maunling	1.00
J. R. Burrows	1.00
Joe Parsons	1.00
Jas. Miller	1.00
C. E. Crook	1.00
Chas.	1.00
W. E. Fulton, Besenart	1.00
Pat. O'Hair, Birmingham	1.00
W. A. Whitley	1.00
Branch 2, Massachusetts	1.00
E. J. Calver	1.00
Gustav Richter, Milwaukee	1.00
Frank Haner	1.00
Chas. P.	1.00
F. Timm	1.00
Aug. Kuchle	1.00
Otto Shuk	1.00
Chas. Kiedt	1.00
C. Komde	1.00
G. Conrad	1.00
Otto Ruedelhardt	1.00
Louis Schubert	1.00
Wm. K. Bowman	1.00
Fred. Schreier	1.00
Wm. C. Eggmann	1.00
John Barnhatter	1.00
Chas. Dolinger	1.00
Arns. Goldmann	1.00
Adam Huchner	1.00
Wm. Shempel	1.00
John Lehmann	1.00
Peter Fittermeier	1.00
Chris. Heine	1.00
W. E. Traubmann	1.00
Fritz Beyer	1.00
John Schmier	1.00
Aug. Friesenbach	1.00
Geo. Vuorimberger	1.00
Henry Huoke	1.00
E. F. Ward	1.00
J. H. Carter	1.00
H. S. G. Lake	1.00
Thos. Harriman	1.00
E. E. Martin	1.00
Joe. Strip	1.00
H. rman Meyer	1.00
T. H. Richter	1.00
Alfred Taylor	1.00
Orson Curry	1.00
A. E. Sheldon	1.00
Neil Chatham	1.00
Wm. Waybert, Chicago	1.00
G. Ty.	1.00
Wm. Flamm	1.00
W. E. Smith	1.00
Max Hofer	1.00
P. Jiminez	1.00
A. W. Haas	1.00
J. Wuerz	1.00
N. Elzhaltz	1.00
Fred. Hentzel	1.00
Robert Britschweiler	1.00
Nick Schwartz	1.00
L. Hart	1.00
J. Harts	1.00
Previously reported	1.00
	\$1,298.25

Our platform, object, methods of organization and "The Man Under the Dray," by Prof. George D. Herron, are printed in the Debs leaflet with a fine picture of our candidate. This leaflet the campaign committee sends out, charges paid for 75 cents per thousand—little above cost.



IF YOU SYMPATHIZE WITH TRADE UNIONS

You will encourage the sale of UNION LABEL GOODS. If you want Union Label Shoes demand the above Union Stamp. No shoe is Union made unless it bears the Union Stamp. Visit your shoe dealer and take no excuse. Send for latest list of factories. Subscribe for "The Union Boot and Shoe Worker," 10 cents per year. Boot and Shoe Workers Union, 639 Atlantic Ave., Boston, Mass.

CAMPAIGN LEAFLETS

PUSH THEM OUT AND MAKE VOTES

No. 1—Address to Unorganized Socialists

Contains information concerning the Socialist movement in the United States, the party and its methods, object and program.

No. 2—An Open Letter to the Average American Workman

By Ben. Atterbury. This is an admirable and convincing paper on the wage question, production, distribution of wealth and an appeal to the intelligence of the working class.

No. 3—Machine Production. Where the Profits Go.

The argument of this leaflet is a clincher because taken from the government reports made by the Commissioner of Labor, and proves that machinery, combinations, trusts and systematized production must lead to socialism. It's the only way out.

No. 4—Toilers of America. Vote for Your Freedom.

This is a remarkably effective campaign document. Written by a prominent member of the United Mine Workers, it sets forth in a convincing manner the reasons why the miners of the country, railroadmen and all other wage workers should support the Social Democratic ticket.

No. 5—Industrial Crises—Cause and Cure.

A strong appeal to the common sense of the voters, this leaflet gives the Socialist view of industrial crises and convincingly shows that Socialism is the necessary solution.

No. 6—Platform and Debs Epigrams.

This is a very attractive addition to our campaign literature; it gives the party platform complete with a collection of the very best epigrammatic sentences from the lectures of Eugene V. Debs, together with other striking contributions.

Put Them Into the Hands of Every Workingman.

PRICES.	
50 Copies	\$.10
100 Copies	.15
250 Copies	.25
500 Copies	.50
1,000 Copies	1.00
5,000 Copies	5.00

POSTAGE PAID.

Send orders to Campaign Committee Social Democratic Party, 126 Washington street, Chicago, Ill.

A PRIMER OF SOCIALISM

A 32-page pamphlet which contains in addition to the "Primer of Socialism," by G. C. Clemens, "Social zing a state," by the late Laurence Gronlund, and "Economic Terms and Phrases," by A. P. Hazel. One of the strongest pamphlets for propaganda yet issued. A splendid vote-maker, and thousands should be circulated before election.

PER COPY, 5 CENTS—PER 100, \$1.50
Address, Debs Publishing Co.
Terre Haute, Indiana.

STICK UP THE STICKERS MAKE THE FACT STICK

That Socialism is Here to Stick STICKERS NOW READY

They are two inches square, and a capital thing for Propaganda because they can be used in a hundred ways.

Sent only in packages of 500 or more. Price of 500, by mail, 50 cents.

Address, CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE, 126 Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

Debs and Harriman Buttons

At last we have the BUTTONS, and at the right prices, UNION MADE. Both candidates on the button.

PRICES:	
2 Buttons,	5 cents
5 Buttons,	10 cents
12 Buttons,	20 cents

All larger orders than a dozen, 1 1/2 cents each. Charges paid.

National Campaign Committee, S. D. P., 126 WASHINGTON ST. CHICAGO

SPLENDID LIFE-LIKE PORTRAIT OF EUGENE V. DEBS

CANDIDATE OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

SIZE—21 X 28 INCHES, ON GOOD PAPER

Price, 10 Cents, Single Copy

Sent by mail, securely enclosed in tube to insure safe transmission, on receipt of price. Address,

CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY, 126 Washington St., Chicago

New Ready! 126 Pages!

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRACY RED BOOK

EDITED BY FREDERIC HEATH

Printed on Plain Paper Handsomely Illustrated
This is an annual publication for Social Democrats who will find it indispensable for reference purposes. This first issue is of especial value because of the historical character of its contents. Among the features are:

A HISTORY OF SOCIALISM IN AMERICA
Covering 76 pages, with portraits of Robert Owen, Etienne Cabot, Wilhelm Weitling, etc., etc.

ALBERT BRISANE
The first American agitator, with portrait.

A TRIP TO GIRARD
By Wayfarer, with view of Appeal to Reason office.

KARL MARX ON THE SINGLE TAX.

MACHINE vs. HAND LABOR
Compiled from government reports by Louis Ledoff.

SHORTER PIECES
Labor Conflicts in 1888. Gronlund. Grant Allen. Chronology for 1890. Directory of Social Democrats. Socialistic Controversies of 1899. The Golden Rule Mayor. Prof. Herron's Case. Social Democratic Platforms, Etc.

BIOGRAPHIES OF WELL-KNOWN SOCIAL DEMOCRATS. Twenty in all.

ELECTRIC STATISTICS
Covering the Socialist movement down to the present year. A valuable reference.

A SOCIALIST PORTRAIT GALLERY
Comprising seventeen likenesses of leading workers in the movement, distributed through the book.

Sent postpaid on receipt of price, 12 CENTS.
DEBS PUBLISHING CO. TERRE HAUTE, IND.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

THIRD YEAR. No. 16.

CHICAGO, ILL., U.S.A., SATURDAY, OCTOBER 6, 1900.

Whole No. 118.

National Campaign Opened

IT IS INFINITELY BETTER TO VOTE FOR FREEDOM AND FAIL THAN TO VOTE FOR SLAVERY AND SUCCEED—EUGENE V. DEBS.

Magnificent Audience Greet the Presidential Candidate of the Social Democratic Party at Central Music Hall

THOUSANDS TURNED AWAY

Two Great Meetings on Sunday at which Debs Spoke to More Than Fifteen Hundred Bohemians and Germans

SPEECHES OF DEBS AND HERRON

The announcement that Eugene V. Debs and George D. Herron would speak in behalf of Socialism and the Social Democratic Party, Saturday night, September 29, at Central Music Hall, Chicago, was sufficient, despite the rather paltry notices given to the fact in advance by most of the daily newspapers, to pack that historical meeting place from platform to the last chair in the gallery. Every seat was taken and hundreds stood up from an early hour in the evening until a few minutes to twelve, when Prof. Herron concluded his significant and masterly address. It was an occasion which marked distinctly the entrance of American Socialism into the arena of American national politics. It was a demonstration the full significance of which not a single capitalist newspaper in the city dared to publish. It was a magnificent inauguration of Candidate Debs' national campaign and a fresh proof, if any were needed, of the love and confidence in which he is held by the common people who hate despotism and love freedom. For an hour before the speakers' arrival the audience, one of the most enthusiastically demonstrative ever gathered within the Central, sang the newest Socialist songs, with pipe organ accompaniment, under the leadership of F. G. Strickland. The campaign yell, now familiar to all Chicago, was repeatedly called for and given with an earnestness that was tremendous:

Debs and Harriman, rah, rah, rah!
Debs and Harriman, rah, rah, rah!
Hoo-rah! Hoo-rah!
Socialist candidates, rah, rah, rah!

Long after every seat in the hall was occupied, thousands of people surged and struggled at the entrance to gain admission. So determined was the crowd to get in that it became necessary to station a line of policemen across the main entrance, and a great concourse of people, estimated at one time as high as 5,000, were held back by main force. During the evening most of these people heard Socialist speeches, delivered to enthusiastic overflow meetings, by Comrades Geo. Koop, Berlyn, Howard Tuttle of Wisconsin, A. S. Edwards, Eugene V. Debs and others.

While the vast gathering of people on State street was seeking admission to the hall, not less than 2,000 Socialists, with two bands of music and flags, banners and transparencies galore, assembled on Market street for the parade, which, though not large, proved to be one of the most picturesque and exuberantly happy ever seen on the streets of Chicago.

The Central Music Hall meeting was presided over by Comrade J. B. Smiley. Two companies of singers, one English and the other German, added to the interest and success of the meeting. Chairman Smiley's opening address was couched in most felicitous terms and made a fine impression upon the splendid audience that listened. At the close of his remarks introducing Comrade Eugene V. Debs, the memories of the great strike of six years ago were revived by John Lloyd, one of the "Old Guard of '94," who stepped upon the platform and presented to Comrade Debs a gorgeous bouquet of red roses bound with a white ribbon, on which was printed the letters "A. R. U." Here occurred the first great demonstration of the evening. The first speaker stood ready to deliver the first speech in the first national campaign of the Social Democratic party of America. The reception was tremendous in its earnestness; it was, as one daily newspaper said, "a great ovation to a public man." Again and again the vast audience rose in round after round of applause; handkerchiefs, flags and banners were waved, and men and women cheered and yelled for many minutes, as Debs, smiling and

modest, bowed in acknowledgment. When the storm subsided he spoke as follows:

DEBS' SPEECH

Ladies and Gentlemen:—

No words of mine can possibly express my appreciation of this beautiful testimonial (a bouquet of roses) of the esteem and love of my old comrades, the members of the American Railway Union. I can only say that, like the rosebud under the influence of sunshine and snow, my heart opens to receive their benediction.

The only vital issue in the present campaign springs from the private ownership of the means of production and it involves the whole question of political equality, economic freedom and social progress. This fundamental issue has been studiously ignored by both the Republican and Democratic parties; it has been clearly stated and squarely met by the Social Democratic party. The alleged issues of the old parties are all rooted in the existing economic system, which system they are pledged to preserve and to perpetuate, and which the Social Democratic party is pledged to abolish.

The contest to-day is for the control of government by three separate classes, with conflicting interests, into which modern society has been divided in the development of the competitive system. The capitalist class is represented by the Republican party; the middle class is represented by the Democratic party; the working class is represented by the Social Democratic party. Each of these parties is committed to the economic interests of the class it represents.

The Republican platform is a self-congratulation of the dominant capitalist class. "Prosperity galore, give us four years more." The Democratic platform is the wail and cry of the perishing middle class; calamity without end. The Social Democratic platform is an indictment of the capitalist system; it is the call to class consciousness and political action of the exploited working class; and it is a ringing declaration in favor of collective ownership of all the means of production and distribution, as the clarion voice of economic freedom.

Parties, like individuals, act from motives of self-interest. The platform of a party is simply the political expression of the economic interests of the class it represents. The Democratic party differs from the Republican party as the small capitalist differs from the large capitalist; it is a difference in degree only. The Socialist party differs from them both as the exploited wage-worker differs from his exploiter; the difference here is not in degree but in kind. The Republican party is in favor of expansion, the acquisition of foreign territory; a colonial policy. Why? Senator Beveridge says, because we are the trustees of Jehovah. But Senator Depew, who is a man somewhat older, may be permitted to answer. Mr. Depew says: "The markets for the products of our farms and factories accessible by the Atlantic ocean will soon be filled, but across the Pacific are numberless opportunities. Within a distance from Manila not much greater than Havana is from New York, live nine hundred millions of people, purchasing now annually from all nations of the things which they produce, to the sum of one thousand millions of dollars, of which we furnish five per cent; that five per cent should be fifty per cent." The getting of the forty-five per cent constitutes "The White Man's Burden." Mr. Depew also says, "What is the tendency of the future? Why this war in South Africa? Why this hammering at the gates of Pekin? Why this marching of troops from Asia to Africa?" Why? It is because the surplus production of civilized countries of modern times is greater than civilization can consume; it is because this over-production comes back to stagnation and poverty. The American people produce two billion dollars' worth more than they can consume.

The Democratic party is flatly opposed to this policy; it denounces it as imperialism and declares that that is the paramount issue of the campaign. The difference between these two capitalist parties upon so-called paramount issues is so clear as to be self-evident. The small capitalists represented by the Democratic party lack the modern economic equipment necessary in the struggle for the control of foreign markets. They have none of the surplus products which must be disposed of to avoid stagnation. Upon the other hand, the expanding markets for which the large capitalists are struggling will extend their lease of power and greatly augment it. The vast foreign trade will develop and enable them the more easily to crush out their small competitors in the middle class. This is the bone of contention between these two capitalist parties, and what is called the burning issue of this campaign.

In the Republican convention, the national convention that was held in the City of Philadelphia, a most remarkable address was delivered by Senator Wolcott, the temporary chairman. Among other things, this gentle-

man, eminent in the council of that party, said: "There is not an idle mill in the country to-day." This in the face of the fact that at that very time there were scores of idle mills in the country, and multiplied thousands of workmen seeking in vain for employment. It is my judgment that the man who makes such a statement as this in the face of existing facts, ought to be sentenced to serve a term in the anthracite coal region.

He furthermore said: "There is no man who labors with his hands in all our broad domain who cannot find work, and the scale of wages was never so high in the history of our country." Another absolute falsehood. The Republican party touches this economic question as a vital point, but, as you will observe, does not attempt to grapple with it. In their platform we find this statement: "We recognize the necessity and propriety of the honest co-operation of capital to meet new business conditions, and especially to extend our rapidly increasing foreign trade, but we condemn all conspiracies and combinations intended to restrict business, to create monopolies, to limit production or to control prices, and favor such legislation as will effectively restrain and prevent all such abuses." If the Republican party favors legislation restricting such abuses, why has it not enacted such legislation when it has been in absolute control of every department of the government during the past three years? "Wages in every department of labor have been maintained at high rates, higher than ever before."

In Mr. McKinley's letter of acceptance we find this statement: "Prosperity abounds everywhere throughout the republic." This is doubtless true from the standpoint of the interests of the class he represents. The worst that can be said about the president is, that he has been absolutely true to the party that elected him. "Combinations of capital," he says, "which control the market in commodities necessary to the general use of the people by suppressing natural and ordinary competition, thus enhancing prices to the general consumer, are obnoxious to the common law and the public welfare. They are dangerous conspiracies against the public good, and ought to be made the subject of prohibitory or penal legislation. Publicity will be a helpful influence to check this evil. Honest co-operation of capital is necessary to meet new business conditions and extend our rapidly increasing foreign trade, but conspiracies and combinations intended to restrict business, create monopolies and control classes, should be effectively restrained."

Just where the line is drawn between honest combinations and vicious combinations he does not attempt to say. All combinations and monopolies privately owned and operated for private profit, are vicious combinations. All monopolies owned and controlled by the people, in the interests of the people, are good combinations.

We find by an examination of the Democratic platform that substantially the same statements are made upon this question: "Private monopolies are indefensible and intolerable. They destroy competition." Observe that both the Republican party and the Democratic party are in favor of competition, the existing system. They condemn its tendencies, its fraud, but they still favor the system itself. "They destroy competition, control the price of all material and of the finished product, thus robbing both the purchaser and consumer; they lessen the employment of labor; arbitrarily fix the terms and conditions thereof and deprive individual energy and small capital of every opportunity for betterment. They are the most efficient agent yet devised for appropriating efforts of industry to the benefit of the few at the expense of the many. They are fostered by Republican laws and they are protected by the Republican administration, in return for campaign subscriptions and political support. Corporations should be protected in all their rights, and their legitimate interests should be respected."

Corporations are organized purely for private profit; the rights of the corporations to exploit the working class and exact tribute from the people are to be respected, according to the Democratic platform.

In Mr. Bryan's letter of acceptance it is stated that "Private monopoly is an outlaw," and private monopoly is built absolutely upon private ownership. If Mr. Bryan is opposed to private monopoly why doesn't he propose a public monopoly in its place? A public monopoly, built upon collective ownership, which converts a curse into a blessing to society. He says: "I shall recommend such legislation as may be necessary to dissolve every private monopoly which does business outside the state of its origin." He might just as well attempt by legislation to prevent a river flowing outside the county in which it has its source. "The Democratic party does not seek to embarrass capitalists engaged in a legitimate business, but it does protest against capitalists entering politics and attempting to assume control of the instrumentalities of government."

Now, my friends, we observe after examining both these platforms, that both the Republican and Democratic parties are in favor of the private ownership of the means of production and distribution. They are in favor of the existing wage system. There is absolutely no difference between them. Upon the other hand the Social Democratic party, standing upon a platform declaring in favor of collective ownership of the means of production, declares to the world that there is no other solution of this economic problem.

There is an economic revolution in this and other countries in which modern industry has been developed in the past century. We have been so completely engaged in competitive labor that we are utterly oblivious of the fact. A century ago work was done by hand very largely, or with simple primitive tools. How to make a living was an easy question. The boy learned a trade, served his apprenticeship, and the skill inherent in the trade secured steady employment for him at fair wages, by virtue of which he could provide for his family, educate his children and discharge the duties of good citizenship. In that day the working man owned and controlled the tools with which he worked and was virtually his own employer. Not only this, he

Prof. Geo. D. Herron Commits Himself to Political Socialist Movement to Stay Until it is Triumphant

IS GIVEN WARM RECEPTION

Overflow Meeting Held for Four Hours on State Street—Enthusiastic Crowds Hear Socialist Speakers

THE PARADE A GREAT SUCCESS

was the master of what his labor produced. It was a very slow age, meagre of results; it required ten to sixteen hours daily labor to enable the working man to supply his material wants. It was then the machine emanated from the brain of labor; it was designed to aid the laboring man, so that he could provide for his social, moral and intellectual improvement.

At this point an industrial revolution began. The machine, the new tool of production, passed from the control of the working man who used it, into that of the newly developed class. The small employer became a capitalist, and the employee became a wage worker, and they began to grow apart. The machine was crude and imperfect at first; it increased production, it began to displace the working man, it pushed him out of the shop into the street. The working man, forced into idleness, became a tramp. I have said again and again that I am with the tramp, and against the system of society that made him a tramp.

The machine became more perfect day by day; it lowered the wage of the worker, and in due course of time it became so perfect that it could be operated by the unskilled labor of the woman, and she became a factor in industry. The owners of these machines were in competition with each other for trade in the market; it was war; cheaper and cheaper production was demanded, and cheaper and cheaper labor was demanded. In the march of time it became necessary to withdraw the children from school, and these machines came to be operated by the deft touch of the fingers of the child. In the first stage machine was in competition with man, in the next, man in competition with both, and in the next the child in competition with the whole combination. Today there are more than three millions of women engaged in industrial pursuits in the United States, and more than two millions of children. It is not a question of white labor or black labor, or male labor or female labor or child labor, in this system; it is solely a question of cheap labor, without reference to the effect upon mankind.

The simple tool of production became an excellent machine, it necessitated the co-operation and concentration of capital. The tool of production was no longer owned and controlled by the working man who used it. It was owned by the class who didn't use it, and was used by a class who didn't own it. The owners of the machine want profit and the users of the machine want wages. Their economic interests are absolutely in conflict, diametrically opposite. What is good for one is not good for the other.

It is this conflict of interest which has given rise to the modern class struggle which finds expression in strikes, lockouts, boycotts and deep seated discontent. But I am not looking on the dark side of things. I am in no sense a pessimist. I am observing the trend of economic development. I realize it is only a question of time until this concentration of industry will be completed. One department after another is being monopolized in this march of concentration; the interests of these trusts are so completely interwoven that in the near future there will be a trust of trusts. In this trust the middle class, representing the small capitalists, is being crushed and ground beneath the upper mill stone of concentration of capital and the nether mill stone of vanishing patronage.

The working man has been impoverished. Examining the reports I find that during the past fifty years of the age of the machine, his producing capacity has steadily increased, but upon the other hand in the competitive pressure, his wage has steadily diminished. The more he produces the worse he is off. He cannot consume what he produces. The more he produces the more there is an over-production based upon under-consumption. The factories close down and he finds himself out of employment and the reason suggests itself; he no longer works for himself, he works for another, for a wage that represents but a small share of what his labor produces. This accounts for the fact that periodically the country is afflicted with over-production; this accounts for the fact that the large capitalists are struggling to open new markets for the sale of surplus goods, the very goods our own people here at home are suffering for the want of. In this great competitive system the mom-moth department store is sapping the life currents of the small shop keeper; the great bonanza farm is driving the small farmer to bankruptcy and ruin.

No power on earth can arrest this concentration. It is paving the way for a new economic system, a new social order. Socialists understand its trend; they are beginning to organize in every village and every hamlet, every town and every city, of every state and territory in the country. They are organizing their forces beneath the conquering banner of economic equality.

A century and a quarter ago this country witnessed a mighty struggle for political equality, the right of man to govern this country and the formation of this republic was the crowning glory of the century. To-

day there is another struggle going forward for economic equality. If men are fit to be political equals, they are also fit to be economic equals. If they are economic equals, they will be social equals; class distinctions will disappear from human society forever.

Look over in the direction of Europe; we observe that the Socialists there are organizing day by day; that before their conquering march the thrones are beginning to tremble and will, within the next few years, totter to their fall. The same movement is spreading over the United States. Its progress has not been so rapid here for the reason that we have had a new country, and until recently there has been some opportunity for individual initiative. But no country on the face of the globe has been so completely exploited within so short a space of time as the United States of America.

Socialists are organizing for the purpose of securing control of this government. Having conquered the political power upon the platform that declares in favor of collective ownership in the name of the people, they will take possession of industry. It will already have been organized to meet co-operation, that is to say, self-operation, in the development of the capitalist system. Industry will be rescued from cupidity; it will be co-operative in every department of human industry. The badge of labor will no longer be the badge of servitude. Every man will gladly do his share of the world's useful work. Every man can then honestly enjoy his share of the world's blessings. Every machine will be a blessing to mankind because it will serve to reduce the number of hours constituting a day's work, and the work day will be shortened in exact proportion to the progress of invention. Labor will no longer be bought and sold in the markets of the world. We will not make things for sale, but will make things to use. We will fill the world with wealth and every man can have all that he can rationally use. Rent, interest and profit, three forms of exploitation will disappear forever.

Every man will have the same inherent right to work that he has to live; he will receive the full product of his labor. The soul will no longer be dominated by the stomach. Men and women will be economically free; life will no longer be a struggle for bread; then the children of men can begin the march to the highest type of civilization that this world has ever known.

The abolishing of the capitalist system does not merely mean the emancipation of the working class, but of all society. It will level upward to higher and nobler elevation. This earth for the first time since it was flung into space will be a habitable globe; it will be fit for good men and good women to live in.

The existing system is unspeakably cruel; the life currents of old age and childhood are the tributaries of the bottomless reservoir of private profit. The face of capitalist society is blotched with the effects of a diseased organism. What is the estate of Christendom today? We boast of our civilization, and yet every Christian nation on the face of the globe is armed to the teeth. Against whom? Against heathens, barbarians, savages? No, against other Christian nations! And the world pays its highest tribute to that form of ingenuity that enables us to destroy the most human lives in the shortest space of time. Go to the city of Washington today with a device that will enable you to destroy one hundred thousand lives in a second, and your fame and your fortune are made. Is that civilization in the proper sense of the term? We must bear in mind, my friends, that competition is war; that war is the normal state of capitalism.

If there were no gold in the Transvaal, there would be no British soldiers there. If there were no prospect of acquiring material wealth in the Philippines, we would not worry ourselves into premature graves because the Filipinos lack capacity for self-government. Those wars were declared by the spirit of commercial conquest. They are necessary to the development of the capitalist system. With the end of capitalism comes the end of war, and the inauguration of peace.

In the march of invention space has almost been annihilated; the nations of the earth are being drawn into closer relation with each other. In the new social order, each nation will have its place in the sisterhood of nations, just as every man will have his place in the brotherhood of men.

I will do what little I can to hasten the coming of the day when war shall curse this earth no more. I am not a patriot in the sense in which that term is defined in the lexicon of capitalism. I have no ambition to kill my fellowman, and I am quite certain that I have no ambition to be killed. When I think of a cold, glittering, steel bayonet being pushed into the soft, white, quivering flesh of a human body I recoil with horror.

All hail to Socialism! You may retard it, you can hasten its coming by your actions; but you cannot defeat it, you cannot prevent it. It is coming just as certain as the rivers find their way to the sea. It is not yet a popular institution. It is right. A half a

(Continued on Second Page)

Social Democratic Herald

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board
FREDERIC HEATH Chairman
SEYMOUR STEPMAN Secretary
EUGENE V. DEBS Vice-President
VICTOR L. BERGER
CORINNE S. BROWN

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, \$0.50. Six months, \$0.25. No papers sent to any one on credit. If without having subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and no bill will follow. Foreign subscriptions \$1.00.

Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

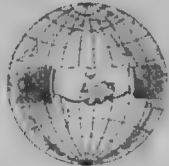
A. S. EDWARDS, Editor
THEODORE DEBS, National Sec'y-Treas.
136 Washington St., Chicago.

118 is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 119 your subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, OCT. 6, 1900.

NATIONAL TICKET

Social Democratic Party



NATIONAL EMBLEM

For President:
EUGENE V. DEBS.

For Vice-President:
JOB HARRIMAN.

A SYSTEM OF RAPINE

There are in the United States twenty millions of wage workers. No one pretends that they receive the compensation for their labor that simple justice demands. Every thoughtful man knows that the employers of this vast army of toilers, the capitalistic class, pocket the difference between what they earn and what they receive. The New York Journal of Commerce, a conservative paper, wearing no party tag, estimates the increased wealth of the country during the past ten years at \$25,000,000,000—twenty-five billion dollars! Who has got this vast sum of wealth? Not the men who earned it. It has gone to swell the dazzling fortunes of the few. The facts are incontrovertible. They admit of no successful denial. How is the robbery practiced? That is the supreme question.

A few simple propositions worked out by plain arithmetical calculation serve to solve, at least in part, the problem.

If 20,000,000 of toilers are despoiled of 5 cents a day for 300 working days in a year the robbery amounts to the sum of \$300,000,000.

If they are robbed of 10 cents a day, which they have honestly earned, the annual piracy swells to \$600,000,000.

If 15 cents a day is withheld by the capitalistic class the spoliation amounts to \$900,000,000 a year. Such exhibits of rapine do no violence to facts and are worthy of consideration.

The purpose of the Social Democratic party is to shape industrial affairs that toilers shall receive all they earn, thus equitably distributing the vast accumulations of wealth which labor brings to the country.

WE HAVE 'EM WORRIED

We have them guessing good and hard in Indiana and the Bryanites are thoroughly scared, while the McKinleyites have in the past week learned there is going to be a big Socialist vote throughout the gas belt which was Republican in 1896. The Indianapolis Press of September 24 had the following items, indicating that Debs is an important factor in the election:

"If the Republicans are counting on the theory that all the Debs votes will come from the Democratic party, they are making a grievous error. The bulk of the Debs vote in Indiana will come from the factories of the gas belt, which rolled up such great Republican majorities in 1896. The resumption of work in the iron mills is a piece of great luck for the Republicans."

"The Democrats have on hand a scheme to break the backbone of the Socialist strength in Indiana by sending Bryan into the Fifth District for a number of speeches. Debs lives in that district, and there is noticeable a big slump to him among the laboring people of the district. It is believed that a few speeches from Bryan would change the drift, and he probably will speak at Terre Haute, Brazil, Martinsville and other Fifth District towns on October 6."

Mr. Bryan has already made one visit to Indiana in response to the cry of his Hoosier following to help "break the backbone of the Socialist strength," and every day since the Socialist propaganda has shown increased activity and vigor. Not a single man has been deflected from a firm purpose to support Socialism by voting for the Socialist candidate.

It will do the Democrats and Mr. Bryan no good to go into the Fifth Dis-

trict. Forty speeches a day from Bryan could not "change the drift" or deceive a single Social Democrat. The Bryan-olators will get on to our curves after awhile; they will learn that men once converted to Socialism (in the Fifth District and everywhere else) are not to be turned away from their principles by a speech from any old-party capitalist politician.

TWO-CENTS-A-DAY PROSPERITY

The Indiana Bureau of Statistics published a bulletin reviewing the condition of organized labor in Indiana for the year ending May 31, 1900. Responses to inquiries were received from 408 unions, having a membership of 24,421. These union workers, it is shown, had average employment during the year of 78 days, at an average wage of \$1.86 a day, giving an average income of \$145.08.

The highest number of days that any one of the 24,421 men was employed was 162, at an average wage of \$1.47, giving a yearly income of \$238.14.

In view of capitalistic class contention that wage earners are prosperous, and their dinner pails well filled, it becomes interesting and instructive to analyze the foregoing official figures.

The union working man, receiving an annual income of \$145.08, has for his support and that of his family for the 365 days of the year, 4 cents a day.

The union working man who was employed 162 days, and secured an income of \$238.14, has for his support and that of his family for the 365 days of the year, 6½ cents a day.

The basic figures of the foregoing calculations are official, published by John B. Connor, a Republican, and chief of the bureau.

The picture of prosperity painted by the chief of the bureau exhibits a condition of haggard poverty that defies exaggeration. It shows to what depth of deprivation the capitalistic class has reduced even organized labor in Indiana, which is doubtless as prosperous as any other state in the Union—a condition which voices trumpet-toned the necessity for the trumped condition which the Social Democratic party is laboring to secure.

Pursuing the subject briefly: If the man securing an income of \$145.08 has a wife then they must subsist on 2 cents a day each for the 365 days of the year. If there are three in the family they must subsist on 1 cent and 3 mills a day. And the union workman securing an income of \$238.14 must be content with 6 cents and 5 mills a day for every day in the year. But if he is a man of a family, say four in all, they must subsist on 1 cent and 6 mills a day.

Such is the official presentation of the conditions of organized labor in Indiana.

But the chief of the bureau, seemingly dazed by conclusions to which he was driven by his own figures, and desirous of lifting himself out of his dilemma by his boot straps, seeks to placate the capitalistic class by supposing that every man works 312 days in the year and thereby secures an income of \$577.72. But his effort to supply fancy for fact only sinks him deeper in the mire, from which he seeks to extricate himself.

The fact remains labor, whether organized or unorganized, is not prosperous, nor can it be under capitalistic methods. Socialism solves the problem, and only Socialism is equal to the Herculean task.

NOTES AND COMMENT

"Split of the Socialists. One faction seeks to bar the other from the official ballot." This is the heading to a dispatch from Springfield, Ill., dated Sept. 29, which says that Thos. J. Morgan of this city, "acting as representative of the united Socialist forces of the State," has filed objection to placing the caption "Social Labor Party" on the official ballot. In doing so he claimed to represent an organization which is incorporated as "The Socialist Labor Party." The Herald has no information as to the specific instructions given to Mr. Morgan as the "representative of the united Socialist forces," but we are quite sure that if the committee of the forces (united for political action in the present campaign) empowered him to resort to paltry technicalities to disfranchise any body of men and preventing a free expression of their preferences at the ballot box, then the committee made a great mistake and the Social Democratic branches in Illinois will not stand to be made a party to such petty interference with the political rights of others.

The street fight and assault upon Theodore Roosevelt at Victor, Colorado, was the legitimate and inevitable sequence of a campaign of brag, bluster and bullying inaugurated by Roosevelt himself. A braggart and refined blackguard himself, he ran up against the real thing. It was a disgraceful incident in his campaign which he had invited. When it was over he said: "The more of this they give me the better I like it. It was bully, sir, bully!" which showed that what he wants as a feature of the campaign he enjoys, is the street brawl. A choice candidate he for the party of Lincoln and Sumner.

Christ said: "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God"—a cartoon showing the hump-backed capitalists wriggling in the eye of a needle would be an object lesson and immensely interesting. It is gratifying to know there is one place where the investment of stolen money will not avail to help its possessor in a pinch. Old Rockefeller, for instance, will have to pipe himself through, with the probability of landing at last, when his royal cloven-footed highness has a cinch on brimstone.

Socialism proposes a new civilization. The present civilization is symbolized by the gun, the fetter and the tag. Old Isaiah, the poet prophet, saw a time when nations should learn war no more, when swords should be beaten "into ploughshares and spears into pruning hooks"—in a word, he saw the time when Socialism should come. Come it has—the present is its dawn. If men will vote the Social Democratic ticket they will expedite the full-orbed noon of the new civilization.

If the Social Democratic party were in power, what would it do? Well, it would take the injunction screws and fetters and bludgeons out of the constitution, and out of the hands of a gang of autocratic judges—and never more, in this land would the flag wave over state or national troops engaged in shooting impoverished working men.

Every star in the blue concave shines for freedom; every wind that blows sings an anthem for freedom, and every Socialist in the campaign has his or her battle cry—freedom! It must come. The eternal years of God are pledged for the emancipation of men from the cruel grasp of capitalistic taskmasters.

The old parties are singing with mellifluous cadence the spider's song to the fly. But working men have heard it in every campaign—some of them have been caught and robbed—but not all of them. As Lincoln would say: "You can't fool all of the workingmen of the country all the time."

Teddy the Terrible would be a winning card in a dime museum by the side of the tattooed chief from the Fiji Islands or the latest importation of the orang-outang from Borneo. Chasing Jack-rabbit theories of empire is too spectacular for plain people.

In Plutonian darkness, amidst fire damp, a lurking hell, the miners of Pennsylvania toil for a starvation pittance, and when they strike for food, for home and family, troops are ordered out to kill them. Socialism would change that sort of civilization.

Socialism demands moral courage of the highest order. Its shibboleth is emancipation, the one redeeming word of the ages, coined by God Himself, when he ordered the prophet, priest and judge to "Harken to the voice of the people."

The ideas of the Social Democratic party constitute its capital. The moment a man owns himself he becomes a capitalist, more, a sovereign. He wears neither fetters nor tag, and expands to full proportions of a free man.

If politics is the science of government the anthracite coal miners of Pennsylvania would like to have a change of science, and they can have it by voting for the Socialist principles and candidates.

The capitalistic policy is to rifle the working class, and if they object call out the troops and rifle them till they are reduced to quietness.

A vote for the Social Democratic ticket is a vote for the prosperity of wage workers—not their degradation.

A real good mark to kick at is Mark Hanna.

PRINCIPLES REPUDIATED IN THE INTEREST OF A PERSON

From a Letter Written by
S. M. Jones, of Toledo,
in February, 1900.

The difference between the Bryan and McKinley program is a difference in degree; it is the same in kind. I have no faith in either; they are both evil. I am a Socialist. I believe in brotherhood and can only find peace in advocating those principles that lead men to live brotherly. Mr. Bryan is advocating an entirely different set of principles.

From a Letter Written by
Him in September,
Seven Months Later.

I am for brotherhood Socialism... Desiring not to influence the signing of petitions [requesting him to run for Congress], I have carefully refrained from saying whom I am for in the National Campaign now on... I believe that here on this continent is to be set up the co-operative commonwealth of equals... I shall vote for W. J. Bryan as the best way I know of to give expression to these sentiments, believing him to stand for what is best in the public conscience of America today.

National Campaign Opened

(Continued from First Page)

century ago the institution of chattel slavery was very popular in the United States. It was doomed to disappear. There were thousands who believed that it was criminal and unjust; that it ought to be overthrown, but they did not have the courage of their convictions; they dared not speak out. There were a few, however, who stood erect. They were agitators in their way, and they were covered with odium. William Lloyd Garrison was one of them. Not a great while ago in Newberry Parish in Massachusetts I saw a little church where the bells rung to assemble a mob to attack him when he attempted to make a speech against slavery. Wendell Phillips was another. Elijah Lovejoy was another. In 1837 in Alton, Ill., Elijah Lovejoy published the Alton Observer; a committee of friends called on him and said: "You will have to stop these attacks on slavery, our people believe in it." Mr. Lovejoy said: "I have sworn eternal opposition to it, and I will not turn back." They called on him again. He said: "I can die at my post, but I will not desert." His printing office was attacked and he was mobbed and murdered. The state of Illinois applauded the crime. Sixty years after the grandchildren of the men who murdered him erected a monument above his self-sacrificed dust in memory of his name. These men were great men, because they dared to be true to themselves and to their convictions of right and duty. They didn't ask: "Is it popular, can I afford it, does it pay?" They simply asked: "Is it right?" and satisfying themselves that it was right, they stood by it without fear of consequences.

Ab, my friends, this movement of Socialism will be popular in the next few years. It is moving forward in all directions; every man, woman and child in the land is vitally interested in it. Such a meeting as this is immensely suggestive, immensely significant; it bears testimony to the fact that men and women are thinking upon this great question as they have never thought before; they realize that the world is trembling on the verge of the greatest organic change in human history. And the Socialists realize that the next ruling class of the world will be the working class. So they are pressing forward step by step until the minority they represent today becomes the majority, and seizes the reins of government and inaugurates the system of the co-operative commonwealth. If you believe in these conquering principles we ask you to join the new crusade and stand side by side with us, and cast your lot with Socialism and cast your votes for the Social Democratic party and hasten the day of its triumph.

I would address a few words to those who are in sympathy with the Social Democratic party, but who hesitate to vote for it for fear they may lose their votes. Let me say to you: It is infinitely better to vote for freedom and fail than to vote for slavery and succeed. The Social Democratic party also appeals to the considerate judgment and the common sense of the middle class of the country. This class is doomed to disappear in the march of the capitalist system; it is only a question of a short time until the middle class will be in the working class. And the sooner the better. For the middle class—the best investment of the little capital that still remains for you, is to put it in Socialistic propaganda. It is possible that you may reach your journey's end in safety, but how will it be with your son? You have a boy twelve or thirteen or fourteen years of age; if you have that solicitude for him a good parent should have for his child, this question can cause you no little concern. He can no longer learn a trade; there is not a trade but that is crowded to overflowing. If he spends three or four years learning a trade he will find that a machine has arrived there in advance of him. He has no capital. He has simply his bare hands that represent his labor power. He cannot buy a factory; he is compelled from the very nature of the situation to offer his labor power, that is to say himself, for sale. If he is fortunate he becomes a wage slave. But even the privilege of selling himself into bondage may be denied him, and he may become a tramp. We cannot tell, for in this system everything is insecure, in doubt, uncertain; you may be worth forty or fifty thousand dollars today and a bankrupt next week or next month, and in the very sunset of your life the poorhouse looms in your vision.

Is it not possible to improve upon such a condition as this? Yes, by the intelligent application of the principles of Socialism. We live in the most favored land beneath the bending sky. We have all the raw materials and the most marvelous machinery; millions of eager inhabitants, seeking employment. Nothing is so easily produced as wealth, and no man should suffer for the need of it; and in a rational, economic system poverty will be a horror of the past; the penitentiaries will be depopulated, and the shadow of the gallows will no longer fall upon the land. Co-operative industry carried forward in the interest of all the people, that is the foundation of the new social order; economic freedom for every human being on earth; no man compelled to depend on the arbitrary will of another for the right or opportunity to create enough to supply his material wants. There will still be competition among men; but it will not be for bread, it will be to excel in good works. Every man will work for the society in which he lives, and society will work in the interests of those who compose it.

I look into the future with absolute confidence. When I strain my vision the slightest I can see the first rising rays of the sun of the co-operative commonwealth; it will look down on a nation in which men and women— I say, men and women, because in the new social order, women will stand side by side with men, the badge of inferiority will be taken from her brow, and we will enjoy the enraptured vision of a land without a master, a land without a slave.

Comrade Debs was followed by Comrade Herman C. Perry, candidate for governor of Illinois—a man from the mines of Spring Valley. The audience had rapturously applauded every telling point made by the presidential candidate, but gave Comrade Perry a reception that showed it had not exhausted itself. With no pretense whatever to oratory, Comrade Perry made a telling speech, every sentence carrying with it the conviction that the speaker was a true and thoroughly class-conscious Social Democrat and a man of genuine worth, in whom confidence was not misplaced.

He was followed by Mayor J. C. Chase of Haverhill, Mass., who told of the progress of Socialism in Massachu-

setts, especially in the municipality over which he presides, where the Social Democratic party of America elected its first mayor.

Then came what was distinctively the most significant incident in the onward march of Socialism in this country since the Indianapolis convention, the speech of Prof. George D. Herron. He had shortened his trip abroad, denying himself the pleasure of visiting Leo Tolstoi, in order to make public avowal of his full sympathy with political Socialism and to bear his share in the first national campaign of the party. Comrade Herron was given a tremendously cordial reception and his thoughtful address stirred the audience to the highest pitch of enthusiasm. The address follows:

HERRON'S SPEECH.

In speaking for Socialism to-night, I shall be as frank with this audience as I am with my own soul. I must give my own reasons for standing upon this platform. I cannot give the reasons of any other man, or of any sect or party, for supporting the Social Democratic movement, though I respect all the men and motives that here converge. The best service which I can render the cause is to bear witness to the light that is in me, and not to the light that is in some other man. I am a Socialist, and all my voting for the last eight years has been with the Socialist-Labor party. But before I am a Socialist I am a free man; I am a Socialist because I am a free man. I have paid too great a price for my freedom, and have left too many blood stains upon the capitalistic order, to make any compromise with what I have won and intend to keep. And I have resolved that I can best serve the world and the cause of Socialism as well, by telling the truth exactly as I see it, or seem to see it. I will never limit the liberty of another man's soul, nor permit any man or party to limit the liberty of my soul. I will not tell lies to support the truth, or conceal one truth for the sake of helping another truth, or be anything else than wholly frank with all men, everywhere. I will not evade bearing witness to exactly what I seem to see this year in order to be consistent with something I may have said last year. I will not tell anything less or more than the whole truth as I see it at the moment I am speaking, to support any party, or even to support the throne of God itself. More than anything else, the world needs men who will confess the truth exactly as they see it, and stand by that truth in the faith that it will be its own witness; in the faith that it needs no tactics or concealment or scheming for its support. If economic Socialism means anything, it means just this liberty of every man to take a free look at life and all its problems and to be gladly heard by his comrades while he tells what he sees.

When I left Chicago last January for Egypt and eastern lands, I had the intention of staying across the seas until a later time than the present. For many weeks I was living tent-life in Syria, out of the reach of letter and newspaper communication with America. Only recently, on coming into Europe, have I understood something of the beginning and meaning of the American Socialist movement. I could have gone on with my plans and have committed myself to the cause of political Socialism at a later period. The Socialist movement does not seem to me to have yet taken its coherent and conquering form in the politics of America. But when I saw that American Socialism was actually in the political melting-pot, being tried by fire in order that it might come forth as a national effort for that freedom and fullness of life which was promised by our fathers, then I also saw that my place was in the melting-pot. I could not wait until Socialism should be altogether pleasing to me in all of its aspects, or until I should be altogether pleasing to Socialism in some of my views of life; my place was with my comrades, sharing with them in the struggles, the defeats and disgraces, that are always involved in the first creative steps of an organized movement. So I gave up my plans of travel, and am here to publicly commit myself to the political Socialist movement as the only collective expression of the things I have preached from this Central Music Hall platform in the name of Christ. And I am here to stay until the Co-operative Commonwealth be established, or until the possibilities of my life be exhausted in helping American labor to consciously and nobly express itself in a coherent effort towards that order of society that shall change labor from a curse into a song; and the lot of labor from poverty and struggle to fullness and freedom and gladness of life.

It may be that the American Socialist party is yet to be formed. If that be true, all of us who call ourselves Socialists are ready to form in any party that shall truly stand for the cause and philosophy of Socialism. It is to Socialism itself we are committing ourselves to-night, and not to any particular party as a final expression of Socialism. Socialism is larger than any sect or any party or any definition or creed. It has no Bible except the living human facts as they unfold. The particular name or party under which Socialism shall finally come is not here important. The thing of importance is this, that we now have an opportunity to politically express ourselves in a movement which is at least the germ of the great American Socialism that is to fulfill what was good and true in the Democracy of our fathers.

Three great lines are converging in the American Socialist outcome. We must name the first the Socialist Labor people who brought from Europe to America what is sometimes called dogmatic Socialism. These men have seemed to some of us to be sectarian and harsh, and to have carried class consciousness into class hatred. But it is to be wondered at that they have been bitter and dogmatic in their advocacy of Socialism, and in their attacks upon the capitalistic order? Our early Socialists were men who had themselves experienced the bitterness and devastation of life that comes to labor in the service of capitalism; they were men who spelled out their Karl Marx in the hideous misery of sweat-shops; men who pawned their threadbare coats to print their tracts. They were Socialists when it took a fanatic and a hero to be a Socialist; Socialists when to be known as a Socialist meant hunger or starvation for themselves and their families. They were men who made brave and pitiful self-sacrifices for one another as comrades; men who, however fierce, practiced towards each other some of the ethics which we Christians are not even heroic enough to preach. These men do not make a Bible of their Marx, and they understand as well as any of us that the economic philosophy of fifty years ago will have to be recast in the mold of present American facts and ideals. What they now justly ask is, that Socialism, under whatever name it appears, or by whatever party it is brought before the

people, shall base itself directly upon the fundamental fact that those who live by selling their labor to capital must become class-conscious of the fact that they are the rightful owners and real producers of the earth; and that this producing class must bravely and coherently set to work to achieve its own liberty from the capitalistic and labor-consuming system of industry. I do not see how any Socialist, or any nobly thoughtful man, can dispute this fundamental proposition, however fiercely it may have been advocated. Nor do I see how American Socialism can be established until American labor comes to such a consciousness of its manhood and worth as shall lift it into mighty response to this summonsed task to which mankind has ever summoned itself; the task of organizing out of the materials of nature and history a coherent and free society, in which every man shall inherit with every other man the resources and opportunities that open whole and gladness of life to the human soul.

Another converging line is that individualism which was the genius of our American political origins, and which was the meaning of eighteenth century political and social philosophy. The end which that individualism sought was right. Rousseau and Jefferson, and the French revolutionists, had a claim which shall be justly and fully acquitted in the court of American Socialism. Socialism does not come to destroy but to fulfill the ideals of liberty, fraternity and equality which made our century so big with promises in its beginnings, and so sad and skeptical with failure in its endings. The liberty which early American aspiration sought can be fulfilled only in the association which Socialism offers; individualism can be fulfilled only in collectivism. I have often said, from this platform, that no man can be free, or ought to be free, until all men are free. The whole world is enslaved as long as there remains a single slave on the earth. Liberty is a social achievement, and must be achieved by men together; not in competition with each other. American Democracy, which originally meant voluntary co-operation as the order of state, will soon be lost, even as an ideal, unless it realize itself in Democracy and co-operation in production and distribution.

The third converging is a new religious movement developing a much keener and more comprehensive spiritual consciousness in the common life. It is a movement so wide and deep that it is scarcely yet recognized and has nothing to do with the conventional religious experiences. It is so altogether outside of historic religious institutions, and has come upon the world so unawares, that it does not even know itself as religious or spiritual. But it is no less than the coming of the Son of Man to a consciousness of himself as a Son of God. It is upon the tides of this new spiritual movement that some of us have been borne into Socialism, and we must be true to our inspiration, while fully recognizing the worth of other inspirations than our own.

Let me explain the point of view and advance from which this unobserved spiritual movement becomes one with economic Socialism. We began our working life with the conviction that the individual soul is all that has any worth. The individual man, his wholeness and liberty, are the untraveled concern of the universe, and all that gives it any worth or meaning. Nature and economic things have a value just to the extent that they are the materials by which the human soul may freely express itself. All material things are intrinsically spiritual values; they are the coin of the spiritual realm. The goal of history, if the universe is sincere and has a meaning, is the liberty of each soul to at last become a divine law unto itself; the liberty of each man to individualize God and nature and truth for himself, and to live an original life of his own. If you examine closely enough just what it is that has made the centuries blood red with human struggle, you will find that it is just this struggle of the soul of man for emancipation from every form of coercion; this struggle of the individual life to freely and deliberately and unfearingly choose for itself what it should be, to richly and fully be what it should choose, and to actually lay up its treasure where its heart should be. It was upon the tides of a spiritual passion for this liberty that some of us were beaten against the hard fact that there is no liberty for the individual soul so long as some people own that upon which all people depend for their bread. We have discovered that no spiritual freedom can achieve or maintain itself except it be realized in economic freedom. Private property in the natural resources upon which all men depend, and private property in that capital which all men create, is nothing less than private traffic in human souls; yea, it is the foundation of the ecclesiastical claim of private property in God and the truth, which is no less vicious than the claim of the monopolist to private ownership of the earth. The liberty of the soul can be achieved only through the passing away of the capitalistic form of society, and the coming in of the free and co-operative state.

The soul cannot find its freedom in "a free field and a fair fight"; for the soul is not free so long as it is compelled to fight for anything; the individual is free only when he is liberated from fighting, that he may live for the common good in company with his brothers.

But there is still another factor in this spiritual movement towards Socialism, and that is the ethical strain that has come to some of us who have faced the whole truth about our economic selves. We who are at once the receivers and victims of special privileges know that we are on the backs of our brothers. We know that our books, our clothes, our privileges are ours because we have dipped our hands right into our brothers' blood. I am able to stand here to-night and make my plea for Socialism, because I have consumed the labor-product which pays for all that I am able to be and all that I am able to give. I cannot believe that I can serve my comrades best by withdrawing from the problem, with the Tolstois, and setting up a private kingdom and Heaven of my own; it would be an unspeakable relief to me to pay my world-debt so cheaply. But my place is in the thick of the social plan and travail, to the depth of the heat and chaos, even if I have to bear this ethical strain and shame to the end. The least that I can do to pay my debt to my brothers, the least that I can do to be decent, is to contribute the whole of my life to the emancipation of labor from that capitalistic order which makes the product of the millions the profit and luxury of the few.

I said when I began that the American Socialist movement had not yet been fully and coherently organized, and that these three ethical factors which I have named are converging in that movement. But whether you agree with me or not to these converging lines, let me ask you to face clearly the fact that Socialism in some form is coming, without any regard to what you or I want. Closely speaking, Socialism can have but one meaning and issue. Loosely speaking, there

might be many kinds of Socialism. There can be a thoroughly Democratic and spiritual Socialism, and there might be an imperialistic or Bismarckian Socialism, in which the state would own the people rather than the people the state. If I might prophesy I would say that in twenty years from now there will be, as now, two great political parties in America; but both of them will be Socialistic; one the party of Tory Socialism, and the other the party of Democratic Socialism. But whatever the form under which collectivism comes, the next stage of the world will be a collective stage of production and distribution. We might just as well appoint a committee to sit down on the sun, to keep it from going on its way, as to attempt to obstruct the Socialistic issue of the capitalist mode of production and distribution. We are nearing the end of an old stage of production and distribution, for competition and private industry no longer work, and they ought not to work. The present industrial system is approaching an economic world-crisis which is also the world's spiritual crisis.

What is the attitude of the two great national parties towards this evident world-crisis? The Republican is frankly the party of the capitalistic order. Under the priesthood of Mr. Hanna, it has been indissolubly wedded to capitalism as its weaker and obedient half. Let us credit Mr. Hanna and his party with all sincerity in their belief that capitalism is the best and only safe order of production and distribution. I am not here to question the sincerity of any man or party; but only to state their attitude towards social reconstruction. The Republican party is so openly the capitalistic party that its principles need no discussion before an audience anywhere in sympathy with Socialism.

But the Democratic party gives somewhat intangible hints of social reform. Let us examine those hints: So far as I can see, I am not able to find in any of Mr. Bryan's utterances, nor in the platform of his party a syllable that indicates the slightest knowledge of the real human problem that now confronts us. Mr. Bryan is a very sincere and upright man, and he numbers men of noble human sympathy among his supporters. But the Democratic propositions for economic and social reforms are negative and meaningless. Their talk of anti-trust legislation is childish, as well as unhistoric. You might just as well legislate against the tides of the sea, or the movements of the solar system, as to imagine that anti-trust legislation can for a moment hinder the present industrial development from going on to its consummation. If Mr. Bryan does not know, I am sure that Mr. Altgeld knows, that anti-trust declarations and legislations are silly; and have about as much relation to the real economic facts as Mr. Roosevelt has to modesty and gentle instincts. It is sometimes mysteriously hinted that Mr. Bryan has up his sleeve some very telling card which he intends to play in the economic game if he is elected; that he is playing politics just as Lincoln did. I do not believe that Mr. Lincoln played politics in any such sense as some of Mr. Bryan's supporters credit their candidate with doing. It is true that Mr. Lincoln shrewdly adopted every available means to achieve his end; but he knew exactly what he wanted from the beginning, and made clearly his goal from the opening of his political career as a member of the Illinois legislature. He wanted the progressive abolition of slavery and a union composed of entirely free men, and he said so. Furthermore, even if Lincoln did play politics in the sense in which Mr. Bryan's friends would indicate, we have nothing to do with that. It is time that we quit asking what Lincoln would do, or what Jefferson would do, or what Moses would do, or what Marx would do, and decide for ourselves, and by our own original inspiration, what we are to do in the face of the world-problem that confronts us. No age or its leaders can live by the inspiration and leadership of a past age. There is always more truth and resource in the present that have ever been available in the past. Besides, this method of playing politics as a game will no longer work with the awakening moral sense of the common life. The people do not want to know what card a man has up his sleeve, but what coherent and frankly spoken principles a man may have wherewith to meet the problems that are meeting him. There is no game that could be so wisely played, just now, as the hitherto untold game of honesty. Leaders whom the people will trust in the future must be leaders who believe in principles so strongly that they are not afraid to tell them to the world. They must be leaders who will trust the people and the truth so fully that they will shake out before the face of the people all the truth they have in their heads and hearts.

If we further examine the policy of the Democratic party, we will find that it is haltingly against the evils that are, but that it has not a single constructive proposition to make as to future good. It is idle to protest that we are against one order of things if we have no better order to propose. Whatever it may disclose in the future, the Democratic party has not disclosed any constructive ability in the past. The best that its most ardent reformers propose is the abolition of special privileges and the restoration of an imaginary free competition. Now twentieth century problems cannot be solved by eighteenth century phrases. So-called special privileges can be abolished only by making the highest privileges of the few the common privileges of all. The special privileges at which the individualist reformer would aim, are the direct results of the very competition which he proposes as a remedy. Special privileges, class legislation, and industrial monopoly are merely the triumph of the strongest competitor; they are the big fish that have swallowed the little fish. Even if the abstract "free field and fair fight," which has never existed outside of the economist's brain, could really exist, the result would again be special privileges and monopoly. In the freest economic field and fairest competition somebody would get whipped; and the triumph would be the triumph of sheer brute strength expressing itself in economic might; not the triumph of those men and politics socially fitted to survive. Besides, a rational civilization has for its end, not the so-called survival of the fittest, but the fitting of all to worthily survive. Furthermore, we are not seeking remedies for the existing social order; for it is an order of things that we do not want, well or ill. It is not a remedy for a capitalistic order that the present human situation demands, but a manhood with spiritual nerve and mighty grace to create a co-operative order which shall realize all the best ideals of all Democracies and political philosophies of the past.

I know that there are many that will vote for Mr. Bryan in the hope that the imperialist which reveals the degradation of our nation, and which has made our government the betrayer and the assassin of the liberties of a helpless people, may be rebuked and corrected. But these good people ought to see that imperialism is merely the result of capitalism. Capitalism increases itself out of the produce of the people until they are too poor

to buy what they produce. India, starving in the presence of walled-up and plentiful food supplies, is a monument to the capitalistic order. As Thomas Carlyle said, England was making new markets, while the million and a half of men and women and children of London who made the clothes, went with bare backs because they had nothing wherewith to buy the clothes they made. Strange as it may seem, they were not making clothes to wear, but clothes for the increase of capital. The capitalistic order of America has debauched the conscience of the whole nation, and used its government to betray and conquer weaker peoples, in order to find markets for the produce of the dwarfed and struggling and blighted lives of the laborers who cannot buy what they produce. Capitalism, after absorbing the purchasing power of the real producers, destroys the liberties of weaker peoples in order to compel them to furnish a market, and besides coerces them into paying interest upon bonds. Suppose a man should come to your room to-night with a revolver and forcibly take your money, watch, clothes and available possessions; and then suppose that, to-morrow, he should send an armed officer with a bill for services rendered in keeping you in order while he robbed you; suppose, further, that in lieu of your having nothing left wherewith to pay the bill, he should compel you to sign a note for an amount of money so large that you could never pay it, but not too large to consume the produce of each year's toil in paying the interest thereon; suppose all this, and you have an epitome of imperialism, which is nothing less than capitalism preserving and extending itself through diplomatic and military force. Imperialism has always been the immediate result of centralization of wealth in the hands of a few, and can be dealt with only by changing the order of things from which it naturally springs.

Socialism comes not as a remedy for the evils of existing society, but as a program of principles for a new society; or rather, let us say, as the first proposition for social order that has ever been presented to the world. Mankind has not yet had anything that can properly be called social order. Society has not yet been created. The materials for the building of a human world are here, but the creation remains to be undertaken. The task of creating a coherent and free society is the mightiest to which man has summoned himself, and it is the task which now presses urgently upon us. Socialism does not recognize as society, anything that has hitherto come, but it sees in every preceding human stage a preparation for society. The Socialist is an evolutionist, but with this difference between himself and much that is called scientific evolution; namely, that the social will is henceforth to be the supreme factor in evolution. Hitherto, what we call society has been the evolution of blind forces which man did not understand and could not control. But we are reaching that moment when man will become the evolver as well as the evolved; when man will become conscious of himself as the decretal and creative force in evolution. Man will henceforth take evolution in his own hands, and fashion creation according to his own will, and make out of society what he wants it to be. Henceforth the social will is to become the creator and master, which the winds and the waves shall at last obey, and at whose word the strifes and storms of history shall be stilled, and give back their responsive peace to the masterful social will to love.

Socialism starts with the brotherhood and unity of the race as a fact. It does not proclaim it as a sentiment, but recognizes it as a scientific fact. Each for all and all for each is the only rational mode of procedure in view of this fact. That where one suffers all suffer is not a sentiment to meditate about, but the hardest unescapable fact with which we have to deal. The gripe breaks out in a wretched hamlet of two or three hundred peasants on the Siberian frontier; and every home in America is endangered or broken. A little girl is shot down by the constituted authorities at a Pennsylvania coal mine; and every thoughtful American recognizes that capitalistic government is not law, but brutal and lawless authority founded on economic might, and that his little girl in Chicago or California may be the next victim of the brute lawlessness of capitalistic government. For good or ill, whether we will or no, we are bound up together in this world, and can only achieve our well being together. We might like to have separate interests, and be able to extricate ourselves as individuals from the divine compulsions of this unity; but we cannot do so any more than we can individually extricate ourselves from the law of gravity. We all in common depend upon the same common sources of nature and history. None of us are rightly or nobly born until every child born into the world is born as the immediate inheritor of all the resources of nature and history, of industry and society, of inspiration and culture; of all that tempts to goodness and greatness, and makes for fullness and freedom and gladness of life. If the whole world were full and glad with life, and should yet consent that one child should be born with less, the world would be economically and spiritually damned. Until all of us together see to it that every man is equal with every other man in resource and opportunity and resource and liberty, we shall none of us see the kingdom of fullness and freedom upon the earth. In this sense brother-interest and self-interest are one and the same; for no man has a true and noble interest in himself who does not regard the whole life of man as his calling and interest, and no man has a true regard for his brothers who does not seek to make of himself a whole and free man in their service.

Now, Socialism comes as the scientific and economic recognition of this unity. Since all people in common depend upon the sources and tools of production, there can be no individual liberty save these sources and tools belong to the people in common. There can be no social peace and sanity, no full liberty of the human soul, so long as some people own that upon which all people depend. All that can be said against slavery can also be said against the private ownership of economic sources and tools; for the private ownership of the common sources and machinery of life is nothing less than a substantial ownership of human beings. No man is free so long as he is dependent upon some other man for the chance to earn his livelihood. If a man owns my bread, or owns that which I must have in order to get my bread, he owns my moral being, unless I choose to revolt and starve. Private ownership of the earth and its productive machinery means private ownership of the people who live on the earth. He who sells his labor-power for wages sells himself; for his labor-power is his life. The wages system is merely an advance in the slave system, but it is no fit system for free men; and there can be no true freedom for all men until there is not another hiring left under the sun. The labor of the world is essentially slave-labor. There is not a wage-earner on the earth to-night, who is not in some degree debauched in soul, even in spite

of himself, by his dependence upon the private buyer of his labor. So long as some men own that upon which all men depend the owners and the dependents are alike corrupted, and enslaved and robbed.

Yet our whole industrial system rests upon this power of private capital to legally appropriate the fruits of the labor of society. But behind the economics of capitalism rests the question of elemental right and wrong. If nature and history have a meaning and a goal, if the universe be sincere, then it is elementally wrong that some people should own that upon which all people depend; and the only elemental right is that the people in common should own that upon which the reward of labor is the whole produce of labor. The elemental right cannot be amended or evaded, as history well witnesses. The centralization of the wealth of the people in the hands of the few has been the poison of history, and has brought the decline or destruction of every nation, every civilization, every religion that has come to its end or decline. The pages of history are blood-red with the retribution that comes to the whole people through the centralization of wealth in the hands of a few; for centralized wealth is not prosperity but disease, congestion, and destruction. No man or civilization can escape this retribution. It lies not in the power of man or governments or armies to make practicable what is elementally wrong. No religion can go deep enough to bring forth universal individual nobleness out of a political or economic system that enslaves souls and bodies by enslaving labor. No law or custom is mighty or sacred enough to bring forth peace and order out of injustice and elemental disorder. It is beyond the power of kings or parliaments, priests or politicians, to bring forth good effects from bad causes. There is no God in the universe almighty enough to make right out of sheer economic might; and there is no civilization strong enough to prevent that which is elementally right from becoming the ultimate and universal might. A house built upon the sand cannot be made safer by priestly steeples, political declarations and police protection; the longer and stronger the building the more appalling and complete the ruin. A civilization built upon fraud and force, gambling and lying, stealing and political debauchery, capitalism and slave-labor, simply builds for its own retribution. Unless the universe itself be a lie such a civilization cannot stand. We build on a sure foundation only when we build a system that has for its end the common wealth, the common wholeness, the common freedom, the common abundance and gladness of all men and women. Nature convicts our impoverishing civilization to its face; the profusion of life is nature's eternal message. Nature offers resources enough for abundance of life for countless billions of human beings, and will never consent that these resources should be appropriated by the few for the exploitation of the many.

I know that some of you are indulging in the popular saying that Socialism might answer for a society of angels, but not for a society of human beings such as we are; that we must wait till we have a better brand of human beings before we can have Socialism. All of which is very much like saying that it is not safe to cure a man of his disease until he gets well; or like saying that we will not come in out of the rain until we first get dry; or like refusing to abolish the devil in order that we may preserve the job of saving the people from him. It is a strange superstition that makes men regard what they know to be elementally good as dangerous in practice, and what they know to be elementally wrong as practically safe. Socialism strikes at the root of the chief cause of our unangelic conduct, and proposes to abolish that slavery and competition and capitalism which sends all its forces in the direction of making men brutal and dishonest. The whole influence of competition and capitalism is to war against love and liberty, and to make all that is noble and lovely in human life impossible. Socialism comes to remove the causes that prevent men from being lovers and brothers one with another, and to bring in that equality of opportunity without which there can be no true fellowship, no abiding social love.

Many of you, too, are raising the question of whether people are yet prepared for the economic administration and liberty involved in what we call public ownership. The question is often raised with reference to a public utility, such as the railway system. First of all, there is the principle that nothing prepares people for responsibility save experience in responsibility. It is only in liberty that man learns to be free; only in the possession of his rights does a man learn to practice the highest right. And in the immediate question of advisability, lies the foundation fact that it is elementally wrong for public functions to be privately owned and administered for private profit. No principle of expediency can make this elemental wrong result in the good of either individuals or society. That I may think some other man shiftless with his money does not excuse me in taking it away from him and spending most of it for myself. The lesson of co-operation in liberty has got to be learned, and it can only be learned by practicing it. We shall have to go the whole length of liberty or finally have no liberty at all. You doubt whether liberty can be trusted. I am very sure that tyranny cannot be trusted, and I am furthermore sure that the care of liberty cannot be delegated to any representatives. Liberty cannot be put under bonds to keep the peace without liberty being lost and peace unattained. All the so-called evils of liberty have been the evils of the lack of liberty. We shall have to accept the full logic of liberty at last, for there is nothing under the sun that can be trusted in its place. The lesson of co-operation has got to be learned, and learned in liberty; and the lesson of liberty has got to be learned, and learned in co-operation. We had just as well set about the task.

Again, some of you are offended at the class-conscious appeal of Socialism. I think it is because you do not rightly understand its meaning. Socialists have no thought of arraigning one class against another class as individuals; class-consciousness does not mean class-hatred. Let us admit that Socialists sometimes give utterances that have the class-hatred ring about them. Class-hatred is none the less alien to the spirit and genius of Socialism. Even so bitter a controversialist as Karl Marx says that of all men Socialists can afford to be tolerant and kindly towards the capitalist class, knowing that class to be the victims of a system as truly as the laborer. What the Socialist does mean by class-consciousness is this: that nothing can obviate the hideous fact that one class of human beings is living off another class; that a capitalistic class is heaping up the produce of the producing class. And he appeals to labor to become class-conscious, because he knows perfectly well that the laborer cannot achieve his freedom, nor have the produce of his labor, until he becomes conscious that he

is the real producer and the owner of the earth. Capital lords and landlords will exist, and despoil the earth with economic and military wars, until the disinherited labor of the world rises to nobly take possession of its inheritance. So long as the laborer is willing to be a mere wage-earner, so long as he is led about by politician and agitator, so long as his weariness and poverty, his dependence and hopelessness, so eat out his nerve of soul and body that he will not act, just so long will his condition wax worse and worse. Labor must achieve its own liberty, if it is ever to be achieved. Liberty cannot be handed down by a superior class to an inferior class; it has never been so achieved and ought not to be so achieved. If liberty were something that could be imposed upon one class by another; or could be presented as a gift from superiors to inferiors, it would vanish in a night. Men are not free until they have won and established their freedom in experience, and in the power of their own manhood. The class-conscious appeal is not for strife or hostility or antagonism, but for manhood; for constructive purpose, and spiritual nerve and genius. The end of Socialism is the abolition of all class and parties, and the coming in of but one class, the people, with opportunity for every man to produce his own living, and at the same time become as Charles Kingsley, "a scholar, a saint, and a gentleman." Unless American laborers as a class are so spiritually awakened that they become noble and courageous enough to adopt the Co-operative Commonwealth as a working ideal, and adopt it in the spirit of good-will toward all men; no one can achieve their liberty for them or even to achieve it for them. All history demonstrates how the people have had to achieve for themselves each inch and gain of liberty, and how they have been again and again betrayed when their liberties have been committed to those above them in worldly condition.

I know that some are waiting until Socialism shall present a more pleasing aspect. But we cannot wait until the Socialist movement is just to our liking before we take creative part in it. Our place is in the blood and the dust, the struggle and the disgraces, that always inhere in the beginnings of every great movement. Our place is at the heart of the chaos in order that we may work with the cosmic heart purpose. How can we truly respect ourselves, or help to make the Socialist movement what it ought to be, if we fail it in its moment of severest need? Socialists are not appealing to you for support on the ground that Socialists are better than other men, but on the ground that Socialism is better than capitalism, and that Socialism will bring forth and educate the best that is in man, while capitalism and competition are bringing forth and educating the worst.

We do not deny that Socialism has its risks, and its advocates the common share of human passions and imperfections, but we insist that the risks of adventuring upon Socialism are as nothing compared to the risks of continuing in capitalism. Besides, if we only knew it, the dangers to human life lie on the side of staying where we are, while safety lies only in going on. As Louis Kossuth pointed out, conservatism has been the cause of every violent revolution. We cannot avert disaster by sitting on the throttle valve of the forces that are making for universal change; we cannot prevent the change; we only cause explosion and disaster.

In the truest sense, Socialism is essentially conservative; it comes not to destroy, but to fulfill all the true ideals of order and liberty and property; it offers that equality which must be the foundation of brotherhood; that liberty which must be the vital breath of the love which the Lord Christ taught; it offers the economic basis for the realization of that fraternity which has been the dream of the ages. It comes with no attack upon any man, but with the message of good-will among all men. It comes with no attack upon property, but rather to save property from the attacks and ravages of a system that is the destruction of all that makes property sacred; for property is sacred only as it serves the highest uses of all men in common. It comes not to destroy private property; for capitalism has already destroyed the possibility of the bulk of mankind ever becoming property owners; but it comes to place within the reach of every man that private property upon which he may stand and live a free and original life of his own, and express his noblest ideals and being. It comes to make the strong bear the infirmities of the weak, until they, too, become strong; knowing well that if we do not actually become our brother's keepers, we shall be destroyed in our brother's destruction, as we ought to be. It comes to put all the temptations of life on the side of service and freedom and goodness, and to abolish the temptation to avarice and meanness and oppression.

I know that there is needed a vast spiritual preparation to prepare the way of political Socialism; but that preparation will come. In its essence Socialism is a religion; it stands for the harmonious relations of the whole life of man; it stands for a vast and collective fulfillment of the law of love. As the Socialist movement grows, its religious forces will come forth from the furrow of consuming experience. No matter how materialistic its origin, when Socialism brings men together in a great purpose it soon begins to develop fidelity and tolerance, and patience and good-will, and the noblest human graces. As American Socialism goes on its way it will become a spiritual passion; not a cry for rights, but a call to elemental righteousness. It will make its appeal to the instinct of man for a divine public life, for communal heroism, and will show how the individual life can fulfill itself only by relating itself to the whole life of mankind. It will create a conscience that shall at last become cosmic and titanic, and able to grapple with all the problems the universe can bring forth. In place of the individual hero of the past, it will submit to you the ideal of a heroic common life; the ideal of a common citizenship that shall truly have its consciousness in heavenly things.

It seems to me that America stands in order to be the birthplace of just such an appeal, and the social ground for just such a realization. Emerson once said that America seemed like the last stand of Providence in behalf of the human race. If the sorrows and the struggles that have made the centuries run blood-red with effort are to have their fruition, it must be upon our American soil. Back there in the shadows, the oppressed peoples of history are waiting for some great word to be here spoken that shall call them into resurrection and liberty. Egypt and Syria; Persia and Greece, Italy and peoples that we have forgotten, are waiting for the word from us that shall call them into the sunlight and the God-light. Peoples and nations unborn are stretching forth entreating hands to us from out of the future. If we should fail here in America, then six thousand years' of history will have failed; for history has come to its limit on the shores of the Pacific; it has come back to its starting point. If we fail the heart of God will break again,

(Continued on Fourth Page)

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

THE NATIONAL PLATFORM

Adopted at the Indianapolis Convention, March, 1900

NOTICE TO BRANCHES

The quarterly dues for the quarter ending Dec. 31 are due at the headquarters, 126 Washington st., Chicago, Ill., on or before Oct. 5. Prompt remittance is of the highest importance to insure the interests of the organization, and the branches are urged to provide for the collection, which should be begun at once.

NEW BRANCHES

Alabama, one.
Illinois, two.
Arizona, one.
Montana, one.

NATIONAL SECRETARY-TREASURER

THEODORE DEBS

No. 126 Washington Street, Chicago.

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness depend upon equal political and economic rights.

In our economic development an industrial revolution has taken place, the individual tool of former years having become the social tool of the present. The individual tool was owned by the worker who employed himself and was master of his product. The social tool, the machine, is owned by the capitalist and the worker is dependent upon him for employment. The capitalist thus becomes the master of the worker and is able to appropriate to himself a large share of the product of his labor.

Capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people; but the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system will necessitate the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare.

The present system of social production and private ownership is rapidly converting society into two antagonistic classes—i. e., the capitalist class and the propertyless class. The middle class, once the most powerful of this great nation, is disappearing in the mill of competition. The issue is now between the two classes first named. Our political liberty is now of little value to the masses unless used to acquire economic liberty.

Independent political action and the trade union movement are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its political, the other its economic wing, and both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system.

Therefore the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be:

First—The organization of the working class into a political party to conquer the public powers now controlled by capitalists.

Second—The abolition of wage-slavery by the establishment of a national system of cooperative industry, based upon the social or common ownership of the means of production and distribution, to be administered by society in the common interest of all its members, and the complete emancipation of the socially useful classes from the domination of capitalism.

The working class and all those in sympathy with their historic mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America.

The control of political power by the Social Democratic party will be tantamount to the abolition of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting the millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international Socialism, the brotherhood of man.

As steps in that direction, we make the following demands:

First—Revision of our federal constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to complete

control of government by the people irrespective of sex.

Second—The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

Third—The public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones; all means of transportation, and communication; all water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

Fourth—The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal, and other mines, and all oil and gas wells.

Fifth—The reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

Sixth—The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

Seventh—Useful inventions to be free, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

Eighth—Labor legislation to be national, instead of local, and international when possible.

Ninth—National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.

Tenth—Equal civil and political rights, for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

Eleventh—The adoption of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

Twelfth—Abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

ROBERT MEISTER.....Chairman
JOSEPH R. FINN.....Treasurer
SEYMOUR STEDMAN.....Secretary
Address, 126 Washington St., Chicago.

FINANCE COMMITTEE

EDWARD ZEIGLER.....Chairman
JOSEPH R. FINN.....Treasurer
JAMES WRIGHT.....Secretary
Address, 126 Washington St., Chicago

COMMITTEE ON LITERATURE

A. S. EDWARDS.....Chairman
VICTOR L. BERGER.....Secretary

COMMITTEE ON PRINTING

JOSEPH WINNEN.....Chairman
PHILIP BROWN.....Secretary

COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

SEYMOUR STEDMAN.....Chairman
ARTHUR DENNISON.....Secretary

COMMITTEE ON SPEAKERS

OSCAR LOEBEL.....Chairman
SEYMOUR STEDMAN.....Secretary

NATIONAL PAPER OF THE PARTY:

The Social Democratic Herald
50 CENTS A YEAR.
126 Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.

HEADQUARTERS: 126 WASHINGTON STREET, CHICAGO

NEW BRANCHES ORGANIZED

(Report for Quarter Ending Sept. 30.)
During the third quarter of the year ending September 30, National Secretary Debs issued charters from 126 Washington street, Chicago, to sixty-nine new branches, as follows:

Arkansas.....	2	Missouri.....	4
California.....	1	Montana.....	3
Colorado.....	1	New York.....	1
Florida.....	1	Nebraska.....	1
Georgia.....	1	Ohio.....	2
Indiana.....	7	Oklahoma.....	1
Illinois.....	5	Oregon.....	1
Iowa.....	4	Pennsylvania.....	1
Kansas.....	1	South Dakota.....	1
Louisiana.....	1	Texas.....	1
Massachusetts.....	2	Virginia.....	2
Maryland.....	1	West Virginia.....	1
Michigan.....	7	Washington.....	2
Minnesota.....	1	Wisconsin.....	13

Total.....69

Five reported this week increases the total to 74, nearly one for each working day in the quarter.

WHERE DEBS WILL SPEAK

Pana, Ill.....	Oct. 8
St. Louis, Mo.....	Oct. 9
Kansas City, Mo.....	Oct. 10
Kansas.....	Oct. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15
Omaha, Neb.....	Oct. 16
Iowa.....	Oct. 17, 18, 19, 20
Wisconsin.....	Oct. 21, 22
New York City.....	Oct. 30

NOTES FROM THE FIELD

Fifteen cents will purchase Merrie England in the German language, adapted to American needs. If you don't read German, buy one for your friends.

See notice of new leaflets—they make Socialists.

The new buttons are union made and all right. Twenty cents per dozen.

J. A. McIsaac has been nominated for Congress in the 11th District of Massachusetts.

You write letters? Put a sticker on the back of each envelope. Five hundred for 50 cents.

All the leaflets are going out fast and the comrades write in that they give great satisfaction.

Send in your order now for Ben Atterbury's letter to workingmen. Leaflet No. 2; \$1 a thousand.

Smiley's excellent pamphlet, "To What Are Trusts Leading?", sent free to any address for 5 cents.

The Central Trades and Labor Union of St. Louis has declared in favor of the Social Democratic national ticket.

The small 4-page leaflet used by the Chicago comrades is good for any part of the country; 1,000 to any address, postage paid, for 75 cents.

All loyal members of the Social Democratic branches in Washington are hereby requested to communicate with Comrade L. W. Kidd, 1115 Sixth avenue, North, Seattle, Wash.

Socialists willing to assist in forming new branches of the Social Democratic party are requested to communicate with the secretary, Theodore Debs, 126 Washington street, Chicago.

The Debs leaflet, at 75 cents per thousand, charges paid, is much the best leaflet for propaganda in some localities. We should receive more orders for them. They are small, but to the point, and will make S. D. P. votes.

Registration days in Illinois are Tuesday, Oct. 9 and Tuesday, Oct. 16. Information as to method of obtaining naturalization-papers will appear in the Herald next week.

The Social Democratic picnic of the Boston, Rockland, Whitman, Chelsea and other branches in Massachusetts, Comrade Haile writes us, was "just the kind of a success that was most desired."

All comrades in St. Louis who are "loyal" are requested to attend a meeting at Druid's Hall, 9th and Market Streets, Sunday, October 7, at 2 p. m., when important business will be transacted.

It is of the highest importance that all branches remit at the earliest time possible, the quarterly dues for members. The prompt payment of dues is necessary to the proper carrying on of the work at headquarters.

Comrades: Wherever our candidate speaks during the present month (see list of cities in this issue of the Herald) the local branches should have thousands of leaflets to distribute at the meetings, lithographs to display in store windows, and stickers by the thousands.

Our German comrades will do well to distribute the German translation of leaflet No. 2, Ben Atterbury's "Letter to American Workmen." Give every German voter a copy and you will much increase the German Socialist vote. The price is \$1.25 a thousand. Send in your orders.

The portrait of the presidential candidate gives great satisfaction. Thousands have been mailed to branches and comrades in all sections of the country. It should be seen in every community; it informs the observer, directs attention to the party and makes votes. Ten copies, 35 cents; 33 for a dollar; single copy, 10 cents; postage prepaid.

The Stickers have made a hit. You should have a thousand or ten thousand to put up in your community. They are two inches square, put up in packages of 500 and very handy. They are designed to fix in the mind the fact that the Social Democrats are in the field with a candidate for president. They do the business. One thousand, postage paid, one dollar.

For \$5 the national campaign committee will send, postage paid, thirty-three Debs lithographs (21x28 in.) and 4,000 Leaflets, the latter to include an assortment of all the six Leaflets so far issued. Every one is a vote-maker—every one will convert thinking people to Socialism. The expenditure of \$5 in your community for this campaign outfit will start a movement where you live.

The National Committee is now prepared to furnish Leaflet No. 2, Ben Atterbury's "Letter to American Workmen," in German. The price is \$1.25 per thousand. Send in your orders at once and put it out among your German friends.

It is advisable to stamp all leaflets, etc., with the local branch address and time of meeting, in order to get more direct returns for the work of distributing them. Let the voters of your locality know of your meeting, and then provide a good speaker to explain the principles of Socialism.

THE CAMPAIGN FUND

Edwin Anderson, Chicago.....	\$	50
A. K. Peterson.....	25	
J. Deiber.....	10	
Henry James.....	10	
Emil Beer.....	10	
J. Gibbons.....	10	
Wm. Giesing.....	10	
Wm. Ellis.....	10	
F. Morke.....	10	
Henry Kauft.....	10	
John Marks.....	10	
Ed. Meland.....	10	
John Olson.....	10	
J. W. Kauney.....	10	
John Kuebel.....	10	
B. Aschatz.....	10	
P. Petache.....	100	
E. Petache.....	25	
F. O. Petache.....	10	
P. Bizeau.....	10	
P. Schonta.....	10	
J. Verschal.....	10	
F. Chack.....	10	
J. Urie.....	10	
J. Ruuger.....	10	
A. Berumshok.....	10	
Jan. Reid.....	10	
Jan. Marshall.....	10	
Frank Barber.....	10	
Arnold Zanda, Two Rivers.....	10	
F. J. Miller, Beaumont.....	20	
J. P. Malcor, Spring Valley.....	10	
Edward Hall.....	10	
Henry Watts.....	100	
Sebastian Nicholl.....	10	
Wm. Liddell.....	10	
H. C. Perry.....	100	
Harry Morgan.....	10	
Wm. James.....	10	
C. Schwartzing.....	10	
A. Friend.....	20	
Geo. Lawrence.....	10	
Max Marwick.....	10	
James O'Connor.....	10	
August Tonsluis.....	10	
Joe Kelly.....	10	
Wm. Myers.....	10	
F. Van Fossan, Kokomo.....	20	
Davis Hains, Hutchinson.....	10	
R. Bitterlich, St. Louis.....	10	
H. E. Chicago.....	10	
G. J. Storz, Kansas City.....	10	
F. Macomber, Anderson.....	100	
On Unborn's List, Chicago.....	100	
Branch 12 Wisconsin.....	100	
A. Christiansen, Chicago.....	100	
Previously reported.....	1,296.	

National Campaign Opened

(Continued from Third Page)

and another cycle of history, with its weary procession of bleeding centuries, will have to begin. But we cannot fail, we dare not fail. Liberty and fraternity and equality are not tantamounts to hopeless human suffering, but ideals to be realized by human worth and effort. We must prove our worth to match these ideals. Potential within this meeting is the power which God might use for the freeing and the healing of the nations. Within this audience are the resources and weapons for conquering the world for love and liberty. The saving sword which the peoples now need is not the sword of Joshua or Cromwell, but the sword of an awakened and inspired and ennobled common life. And as the hand of God reaches out in the dark of our social chaos, it is our privilege to put within that hand the sword of comrade-love that shall liberate the world, and make every child indeed the heir of all the good of all ages. I pray that the highest and most unselfish that lies in you and in me may respond to the highest and most unselfish inspirations of history, as we go forth to support this cause of Socialism, and to support in its presidential candidate one who has proven his fidelity to American labor, and who is in his rightful place as the leader of this first national campaign for Social Democracy.

During the meeting a resolution ratifying the nomination of Debs and Harriman and the union for political co-operation of the Socialists of Illinois in the present campaign was adopted.

SUNDAY MEETINGS

With just forty-eight hours' advertising two splendid meetings were held on Sunday, Sept. 30, the first in the afternoon at Twelfth Street Turner Hall, the other at Bohemian National Hall in the evening.

At the afternoon meeting Comrade Jacob Winnen presided, and the speakers, besides Eugene V. Debs, were Peter Knickrehm and A. S. Edwards. It was the largest political meeting held in the hall this year, about 700 being present, and although many Socialist gatherings have been had there, never before was so much unrestrained enthusiasm manifested. Comrade Debs was unusually effective and made a speech brilliantly epigrammatic and bristling with telling hits on the capitalist system and the two capitalist parties.

In the evening the Bohemian National Hall was filled to the door with an audience of over 1,000. Comrade Frank Mudra presided and Comrade Hlavacek, editor of Spravedlnost, was the first speaker. The editor of the Herald is able to say, on the authority of many in the hall, that Hlavacek's speech was the best he ever made and he has made many a good one. The occasion was calculated to draw out the best in any man. Comrade Debs followed the Bohemian editor in one of his very finest presentations of Socialist principles and arguments, speaking for an hour and a half. Notwithstanding so many in the hall were Bohemians, few were there who did not understand him, and none failed to catch the spirit and enthusiasm of the great meeting.

Debs-Herron Speeches

The speeches of Eugene V. Debs and Prof. Geo. D. Herron which appear in this number of the Herald, will be printed in pamphlet form and sold by the National Committee of the Social Democratic party at five cents a copy. Special rates will be made on quantities. Send in your order without delay and help put this effective campaign document into circulation throughout the country.

A PRIMER OF SOCIALISM

We have just received the "Primer of Socialism" from the press of the Debs Publishing Company. This pamphlet of 32 pages is from the pen of G. C. Clemens, and is a valuable contribution to Socialist literature. It also contains "Socializing a State," by the late Laurence Gronlund, and "Economic Terms and Phrases," by A. P. Hazell, which makes this an exceptionally strong number of Progressive Thought for propaganda. It can be supplied at 5 cents per copy, or \$1.50 per 100, by addressing Debs Publishing Company, Terre Haute, Ind.

The campaign committee has a few dozen photographs, cabinet size, of Eugene V. Debs, which they are selling at 15 cents each:

Comrade J. W. Kelley, candidate for governor of Indiana, will open his active campaign October 15. He will visit the following towns: Kokomo, La Porte, Elkhart, Fort Wayne, Muncie, Indianapolis, Terre Haute, Clinton and Evansville. Comrade E. V. Debs will speak at Indianapolis October 6.

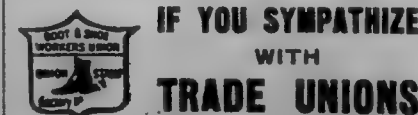
Debs and Harriman Buttons

At last we have the BUTTONS, and at the right prices, UNION MADE. Both candidates on the button.

2 Buttons.....	5 cents
5 Buttons.....	10 cents
12 Buttons.....	20 cents

All larger orders than a dozen, 1 1/2 cents each. Charges paid.

National Campaign Committee, S. D. P.
126 WASHINGTON ST. CHICAGO



IF YOU SYMPATHIZE
WITH
TRADE UNIONS

You will encourage the sale
OF UNION LABEL GOODS

If you want Union Label Shoes demand the above Union Stamp. No shoe is Union made unless it bears the Union Stamp. No charge or royalty for the Union Stamp. Visit your shoe dealer and take no excuse. Send for latest list of factories. Subscribe for "The Union Boot and Shoe Worker," 50 cts per year.

Boot and Shoe Workers Union,
230 Atlantic Ave., Boston, Mass.

CAMPAIGN LEAFLETS

PUSH THEM OUT AND MAKE VOTES

No. 1—Address to Unorganized Socialists
Contains information concerning the Socialist movement in the United States, the party and its methods, object and program.

No. 2—An Open Letter to the Average American Workman

By Ben Atterbury. This is an admirable and convincing paper on the wage question, production, distribution of wealth and an appeal to the intelligence of the working class.

No. 3—Machine Production Where the Profits Go.

The argument of this leaflet is a clincher because taken from the government reports made by the Commissioner of Labor, and proves that machinery, combinations, trusts and systematized production must lead to socialism. It's the only way out.

No. 4—Toilers of America Vote for Your Freedom.

This is a remarkably effective campaign document. Written by a prominent member of the United Mine Workers, it sets forth in a convincing manner the reasons why the miners of the country, railroadmen and all other wage workers should support the Social Democratic ticket.

No. 5—Industrial Crises—Cause and Cure.

A strong appeal to the common sense of the voters, this leaflet gives the Socialist view of industrial crises and convincingly shows that Socialism is the necessary solution.

No. 6—Platform and Debs Epigrams.

This is a very attractive addition to our campaign literature; it gives the party platform complete with a collection of the very best epigrammatic sentences from the lectures of Eugene V. Debs, together with other striking contributions.

Put Them Into the Hands of Every Workingman

PRICES.

50 Copies.....	\$.10
100 Copies.....	.15
250 Copies.....	.35
500 Copies.....	.50
1,000 Copies.....	1.00
5,000 Copies.....	5.00

POSTAGE PAID.

Send orders to Campaign Committee Social Democratic Party, 126 Washington street, Chicago, Ill.

A PRIMER OF SOCIALISM

A 32-page pamphlet which contains in addition to the "Primer of Socialism," by G. C. Clemens, "Socializing a State," by the late Laurence Gronlund, and "Economic Terms and Phrases," by A. P. Hazell.

One of the strongest pamphlets for propaganda yet issued. A splendid vote-maker, and thousands should be circulated before election.

PER COPY, 5 CENTS—PER 100, \$1.50

Address, Debs Publishing Co.,
Terre Haute, Indiana.

STICK UP THE STICKERS

MAKE THE FACT STICK

That Socialism is Here to Stick
STICKERS NOW READY

They are two inches square, and a capital thing for Propaganda because they can be used in a hundred ways.

Sent only in packages of 500 or more. Price of 500, by mail, 50 cents.

Address, CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE,
126 Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

THIRD YEAR. No. 17.

CHICAGO, ILL., U.S.A., SATURDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1900.

Whole No. 119.

SOCIALIST CANDIDATE'S TOUR A POPULAR TRIUMPH

Great Enthusiasm Everywhere Prevails

Immense Audiences Greet Candidate Eugene V. Debs at Every Point and His Speeches Arouse Packed Houses to Enthusiasm

VOTE WILL BE A SURPRISE

What the Newspapers in Three States Have to Say of the Astonishing and Wide-Spread Growth of Socialist Sentiment

A POLITICAL STRAW FROM CLEVELAND

BATTLE CREEK WELCOMES HIM

A special telegram from Battle Creek to the Detroit Tribune said: "The campaign opened tonight with a speech by the Socialist Democratic candidate for President, Eugene V. Debs. Whether coming out of curiosity or interest in the movement, the audience present constituted one of the largest political gatherings ever held here."

The Battle Creek Evening Journal in a very fair account of the meeting had the following: "Eugene V. Debs, candidate of the Socialist party for President, but better known as the leader of the great A. R. U. strike of '93, was greeted by a crowd at the opera house last evening which packed the room from footlights to gallery, while many were turned away unable to gain admittance."

"Seldom, if ever," said the Morning Enquirer, "has there been such an enthusiastic audience from the orchestra to the gallery, and the noted labor orator received a welcome that must have been flattering to him. Notwithstanding the crowd that was packed in the house and on the stage, nearly as many more were turned away."

Battle Creek Moon says: "Eugene V. Debs, candidate of the Socialist Democratic party for President of the United States, spoke to as many men and women as could be crowded into Hamblin's opera house last evening, the occasion being a notable one."

"People began to throng into the house early in the evening and by 8 o'clock the theater was packed with the vast audience, mostly men although a goodly number of women were scattered among the crowd."

OVATION AT FORT WAYNE

Comrade Martin H. Wefel sends the following brief but graphic account of the meeting at Fort Wayne:

In regard to our meeting here on Oct. 2d, I want to say it was the grandest demonstration of intense activity I ever saw. The Princess rink in which our meeting was held is the largest hall in the city and 2,500 people were present to listen to the masterly address of Comrade Debs. The hall was full. The aisles were filled with people standing. The doors were crowded and many left owing to their inability to get a comfortable position. Enthusiasm? Well, I should say there was. I am conservative in my judgment. If Debs don't get 1,000 votes in Ft. Wayne, then I'll be surprised. People with Bryan and McKinley buttons on their coats removed them, threw them on the floor, then trampled on them, after that speech. This was done by many. Cheers after cheers all through the address was the way his telling points were greeted, and at the conclusion 1,500 of the audience, at least, got up on their feet, yelled, threw their hats up in the air and so on. It is the talk of the town. Everywhere and on every lip Debs is the man.

It is the opinion of our level-headed Socialists that one thousand were absolutely converted that night in the Princess rink hall.

ROUSING GREETING AT MARION

Comrade J. W. Kelley writes from Marion, Ind., the following brief but satisfactory account of Candidate Debs' reception, October 3:

"We had a grand meeting last night. An hour before the time for speaking to begin Wyandot hall, which seats 1,200 people with standing room for as many more, was packed to the street and when the speaker arrived the stairway leading up was jammed with anxious people and the sidewalks on either side of the entrance were blocked for half a square. Through this dense crowd we fought our way, finally arriving at the speakers' stand amidst a regular tumult of applause. No such turnout has greeted

any other speaker here during this campaign. Today Comrade Debs' name is on every tongue and the air is full of Socialism."

"Social Democracy turned out last night in Marion as it never did before," says the Marion Morning News. "The occasion was the visit of their presidential candidate, Eugene V. Debs, and long before the speaker arrived at Wyandot hall it was crowded to its fullest capacity. Mr. Debs held the attention of his audience splendidly and in a clean, concise and effective manner discussed Social Democratic principles."

GREAT RECEPTION AT CINCINNATI

The Cincinnati papers gave very good reports of the big meeting at the Odeon Thursday evening, Oct. 4, the Enquirer containing more than two columns of the speech and saying the hall was crowded with an enthusiastic audience. The report closes with the following interesting reference to a meeting between Comrade Debs and Comrade Father McGrady of Bellevue, Ky.:

"After Mr. Debs had finished some-what noticed Rev. Father McGrady in a box and called on him for a speech. He said a word or two from his box, but the audience insisted on hearing further from him, and when he went back to shake hands with Mr. Debs he was prevailed upon to say a few words from the stage. Father McGrady, although a Catholic priest, has leaning toward Socialism, and has often before been heard in advocacy of the rights of the working man. The meeting between the two champions was interesting. They clasped each other's hands and Father McGrady said: 'Mr. Debs, I am delighted to meet you. This is an honor.'"

"Father McGrady," said Mr. Debs, 'although we have never met before, I have read much of your work and feel that we are not strangers. We have been in touch all the time, but it gives me keenest pleasure to clasp your hand.'"

"After these gracious speeches Father McGrady made a pretty little talk to the audience, in which he paid a most glowing tribute to Mr. Debs."

WHAT LOUISVILLE DISPATCH SAYS

The Louisville Dispatch, referring editorially to the Socialist candidate and Socialism, said:

"Hon. Eugene V. Debs, nominee of the Socialist Democracy, was the first of the Presidential candidates to visit Louisville. His meeting at Music hall last night was not the largest nor the most enthusiastic ever held in Louisville, but it was a most respectable meeting in the personnel and size of the audience, as well as in enthusiasm. It was at least an interested and earnest meeting. Many men heard things that will start into life the processes of thought. Whatever else may be said of Mr. Debs nobody can doubt his sincerity and his earnestness. No man can hear him and doubt that he is a student and thinker who is living in the present rather than dreaming of the future. He will not be elected President. He will not carry Kentucky, and Louisville is certainly overwhelmingly against him, but if one may judge by last night's meeting he will get a vote that will surprise the natives. It is folly to seek to ignore the fact that Mr. Debs is a leader in a movement that is growing with marvelous rapidity, and that has the support of some of the most intelligent and noblest men of the day; a movement that will be promoted rather than retarded by abuse."

The audience, the same paper says, was limited only by the full seating capacity of Music hall.

AT THE CAPITAL OF INDIANA

The Indianapolis Journal printed a column report of Debs' speech and said of the meeting:

"Eugene V. Debs, the candidate of the Socialist Democratic party for President, who spoke at Masonic hall last night on the principles of his party, was greeted by a large and enthusiastic audience. Mr. Debs spoke for two hours and a half, addressing himself particularly to the evils of trusts and monopolies, and the ways and means whereby the evil is to be eradicated. Mr. Debs' appearance on the platform was greeted with prolonged and enthusiastic applause and at times during his speech his utterances were so well received that several minutes elapsed before he was allowed to proceed."

DEBS WEAKENS BRYAN

The Democratic state central committee has received word from the district committeemen in western and southwestern Indiana to the effect that the Social Democrats (the Debs men) are making manifest inroads upon Bryan's strength in the mining counties of Clay, Park and Vermilion; and that in this county the drift to Debs among the miners is too apparent to be ignored. In several counties the Social Democrats have formed large clubs, and the members, who were formerly democrats and voted for Bryan four years ago, are very active and are sending their agents into all the labor centers of the state. Word from the gas belt towns of the same tenor.—Terre Haute Tribune.

IN MARK HANNA'S TOWN

The Cleveland Press brings the following political straw from the home of the republican boss:

"L. A. Russell wrote, Thursday, to Chairman J. K. Jones, of the national democratic committee, warning him of danger in the Debs' vote."

"The great obstacle in the way of Bryan carrying Cuyahoga county," he wrote, "is neither 'republicanism' nor Hannaism, but Social Democracy, which, unless stopped in time, will poll a heavy vote for Eugene Debs."

"Russell writes he is doing all in his power to stem the tide, but to win Debs men back to Bryanism greater effort will be necessary and with such effort, Russell thinks it can be done."

"Speaking of the Debs vote, Russell said: 'The size of the vote is going to surprise the country. Debs will get roads upon Bryan's strength in more votes than people give him credit for. I have been told that in one shop in this city 150 men who voted for McKinley in '96 will vote for Debs.'"

NATURALIZATION PAPERS

First Papers—Declaration of intention.

The applicant being 21 years of age or more, applies to the clerk of the circuit or superior court, second floor county building, who is authorized to issue the first papers.

Second Papers—Citizenship.

The applicant having his first papers and having resided in the United States five years, two years having expired since he secured his first papers, must appear again before the clerk of the circuit court, or superior court, with his first papers and a witness, who can swear to the five years' residence and to his good character. The clerk will prepare a paper which the applicant and witness will sign and swear to. With the paper so prepared the applicant and his witness will appear before a county or circuit or superior court judge for examination, after which his clerk will administer the oath and the clerk of the circuit or superior court will then issue the citizenship papers. Fee, fifty cents.

A soldier or militia man, with an honorable discharge and a residence of one year, may, on declaring his intentions to become a citizen, obtain his final papers at once.

Others—One who arrived in the United States under the age of 17 and who has been a resident for five years and who for two years prior to his application has had the intention of becoming a citizen, may, upon proxy of the same by witness obtain his final papers.

The wives and children of naturalized citizens are also citizens.

The widow and children of one who having procured his first papers dies before securing the second papers are citizens.

Women not wives or daughters of citizens may become citizens under the same conditions as men, but in Illinois they can vote only for officers of public schools and public universities.

Registration, October 9th, October 16th.

E. V. DEBS TO MAYOR JONES

The Man of Toledo Having Allied Himself With the Democratic Party is Doing Battle Against Socialism

ON BOTH SIDES OF CLASS STRUGGLE

Being for "All of the People," Mr. Jones is, as a Matter of Fact, for None of the People

Samuel M. Jones of Toledo, having written a long letter to Eugene V. Debs defending his action in declaring for Bryan and attempting an answer to the Socialist criticism of his course, Comrade Debs publishes the following reply:

Terre Haute, Ind., Oct. 8, 1900.
Mr. Samuel M. Jones, Mayor, Toledo, Ohio.

My Dear Mr. Jones:—Your communication of the 20th ult. was received some days ago, but I have been too busy to make earlier reply. In all you say you are kind and gentle, and I trust that there may be no lack of the same spirit in my answer, although I shall be perfectly candid in the expression of my views touching your recent action in allying yourself with the democratic party and doing battle against the cause of Socialism.

Do not, I pray you, tell me that you have not "joined" the democratic party. That is puerile, if not disingenuous, for it implies evasion of responsibility for an action from which your own conscience would seem to shrink in disapproval. With David B. Hill you have declared, if not in words, in deed, which is more conclusive, "I am a democrat," and you are today as much a part of the democratic party as Croker and his Christless gang who are levying blackmail upon moral affliction to save (I) our Republic (?) from "imperialism."

You sign yourself, "a man without a party." Permit me to observe that you are not that now, but when the democratic party gets through with you, you will indeed be "a man without a party."

Let me now quote briefly from your letter. You say, "Suppose I am never again elected to office, etc." You must know it is not the "office," per se, that is in question, and yet to a man with whom serving the people is a consuming passion, I imagine that if my prediction proves true you are doomed to be a sorely disappointed man.

As for the implied spirit of martyrdom which characterized your action, it should be said that no great self-sacrifice is required to join the majority, the strong, in crushing the minority, the weak. Had you, as a professed Socialist, taken your stand on the side of Socialism, instead of joining hands with its avowed enemies, the case would be different and your contention might be urged with some degree of consistency.

You say you are for "all the people." Do you think you are for the poor negroes of the south who have been disfranchised by your party, the party you are supporting with pen and speech? Do you really think you are for the working class, the prisoners of private property and competitive conquest which your party is pledged to perpetuate? If you really think so, then I say for these voiceless victims, deliver us from such a friend.

Are you for the exploiters as well as the exploited, the masters as well as the slaves?

Moses was not for all the people; Jesus Christ was not for all the people; Jehovah himself, if he is correctly quoted, was not for "all the people." They smote their enemies and they smote them hard. Only Mr. Jones of Toledo is for "all the people," and being for "all the people," as a matter of fact he is for none of the people.

Ultimately I am for "all the people," but not now. Till the fight is fought and won, I am for the working class and against their exploiters, the capitalist class. In your effort to perform the miraculous feat of being upon both sides of the class struggle, you have somehow gotten on the side that represents your class interests. I will not accuse you of capitalist class consciousness, but simply observe in a spirit of charity that you have committed political suicide, and this you have done, not for a prin-

ciple, but against a principle; and that you are conscientious in the matter makes your demise all the more pitiable.

You may remember what I said in a previous letter about your alleged Socialism, and your extreme popularity with such papers as the New York Journal and Cincinnati Enquirer. When these papers are entirely through with you, they will relegate you to obscurity only equaled by the prominence into which they boosted you to serve their own capitalistic designs.

All the popularity and influence these papers developed in you have been east with the exploiting class and against the working class. The working men and women of the country will never forget that in a critical hour of the contest you, their professed and trusted friend, joined the enemy and turned against them.

The only ground upon which you attempt to justify your attitude is your pretended fear of "imperialism." Is it possible? Did I not know you as I do, I would openly question your sincerity. You certainly cannot be in ignorance of the fact that this so-called issue is simply an effect of private ownership and of competitive warfare inherent in the capitalist system. You are opposed to the fruit of the system, but you have joined the party pledged to perpetuate the system, and such influence as you still have you are now using to prolong the barbarous struggle which in the past you denounced with such passionate severity and condemned as void of a single redeeming feature.

You may still be esteemed as the modern apostle of the "golden rule," at least until the election is over, but I cannot imagine how you can enjoy mental serenity when you contemplate your connection with, and your activity for, a party explicitly committed by its own platform to revive and renew and intensify and continue forever the competitive strife you have so fervently denounced, as with tears streaming from your eyes you recited its agonizing woes to the listening multitude. In what I have had to say I have not questioned your motive. I leave that entirely with your own conscience. I have simply discussed your action from my point of view and this, I trust, I have done in all kindness consistent with perfect candor. Since you have seen proper to give your letter to the press I may avail myself of the same privilege.

With the strength of all my being pledged to Socialism, come it soon or come it late, Socialism as uncompromising as truth, I remain

Most truly yours,
Eugene V. Debs,
A Man With a Party.

All loyal members of the Social Democratic branches in Washington are hereby requested to communicate with Comrade L. W. Kidd, 1115 Sixth avenue, North, Seattle, Wash.

The Stickers have made a hit. You should have a thousand or ten thousand to put up in your community. They are two inches square, put up in packages of 500 and very handy. They are designed to fix in the mind the fact that the Social Democrats are in the field with a candidate for president. They do the business. One thousand, postage paid, one dollar.

For \$5 the national campaign committee will send, postage paid, thirty-three Debs lithographs (21x28 in.) and 4,000 Leaflets, the latter to include an assortment of all the six Leaflets so far issued. Every one is a vote-maker—every one will convert thinking people to Socialism. The expenditure of \$5 in your community for this campaign outfit will start a movement where you live.

Social Democratic Herald

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board Chairman
FREDERIC HEATH
SEYMOUR STEINMAN Secretary
EUGENE V. DEBS VICTOR L. BEMER
CORINNE S. BROWN

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, \$5.00. Six months, \$3.00. No papers sent to any one on credit. If, without having subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and no bill will follow. Foreign subscriptions \$1.00.

Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

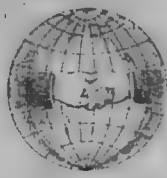
A. S. EDWARDS, Editor
THEODORE DEBS, National Sec'y-Treas.
136 Washington St., Chicago.

119 is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 150 your subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, OCT. 13, 1900.

NATIONAL TICKET

Social Democratic Party



NATIONAL EMBLEM

For President:
EUGENE V. DEBS.

For Vice-President:
JOB HARRIMAN.

THE MINERS' ONLY HOPE.

Conditions in the anthracite coal regions of Pennsylvania constitute an object lesson for Socialists and others who have any comprehension of the curse of capitalism in its grasp upon industrial affairs. The strike of the impoverished miners is the one redeeming feature of the otherwise gloomy picture of work and want and woe. Multiplied thousands of men engaged in a great industry which keeps the wheels of commerce and progress in motion, overworked, underpaid and half fed, strike against conditions which stagger credulity and almost extinguish hope.

Some sort of a compromise will doubtless be patched up, as is usual in such cases, but no sane man believes that any permanent relief will be secured, and this is rendered all the more probable by the announcement that Mark Hanna has espoused the cause of the miners. When rattleers hold a convention and resolve to dispense with their fangs, it will be in order to believe that a capitalist like Mark Hanna, whose coffers are full of money wrung from the earnings of toilers is honestly engaged in changing conditions for the better in the anthracite coal districts of Pennsylvania.

There is one, and but one hope for the toilers in mine, factory and forge and every other industrial enterprise and that centers in the ultimate triumph of the Social Democratic party, and a vote cast for that party, like seed planted in good ground, will ultimately yield a hundredfold in achieving victory for the welfare of all the people.

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Historically, the reasons why of present economic conditions in the United States has been and is being learnedly discussed. To remedy the evils complained of is the purpose of the Social Democratic party. The party is well named. Those who stood sponsors around the baptismal font when it was christened were wise in their day and generation. The name stands for something. "Social," society, "Democrat," individual independence, "Party" organization to achieve results.

What are the results proposed? The amelioration of social and economic conditions; the betterment of society as a whole; the redemption of the toiling masses from wage slavery. How is this to be accomplished? By moral suasion, by the logic of facts and events, by the votes of the people, animated by as holy a purpose as embellished and embalm the labor of Jesus Christ.

What of other political parties, great or small? Take the two most prominent now before the country. The country has tolerated them for a century under a variety of names. They have orated, have legislated, have combined, derided, wrangled and fought with resulting victory and defeat, differing in name and method, but whether one or the other has been in power, their achievements have been alike disastrous to the great body of the people.

Again, these old parties are asking for the votes of the people, and are calculating upon the suffrages of the men who have been the victims of their spoliating policy.

Has any intelligent workingman one sufficient reason for believing which ever of these two parties succeed, that any measure, free from chicane and duplicity, will be proposed whereby his condition will be improved? Not one.

But a vote cast for the Social Democratic party will be a vote in the line of ultimate emancipation from degrading, impoverishing, enslaving environments. The affirmation is supported by history. Great achievements must have their dawn. Within the memory of men now living, the first utterances of great men to free the land of chattel slavery were heard—when a few struggling votes were cast in favor of emancipation. They were right, and when the fetters fell from three millions of slaves and the slave-block and pen and whip disappeared, one of the grandest achievements in history, if indeed not the most sublime, was consummated.

The Social Democratic party is now battling for the right as certainly as the old abolitionists battled for the right. Just one question now: Will you vote to enthrone its policy of emancipation, when every wageearner shall secure for himself and his family the just rewards of his toil?

PROSPERITY IN INDIANA

[The following article, which appeared in the Herald last week, is reproduced for the purpose of correcting printer's error in the fourth and fifth paragraphs.]

The Indiana Bureau of Statistics published a bulletin reviewing the condition of organized labor in Indiana for the year ending May 31, 1900. Responses to inquiries were received from 408 unions, having a membership of 24,421. These union workers, it is shown, had average employment during the year of 78 days, at an average wage of \$1.86 a day, giving an average income of \$145.08.

The highest number of days that any one of the 24,421 men was employed was 162, at an average wage of \$1.47, giving a yearly income of \$238.14.

In view of capitalistic class contention that wage earners are prosperous, and their dinner pails well filled, it becomes interesting and instructive to analyze the foregoing official figures.

The union workingman, receiving an annual income of \$145.08, has for his support and that of his family for the 365 days of the year 39 cents and 7 mills a day. If there are two in the family they must subsist on 19 cents and 8 mills a day. If there are three in the family the allowance must be reduced to 13 cents and 2 mills a day. If there are four in the family, they must live on 9 cents and 9 mills a day, and if five surround the family board they will be required to eke out some sort of a living on 7 cents and 9 mills a day. But if the union workingman has to pay rent, say, \$8 a month, reducing his income for food and raiment to \$47.08, then, in that case, the family, whatever its number, must live on 1 cent and 3 mills a day.

The union workingman who was employed 162 days, and secured an income of \$238.14 had for his support and that of his family for 365 days 65 cents and 3 mills a day. If the workingman pays rent, at, say, \$8 a month, reducing his income for all other necessities to \$142.14, he would have \$142.14 to meet such expenditures for 365 days, or about 40 cents a day. If he has a family of five they must manage to live on 8 cents a day each, which includes food and raiment, school books and all else that goes to make up the expenditures of a workingman's family.

The basic figures of the foregoing calculations are official, published by John B. Connor, a Republican, and chief of the bureau.

The picture of prosperity painted by the chief of the bureau exhibits a condition of haggard poverty that defies exaggeration. It shows to what depth of deprivation the capitalistic class has reduced even organized labor in Indiana, which is doubtless as prosperous as any other state in the Union—a condition which voices trumpet-toned the necessity for the changed condition which the Social Democratic party is laboring to secure.

Such is the official presentation of the conditions of organized labor in Indiana.

But the chief of the bureau, seemingly dazed by conclusions to which he was driven by his own figures, and desirous of lifting himself out of his dilemma by his boot straws, seeks to placate the capitalistic class by supposing that every man works 312 days in the year and thereby secures an income of \$577.72. But his effort to supply fancy for fact only sinks him deeper in the mire, from which he seeks to extricate himself.

The fact remains labor, whether organized or unorganized, is not prosperous, nor can it be under capitalistic methods. Socialism solves the problem, and only Socialism is equal to the herculean task.

NOW FOR A BIG LIFT

The national campaign fund must now be given a big lift, so that the committee may put more activities to work in the interest of the national ticket during the three weeks that remain for the campaign.

Every dollar subscribed to the fund enables the committee to do effective work for Socialism.

Has the committee received your dollar yet? The reports of the vast audiences eager to hear Candidate Debs, thousands turned away at almost every place unable to gain admission, is a spec-

tacle in the history of the Socialist movement in the United States to inspire every Social Democrat to the highest pitch of enthusiasm and devotion.

Don't wait till the election is past to get in your share of work—work that will count November 6.

Let every man be up and at it now! Get the literature and if you can't have the speakers that suit you, scatter the printed page and help make Socialists.

The Leaflets (there are six of them—see advertisement elsewhere) are \$1 per thousand and the committee pays the charges for delivery.

Remember this—there is no charge for delivery.

Order Leaflets, lithographs, stickers and buttons—now, and don't forget your individual or branch contribution to the campaign fund.

The committee sent out more speakers this week and more money is immediately necessary.

NOTES AND COMMENT

It is held that the civilization of Europe, excepting the Turks, is a Christian civilization. Name these Christian nations of Europe and note their standing armies on a peace or a war footing, and it will be seen at once that European civilization is that of the shotgun, and that sort of civilization is rapidly increasing in the United States. No sooner was the miners' strike in Pennsylvania announced than capitalism had the guns on hand to assure the plundered miners that they must obey the civilization of the gun. Socialism, when victory gives it free sway, will eliminate the gun from civilization. Providence and powder will no longer be in alliance and the last sermon of the gospel of the gun will have been preached.

The Democrats reiterate the charge that Republicans, if not overthrown, will change the republic to an empire. Republicans retort if Bryan is elected and Democrats obtain control of the government the country will be overwhelmed in disaster. In either case capitalism would prevail. And the potent and corrupting influence of the money power would control the government. The way out of the bad business is to vote for the Social Democratic party, for the co-operative commonwealth, for economic reform, in a word, for a new and a better civilization.

Life is of no value—indeed, it is a ceaseless scourge—when a man realizes he lives by the permission of another man. Millions are thus situated in the United States of America. The statement is incontrovertibly true. It is neither an illusion nor a delusion. It is free from duplicity and all the wheedling arts of the demagogue. It is possible to change such conditions and the Social Democratic party stands pledged to change them when victory perches upon its crusading banners.

Mark Hanna says a man who would oppose the settlement of the coal miners' strike should be hanged upon the "nearest lamp post." What about the men, who, by fraud, extortion and degradation, made the strike necessary? And what about the millionaires who oppose the settlement of the strike upon terms of absolute justice to the miners? Enthrone Socialism and the anthracite coal region of Pennsylvania would be transformed from a hell to a paradise.

Old Shylock reasoned well when he said:

"You take my house, when you do take the prop
That doth sustain my house; you take my life
When you do take the means whereby
I live."

Capitalism takes houses and lands and the means whereby toilers live, and will continue its policy of rapacity until Socialism ushers in a new era.

From Florida to Washington, from Maine to California, from Texas to Michigan, from center to circumference in almost every city in the broad land, the voice of Eugene V. Debs has been heard, and always and everywhere in the interest of the toiling masses. In voting for him working men in every industrial enterprise will vote for a man who knows the right and has the courage to defend it.

A correspondent of the Indianapolis News, a widely circulated paper in Indiana, predicts the Social Democratic party will receive fully 12,000 votes in Indiana. He calls it the "Debs movement," and says Debs is immensely popular with working men. The indications are that the Social Democratic party will receive more than 2,000,000 votes at the November election.

Professor Herron's First Address for Social Democracy, delivered at Rockland on Sept. 18th ult., has been published in pamphlet form by the organizing committee of the loyal branches in Massachusetts. It can be ordered of the treasurer, Charles W. White, 9 Sachem St., Roxbury, Mass. Single copies, 5 cents. \$3.00 per hundred.

German Social Democrats in St. Louis, Cincinnati, New York, and elsewhere: Catch on to the German Leaflet, "Kapital ist ein Produkt der Arbeit. Wer sollte Kapital besitzen?" It is a German translation of Ben Atterbury's "Letter to American Workmen." Sent to your address, charges paid, for \$1.25 a thousand. It is sehr gut.

The Tribune of Chicago, which reports Teddy Roosevelt's average audience at 2,000, thinks a Socialist meeting at which Debs speaks to less than six or seven acres of people—or 15,000, eager to hear the gospel of Socialism, is a failure. The Tribune is well on to its function as a capitalist prostitute.

"Money talks." What is wanted is that money in this present campaign shall talk for the Social Democratic ticket, and every dollar and dime contributed by Socialists and those who are in sympathy with their teachings will talk for our standard-bearers—Debs and Harriman.

Judge Jenkins of the United States circuit court is reported to be losing his eyesight. Perhaps the affliction is due to nocturnal wanderings in the labyrinthine mazes of the law in search of injunctions against labor. A judge should confine himself to the administration of justice.

Eugene V. Debs, the Social Democratic candidate for president, is one of those lofty characters who can neither be bought, sold, bribed nor intimidated. His courage is equal to any emergency. He has been imprisoned for his fealty to labor, and the principles of Socialism he advocates.

It has passed into an adage that capitalists are "timid" about investing their money. But when labor has been disciplined and the choice is between work and starvation, capitalists cease to be timid, and are as courageous as wolves when unprotected sheep are in sight.

Vox populi, vox Dei—"the voice of the people is the voice of God"—depends upon who the God is. If Joss, then we have Chinese civilization, capitalists and coolies. If Jesus, Socialism, the highest ideal of civilization ever offered to the world.

Chicago comrades please take notice: The headquarters of the national campaign committee will be open every day, including Sunday morning, and work-day evenings until 8 o'clock until election day.

We are climbing the ramparts, the earth to gain; help us along; help yourself; help all humanity. Now is your opportunity; the hour has come. The clarion call resounds, and you must stand up and be counted.

A vote for Debs and Harriman voices a thrilling, soul-inspiring appeal for the emancipation of workingmen from environments which mantle the cheeks of civilization with a deep and abiding blush of shame.

A vote for Debs and Harriman is a vote to break the fetters which capitalism has forged, that toil in the future as in the past, may build palaces for the rich on the highlands, and huts for themselves in the slums.

The Social Democratic Herald is the official organ of the Social Democratic party. In subscribing for it Socialists broaden its influence and add to the vote for Debs and Harriman.

The Social Democratic party in conducting its campaign against capitalism, McKinleyism and Bryanism, must have money—a campaign fund—the larger the better.

All hail the day! We see it coming
When capitalism's rule of pelf
Will be dead as an Egyptian mummy,
And every man will own himself.

By their acts ye shall know them.
Comrades are giving their time to our committee freely, as well as contributions. What are you doing?

Carnegie of Homestead and "blowable" fame, says he will support McKinley. Why not? Even an ass knows its master's crib.

We are selling literature below cost, and if each comrade does his duty, we will send out over two million pieces of propaganda literature.

Now, of all the days and years, is your opportunity to load our Socialist guns. Send in your ammunition and hear the roar.

When a vote is cast as the result of convictions and courage, there is always a freeman behind the ballot.

The Republicans and Democrats contribute millions to forge your fetters. What can you afford to break them?

Comrades, it is your duty to contribute to the national campaign fund.

DEBS ANALYZED

George Hughes, Son of the Author of "Tom Brown at Oxford," writes of the Man.

To the outward senses Mr. Debs presents a very pleasing picture of a gentleman in the conventional sense of the word. He is tall, erect, very bald, with an expressive, sensitive countenance. His manner is cordial, and his language and method of utterance are as beyond reproach as those of any man I have ever seen in Mayfair or Fifth Avenue. It was almost a shock to me to behold the man as he is, after the scurrilous descriptions one has read in those organs which help to form public opinion, which are such a questionable addition to our national intelligence. So much then for what Mr. Debs appears to the outward senses; it bears that test, which is said to be infallible in judging the conventional gentleman; namely, that if he were standing silent and unknown among a lot of men, one would notice him a I know not why.

This, however, is very immaterial, for it is when one approaches that part of man which lights and forms the outer man, that one becomes really conscious that one is in the presence of a true man. It becomes evident to any eyes that can see, that here is a really manly man, whose soul dwells higher than his stomach, from that fact that like every great man, he is possessed by his idea.

"They master us and force us into the arena, where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."

And, further, his idea is that which 1900 years ago mastered and led to death the greatest man that ever lived. And one can see that as Mr. Debs has already passed free from all cowardice, through bribery and slander and persecution so like the master of old for the cause he is proclaiming, he will be faithful to the very gates of hell.

With clear, if not rhetorical eloquence, with artistic allusion to nature and quotation from those singers who have sung liberty and the rights of man, with facts that will stand the test of any searching mind, Mr. Debs from his large experience of laboring mankind and their conditions and trials, diagnosed the social problem and our dire need of remedy.

His audience of at least 1,200 people would testify to his skill and truth. For my part, and I claim to have heard some of the best, I have never heard a speaker who had a clearer or more sanguine and thorough belief in true knowledge of his statements.

I declare that he who is unhesitatingly following wherever the truth shall lead him, cannot dare to miss hearing and explaining the idea of so true a man as Mr. Debs. It is with the purpose of moving men of all parties to hear him and without bias to consider his plan, it is because I know that, whatever their ultimate conclusion and action may be after hearing him, their sense of patriotism will be more logical and purer, and their action in any direction more full of brotherly love and the knowledge of our present chaos, that I have written this at such length.—George Hughes in Topeka State Journal.

SOCIALIST CONTENTION VINDICATED

The Cosmographic of New York has copyrighted and published a statement relating to the gravity of the national political situation, made by Richard Croker, the notorious Tammany Chief and Democratic politician. It is true, and, strange to say, is a triumphant vindication of the declaration of Socialists and of the Social Democratic party.

True, Mr. Croker drives his shafts at the Republican party, but the facts stated, independent of the partisan purpose in view, corroborate the affirmations of the Social Democratic party. For instance, Mr. Croker says:

"This country has become a close corporation, in which the man with his way to make in the world has no part or prospective place."

"Twenty-five men can tie up this country with their vast wealth."

"The young man leaving college or home to go to work finds every avenue closed to him unless he becomes the servant of a trust in a hired capacity, from which there is little hope to rise."

"I have received more than a thousand letters from young men in all walks of life asking what they shall do to make a living."

"I can not answer these letters with encouragement, because there is no open door through which the young man of to-day, without capital can enter commercial life with any future prospect."

Such is the testimony of Richard Croker. Socialists aver that capitalism has closed all the doors to better conditions against the toiling masses. Mr. Croker includes young men from college, who must, if they would live, become the servants of capitalists, without the prospect of ending their servitude, except in death.

Richard Croker, the Democratic political boss of New York, in making a fight for Bryan against the Republican party, bears testimony against capitalism and its operations in degrading men who are required to engage in industrial pursuits for a livelihood.

Subscribe for "The Herald"
28 weeks for 20 cents.

WHY WAGE WORKERS ARE WAGE SLAVES

No Man Gets Rich by Selling His Labor Power—It is Profits and Not Wages that Make Men Rich—The Slaves' Battle for Life

A VOTE GIVEN TO CAPITALISM

Is a Vote for Class Ownership of the Tools of Production and Continued Slavery—A Vote for Socialism Counts For Freedom

By James O'Neal

To the workers of America. You are slaves! Now don't curl up your lip and throw the paper down. I mean just exactly what I say and before we go any further I want you to read this quotation from Epicurus, an old Greek, who lived thousands of years ago. It's good reading. "Ere we come to this important inquiry, it behooves us to see that we come with willing minds, that we say not, so far will we go and no farther; we will make one step but not two; we will examine, but only so long as the result of our examination shall confirm our preconceived opinions." In our search after truth, we must equally discard presumption and fear. We must come with our eyes, our hearts and our ears and our understandings open; anxious, not to find OURSELVES right, but to discover what IS right; asserting nothing which we cannot prove; believing nothing which we have not examined; and examining all things fearlessly, dispassionately, perseveringly."

Bear in mind these words as we proceed with the discussion. I contend that the position you occupy in modern society is that of a slave. What is a slave? A slave is that condition wherein one man or one class are in a state of entire subjection to the will and dictates of another man or another class. Do you workers as a class come within the limits of this definition? I answer yes. Let us examine "fearlessly, dispassionately, perseveringly." You, in order to live, must work. But you cannot work where or when you please. WHY? Because the tools or machinery which you use in producing wealth, and without which you are helpless, are owned by another fellow, a CAPITALIST if you please. If HE does not want you, YOU must suffer in silence. HE owns the INSTRUMENTS by which wealth is produced, but YOU use them,—when he allows you, not before. On the other hand, you, also, have in your possession that which the capitalist cannot do without, and many politicians point to this fact, claiming that the interests of the tool owners (capitalists) and tool users (workers) are identical. I mean labor power. You sell your labor force, your muscles, bones and sinews by the day, week or month and the tool owners must have this labor power or the factories, mills and mines must stop.

It is claimed by the politicians that the possession by these two classes, capitalists and workers, of the two essential factors in production, tools and labor power, results in a harmonious balance of power, from which each gains in almost equal proportion. This theory sounds very plausible, but what are the facts? You know facts and theories do not always confirm each other, and if we can discover facts that disprove this supposed "identity of interests" then the theory falls to the ground, and a new one must take its place.

Let us again examine "fearlessly." The capitalists, by owning the machinery have amassed large fortunes and live in luxury and "refinement" undreamed of in any other age. Your class produced these fortunes and yet YOU HAVE WHAT YOU STARTED IN LIFE WITH, YOUR LABOR POWER STILL FOR SALE. Why is it, that, if your interests are identical with those of the capitalists, it does not find its expression in a more EQUAL DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH?

Surely, if there is a "harmonious balance of power" the workers would exercise their power and by so doing get a larger return for their labor! Let us proceed. While it is true that the capitalists must buy labor power in order to operate their factories, yet they do not have to buy ALL that is offered for sale. They are constantly buying new and improved machinery, and when the machine goes in YOU go out, or at least some of you do. As this machinery is introduced, the number of those of whom the capitalists MUST BUY labor power is DECREASED, while the number of workers who MUST SELL labor power and no market for its sale, INCREASES. In other words the army of the unemployed who have LABOR POWER FOR SALE BUT CANNOT SELL IT, increases year after year through the introduction of machinery. Now you know what happens to a

number of business men when they have to sell their goods to realize money. The competitor FORCES THEM TO CUT PRICES. The same thing is true of workingmen. The unemployed like those who have employment must live and they are forced to CUT DOWN THE PRICE OF LABOR POWER. This competition between workers who MUST sell, drives wages down to the lowest point that it is possible for them to exist on, that is STARVATION WAGES. Now do you see the reason why you are in the same condition that you were when you started in life? And was I right when I said that you were SLAVES?

Let us investigate a little further. The politicians, whom you have continued to elect to office, tell you that you can also become rich by saving your money and starting in business yourself. First, let me ask one question: Did you ever hear of a man getting rich selling labor power? NO! It is the man who BUYS labor power who gets rich. No man gets rich on WAGES, nearly all get rich on PROFITS. Then what does the politicians' advice amount to? It means this: You should try and place yourselves in a position where you can also rob your fellow workers in the manner in which you are being robbed now! But even this advice, brutal as it is, cannot be followed, for thousands of small business men are failing every year through competition with department stores and trusts. How, then, can you hope to succeed with your inexperience, when thousands with years of experience constantly fail and drop into our ranks, thus intensifying the competition still more between us for jobs? Looks pretty blue, does it not? ARE YOU A SLAVE?

But you say that by banding into trades unions we overcome all these evils. I deny it. I am a member of a trades union myself and believe that but for organized labor the conditions would be much worse than they are, but I still maintain, even with this qualification, THAT WE ARE SLAVES. What are the conditions we face when on strike? Capitalists who do not have to buy, workers who must sell. Capitalists with a full stomach and an inexhaustible storehouse to draw upon, workers with an empty stomach and nothing to draw upon, except a small strike fund that is soon exhausted. With capitalists, larger profits, with workers, a battle for LIFE. In short, it is war between hunger pangs and bags of gold, and the gold will hold out longer than the hunger pangs can be endured. It is unnecessary for me to point out the functions performed by the militia, the courts and police when on strike. You have all been "up against it." Again, I ask, ARE YOU SLAVES?

This is the condition that you workers face in modern society. An idle tool-owning class on the one hand, and an industrious tool-using class on the other. The owners get nearly all the product, yet do not work, the users do all the work, yet receive a small subsistence wage. McKinley stands for ownership of these things by the large capitalists; Bryan is against the large capitalists owning them and wants to "smash" their trusts, so that the small capitalists will have a show. Bryan hasn't told us yet how he is going to redistribute the trust property back into the hands of small owners—and never will. Debs is against capitalist ownership of the machinery of production, either large or small, and stands for collective ownership by those who use them with the full value of their labor.

Workingmen, the first two candidates stand for class ownership of the tools which you use; one wants large and the other wants small capitalists to own them, but they are both agreed that YOU should not own them. Both want a class to own them but not the WORKING CLASS. ARE YOU SLAVES? I ask again. Will you sanction your slavery by casting a ballot for Bryan or McKinley, or will you protest by a vote for Debs and the entire Socialist ticket? Don't go to the polls and vote a capitalist ticket and then whine for four years more. The man who votes a capitalist ticket should keep silent when he sees its results. Remember the following words of the old Greek: "Do you doubt the way? Good and evil lie before you. The good is,—all which can yield you pleasure; the evil,—what must bring you pain. Let us arise in our strength, examine, judge, and be free!"

GLORY—A NATION'S BOAST

The Nation's boast! I heard it then. In the wake of that bursting shell—The moaning of town and bleeding men In the land where Lawton fell!

The "glory" of war! Behold its light Where suffering comrades groan, Where the soldier dies in the cheerless night, And a mother weeps alone.

"A victory won!" the papers said, But not unto us revealed The vultures gloating o'er the dead Upon that conquered field.

We did not see, in surge on surge Of battle charge, the ranks of Hate; The morrow came with wailing dirge And plaint of homes made desolate! —Chas. E. Upton.

LABOR COST OF MACHINE-MADE GOODS

Mr. W. L. Thurman of Durwood, I. T., has been studying recent United States reports on the above subject. We give below some of the results, which others may verify if they are incredulous. Mr. Thurman says:

"I have before me Vols. 1 and 2 of the Thirteenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor. Congress appropriated the money to bear the expenses in getting up the facts and having them published in book form for public information.

"From them I present the following facts as regards the labor, cost and time of manufacturing a few articles:

"A 3/4-inch farm wagon is made in 48 hours and 17 minutes; that is, it equals the work of one man for that length of time. The total labor cost—that is, the amount received by labor for making it—is \$7.19. Yet this same wagon is bought by the farmer for \$75.00.

"How can the farmer hold his own and swap \$75.00 earned on the farm for \$7.19 earned in the factory?

"A leather top, piano-box buggy, finely finished, is made at labor cost in time of 39 hours and 8 minutes, and labor cost in wages of \$8.09. This same buggy is sold on the markets at \$100 to \$125.

"A platform spring hack, two seats, nicely trimmed, is made in 53 hours and 28 minutes. Labor receives only \$8.48 for making it. But this same hack costs \$100 on the market.

"A clock, mahogany veneered, 26 inches high, 8-day movement, is made in 1 hour and 23 minutes. Labor receives only 25 1/2 cents for making it. Yet this clock costs on the markets about \$12.50.

"How can the people hold their own and exchange \$12.50 earned on the farm against 25 1/2 cents earned in the factory?

"A common straw-carpet costs the housewife about 40 cents a yard, and yet a fine Brussels carpet costs only 9 cents a yard to make it, and including cost of material, it should cost not over 40 cents a yard, just what we pay for a poor straw carpet.

"Labor in the factory gets only 6 cents a yard for making ingrain carpets and 8 cents a yard for making velvet carpets. Yet these same carpets, under capitalism, cost from \$2.00 to \$5.00 a yard.

"Tanning leather costs 11 cents a side, and labor receives from 18 to 75 cents a pair for making shoes. So the finest shoes on the market should cost less than a dollar, and the grade generally worn should not cost over 35 cents, including cost of raw material.

"The farmer sells a bale of cotton for \$25.00. It is made into 2,000 yards of gingham or calico. Labor in the factory gets \$2 for making the 2,000 yards. The 2,000 yards, under capitalism, costs the people \$100.

"The same holds good in all other kinds of goods, cotton or wool. How can the farmer hold his own and sell a bale of cotton for \$25 when that same bale in goods comes back in bolts worth \$100. The farmers get \$25; factory labor gets \$22; capital gets \$55 on the bale!

"Labor gets 3 1/2 cents a pair for making woolen hose. Ninety cents, including cost of raw material, is the factory cost of a dozen pairs of stockings (woolen), legs fourteen inches long. Woolen stockings on the market are three times that amount. Labor gets 5 1/2 cents, capital 21 1/2 cents.

"Labor gets \$10.33 for making a dozen ash bedsteads 6 feet 4 inches high, while one such bedstead will cost about that much on the market. Labor gets 50 cents for making a common bedstead 4 feet 7 inches high, and it sells on the market for about \$4.50.

"The labor cost of a 4 1/2-pound axe is 13 cents, and it sells for \$1.

"Pitchforks are made at a cost of 5 cents. Ask the farmer what he paid for his.

"Labor gets 79 cents for making a turning plow. Ask your neighbor what his cost him.

"A 14-foot garden rake is made at a cost of 10 cents. What did it cost you? "Cassimere pantaloons cost in labor and material less than 80 cents. Go to the dry goods house and see what they will cost you.

"A worsted Prince Albert coat costs less than \$3. See what it will cost you.

"Labor gets 75 cents for making a four-drawer pine bureau, and it will cost you about \$8.

"The labor cost of an oak or walnut bureau is \$1.75. It will cost you from \$10 to \$15.

"Labor gets \$4.59 for making a set of heavy wagon harness. Tanning the leather costs 11 cents a side. Get some harness-maker to tell you how many sides will make the harness. The harness will cost you \$25 to \$30. Capital gets 75 cents on the dollar.

"On page 423, Vol. 1, of the Thirteenth Annual Report, we learn that the entire labor cost of transporting passengers on one railroad is 14-100 of a cent a mile, yet the fare is 3 cents, over 21 times more than the labor cost.

"On another railroad the total labor cost is 22-100 of a cent a mile. So it is seen that the fare at 3 cents a mile is nearly 15 times more than the labor cost.

"In this case the passengers pay the railroad fifteen times as much as the railroad pays out for hands to keep up the roads and run the trains. In the other case the passengers paid in fare 21 times as much as the railroads paid out for labor.

"Socialism would furnish fare at cost. Taking these examples furnished in our government report, it is seen that if we take the average cost of fare people ought to ride on trains at 1-18 of a cent a mile, or ride 1,800 miles for a dollar.

"After paying tribute to capitalism on everything, from the baby's cradle and rattle to the end of life, we are not yet done. Capitalism lays its hands upon the dead and demands enormous tribute for the privilege of being decently buried, as is evident by the following:

"Labor cost of a white wood coffin 5 feet 3 inches long is \$1.32. Poplar coffin, 6 feet long, 60 cents. These are finished and lined. Go to the undertaker's and ask what they cost, if you need one.

"With all the machinery of manufacturing in the hands of private capitalists, operated for private gain, the ratios of labor cost to the selling, or market price, range all the way from 4 to 1 up to 400 to 1. Add to this the burden of landlordism, money-lenders, national banks, interest on bonds, national, state, county and city government; the enormous expenses of a navy and army, and almost all officers from president down, drawing a salary vastly out of proportion to the earnings of labor. What is labor to do? What is the prospect for the producer? Ask McKinley. His answer is: 'We are a great and prosperous people. Just let our system of capital alone. Private capitalism is all right.'

"Ask Bryan. His answer is: 'Private capitalism is all right. It ought to own the land and factories. What we need is to license the trusts and establish free silver at 16 to 1.'

"How can silver at 16 to 1 cover the ruinous ratios on all manufactured articles from 4 to 1 up to 400 to 1? Can Bryan tell?

"How can free silver at 16 to 1 relieve labor of the curse of landlordism, interest to money-lenders, big salaries to worthless officers, exorbitant freight and passenger rates and enormous profits to private manufacturing concerns?"

"The people must collectively own the land, transportation lines and factories and mines. By thus abolishing private capital the curse of profits will be killed and labor will be free."

"It is infinitely better to vote for freedom and fail, than to vote for slavery and succeed."—Eugene V. Debs.

LOCAL BRANCHES

Notices of Branch Meetings Inserted for 25 Cents per Month

CALIFORNIA

Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evenings, commencing at 8 A. M. Admission free. Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening. Membership, Social Dem. Oct. 11 said free to each member, 25 cents per month. Apply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk Street.

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 8 o'clock at Woodmen's Hall, 123 1/2 Spring St. J. Franc. 700 Dayton Ave., Secretary.

Branch No. 2, San Francisco (German). Holds business meetings first Sunday each month, at 1 o'clock p. m. at 117 Turk Street. Agitation meeting on third Sunday evening, same place, to which public is invited. August P. Mayer, secretary, 1440 Polk Street.

COLORADO

Branch No. 1, Denver, meets every Sunday at 8:00 p. m. at 1115 California Ave. Chas. M. Davis, Secretary, 1633 17th Street.

Branch No. 3, Goldfield, meets every Sunday at 7:30 p. m. at City Hall. Chas. La Camp, Secretary.

CONNECTICUT

The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at 2 p. m. at P. Schaffer's, 1039 Main St., Hartford. Louis Schaff, Sec., 35 Spring St., Hartford.

Branch No. 3, New Haven, meets every Wednesday evening, at 8 p. m., at Aurora Hall. C. Volmer, Sec.

Branch No. 4, Rockville, Conn., meets first and third Thursdays at Turin Hall meeting room, Village Street. Secretary, Richard Niederwieser, Box 760.

ILLINOIS

Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 63 Dearborn St.

Branch No. 1, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening. Thomas Kilwin, Secretary, 204 Westworth Ave.

Branch No. 2 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets first and third Mondays at 8 p. m. in Dunder's place, 1080 W. 18th place. Joseph Dunder, Secretary.

Branch No. 3, Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays of each month at Pisat's Hall, cor. Centre and 19th at Jos. Corry, Sec'y, 500 W. 18th St.

Branch No. 6 (German), Chicago, meets every first Saturday each month at 8 o'clock at Nagel's Hall, 155 Blue Island Ave. near 12th St. Albin Geisler, Secretary, 724 W. 20th St.

Branch No. 8 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays at 9 a. m., at 8022 Line Street. J. A. Ambros, Secretary, 4940 Wood Street.

Branch No. 9, Chicago, meets at 1145 W. 63rd St. first and third Sundays at 8 p. m. Gus. Larson, Secretary, 6243 Center Avenue.

INDIANA

Branch No. 6, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichwein's Hall, corner Market and Noble Sts. Address all communications to the Sec. of State Executive Board, Thomas Cation, 617 Arbor Ave.

IOWA

Branch No. 3, Hiteam, meets every fourth Friday in the month at opera house. James Baxter, chairman, Wm. Truman, secretary, Box 151.

KENTUCKY

Branch No. 4, Bellevue, meets 1st and 3rd Sunday, at 1 p. m. and 2nd Wednesday at 8 p. m., at 91 Fairfield Ave. We will aim to make it interesting for all. Henry Listerman, Sec., 122 Foote Ave.

MASSACHUSETTS

Branch No. 2, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at Springfield Turner Hall. Carl Schwabe, Organizer, 24 Jackson St.

Branch No. 3, Lynn, permanent headquarters 71 Monroe St. Business meetings every Monday night at 7:30. Open houses. Public invited. Harry Gohmer, Sec., 43 Essex St.

Branch No. 4, Brockton, meets Friday nights at 8 p. m. for business at Socialist Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Center Sts. Every comrade is expected to attend one meeting a month. Mrs. Annie Bosworth, Secretary, 24 Prospect St.

Branch No. 20, Roxbury, Mass., meets at 24 Warren St. 2d and 4th Fridays of every month. Public invited.

ILLINOIS STATE TICKET SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

For Governor:

HERMAN C. PERRY

Spring Valley

For Lieutenant Governor:

AZEL PIERSON

Jacksonville

For Secretary of State:

THOMAS O. KERWIN

Chicago

For State Treasurer:

JACOB WINNEN

Chicago

For Auditor of Public Works:

JAMES WRIGHT

Chicago

For Attorney General:

CHARLES H. SOELKE

Chicago

For Trustees of State University:

MRS. IRENE STEDMAN

MISS ELLEN EDWARDS

F. J. HLAVACEK

TEDDY AND THE BRONCHO

Teddy the Terrible spouted:
"My bronco and I
Will kick up a dust
As high as the sky;
Fifty miles higher
Than Gilderoy's kite.
I'm the dandy Rough Rider,
The bran blatherskite.
Just notice my hat,
My plume and my saddle.
Gods! I'm a Colossus.
See how grandly I straddle!
McKinley looks on and
He's clean out of breath,
While Dollar Mark Hanna's
Just laughing to death."

THE FULL DINNER PAIL.

Acts of rich men all remind us—
Heed the lesson, do not fail!—
To note they are solicitous
About the toiler's dinner pail.
They see it half filled with bread—
Note their groans as they repent.
And when their victims are half dead
Advance their wages ten per cent.

Ten per cent more of tater,
Ten per cent more of rice,
Then blubber thanks to their Creator,
That men can live like rats and mice.
Not ten per cent, but all we earn,
Nothing less is our demand.
Our shibboleth—pray, vote and learn
Not to obey, but to command.

MICHIGAN

Branch No. 1, Battle Creek, Mich., meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of each month, 10 p. m., at 10 W. Main Street, in the International Congress Hall. All are cordially invited. L. C. Rogers, Secretary.

MINNESOTA

Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Geaswein on Main St. A. Kingsbury, Secretary.

MISSOURI

Branch No. 7, Kansas City, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1300 Union Ave. G. J. Storz, Secretary, 1230 W. 9th St.

MONTANA

Branch No. 1, Butte, meets every Thursday, at 8:30 p. m., Engineers' Hall, Owsley Block. G. Frankel, Sec. 71 E. Park Street.

Branch No. 2 meets first and third Sundays of each month at G. W. Wood's home, Chico, Mont.

NEW JERSEY

Branch No. 1, Philadelphia, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 412 Grand Street, Windsor Hall. James Altman, Secretary, 32 Buffalo St. care of "Forward."

East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every first and third Thursday at 113 Clinton St. A. Guyer, Secretary, 125 Suffolk St.

Branch No. 3, Brooklyn, New York, meets every Saturday at 8 p. m., at 50 Moore St. Visitors welcome. Comrades desiring to organize should communicate with Secretary Sol. Freeman, 190 Boerum St.

Branch No. 10, New York, meets every Friday, at 8 p. m., 205 E. Broadway. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Organizer, Joseph Williams, 56 Henry St.

OHIO

Branch No. 4, Cincinnati, meets at Richelieu Hall southeast corner 9th and Elm Sts. every Sunday at 8 p. m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Joe Jaslin, Secretary, 1410 Central Avenue.

OREGON

Branch No. 1, Portland, meets every Monday night at Washington Hotel, Cor. 3d and Flavel Sts. Every body invited. T. C. Weindland, chairman, Mrs. N. E. Fortsch, secretary.

PENNSYLVANIA

Branch No. 1, Philadelphia, meets every Monday, at 8 p. m., at 423 S. 3rd Street, until further notice.

Branch No. 4, Connersport, meets every second and last Wednesday of each month at E. K. Hall. Chas. Knispel, Chairman; L. H. Morse, Secretary; Ben. Codrington, Treasurer.

Branch No. 5, Philadelphia, meets first Friday of each month—except one meets every Sunday morning at 8 p. m. in Social Labor Hall, No. 16 East 24th St. G. B. Smith, chairman; Joe. Lyon, secretary, 473 Second St. Public invited.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee Central Committee, S. D. P., meets second and fourth Monday of each month at Brewers' Hall, southeast corner Fourth and Chestnut Sts.

Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets at Keller's Hall, Fourth Street, between State and Prairie, every second and fourth Thursday evening.

Branch No. 3, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Friday in Geathe's Hall, corner Green Bay and Concordia Ave.

Branch No. 4, Sheboygan, meets every second Thursday of each month at Volkmann's Hall, 101 Michigan Ave. Secretary, Eugene F. Eichenberger, 1701 N. 11th Street.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday each month at Keller's Hall, corner 2d and Brown Sts. George Moser, Secretary, 281 Main St.

Branch No. 5, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at Keller's Hall, southeast corner Orchard St. and 9th Ave. O. Wild, Secretary.

Branch No. 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of each month at Volkmann's Hall, 101 and Center St. S. p. m. Secretary, Rudolph Loeschman, 1128 23d St.

Branch No. 23, Milwaukee, meets second and fourth Wednesday of each month at Keller's Hall, 101 and Center St. S. p. m. Secretary, Rudolph Loeschman, 1128 23d St.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

THE NATIONAL PLATFORM

Adopted at the Indianapolis Convention, March, 1900

TWO GREAT SPEECHES

Should be Read by Socialists Everywhere
and Put into the Homes of Non-Socialists

Delivered at Central Music Hall, Chicago, Saturday,
September 29, 1900, by

EUGENE V. DEBS

AND
PROF. GEO. D. HERRON

A Splendid Campaign Document

Sixteen Page Pamphlet. Price, Five Cents
One Hundred, \$3.00

Address, 126 Washington St., Chicago

NEW BRANCHES

Illinois, three.

NATIONAL SECRETARY-TREASURER

THEODORE DEBS

No. 126 Washington Street, Chicago.

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness depend upon equal political and economic rights.

In our economic development an industrial revolution has taken place, the individual tool of former years having become the social tool of the present. The individual tool was owned by the worker who employed himself and was master of his product. The social tool, the machine, is owned by the capitalist and the worker is dependent upon him for employment. The capitalist thus becomes the master of the worker and is able to appropriate to himself a large share of the product of his labor.

Capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people; but the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system will necessitate the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare.

The present system of social production and private ownership is rapidly converting society into two antagonistic classes—i. e., the capitalist class and the propertyless class. The middle class, once the most powerful of this great nation, is disappearing in the mill of competition. The issue is now between the two classes first named. Our political liberty is now of little value to the masses unless used to acquire economic liberty.

Independent political action and the trade union movement are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its political, the other its economic wing, and both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system.

Therefore the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be:

First—The organization of the working class into a political party to conquer the public powers now controlled by capitalists.

Second—The abolition of wage-slavery by the establishment of a national system of co-operative industry, based upon the social or common ownership of the means of production and distribution, to be administered by society in the common interest of all its members, and the complete emancipation of the socially useful classes from the domination of capitalism.

The working class and all those in sympathy with their historic mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America.

The control of political power by the Social Democratic party will be tantamount to the abolition of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting the millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international Socialism, the brotherhood of man.

As steps in that direction, we make the following demands:

First—Revision of our federal constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to complete

control of government by the people irrespective of sex.

Second—The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

Third—The public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones; all means of transportation, and communication; all water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

Fourth—The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal, and other mines, and all oil and gas wells.

Fifth—The reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

Sixth—The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

Seventh—Useful inventions to be free, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

Eighth—Labor legislation to be national, instead of local, and international when possible.

Ninth—National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.

Tenth—Equal civil and political rights, for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

Eleventh—The adoption of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

Twelfth—Abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

ROBERT MEISTER.....Chairman
JOSEPH R. FINN.....Treasurer
SEYMOUR STEDMAN.....Secretary
Address, 126 Washington St., Chicago.

FINANCE COMMITTEE

EDWARD ZEIGLER.....Chairman
JOSEPH R. FINN.....Treasurer
JAMES WRIGHT.....Secretary
Address, 126 Washington St., Chicago

COMMITTEE ON LITERATURE

A. S. EDWARDS.....Chairman
VICTOR L. BERGER.....Secretary

COMMITTEE ON PRINTING

JOSEPH WINNEN.....Chairman
PHILIP BROWN.....Secretary

COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

SEYMOUR STEDMAN.....Chairman
ARTHUR DENNISON.....Secretary

COMMITTEE ON SPEAKERS

OSCAR LOEBEL.....Chairman
SEYMOUR STEDMAN.....Secretary

NATIONAL PAPER OF THE PARTY:

The Social Democratic Herald
50 CENTS A YEAR.
126 Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.

HEADQUARTERS: 126 WASHINGTON ST., CHICAGO

WHERE DEBS WILL SPEAK

Kansas.....Oct. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15
Omaha, Neb.....Oct. 16
Iowa.....Oct. 17, 18, 19, 20
Wisconsin.....Oct. 21, 22
New York City.....Oct. 30

NOTES FROM THE FIELD

Fifteen cents will purchase Morris England in the German language, adapted to American needs. If you don't read German, buy one for your friends.

Presidential electors in Oregon are: N. P. J. Folen, J. Frank Gilbert, Joseph Meindl, C. P. Rutherford.

Smiley's excellent pamphlet, "To What Are Trusts Leading?", sent free to any address for 5 cents.

Rockville, Conn., had its annual town election, October 7, Republicans polling 600, Democrats 400, Social Democrats 128.

The loyal branches of Massachusetts have elected an organizing committee of nine with Comrade MacCartney as organizer.

The campaign committee has a few dozen photographs, cabinet size, of Eugene V. Debs, which they are selling at 15 cents each.

The small 4-page leaflet used by the Chicago comrades is good for any part of the country; 1,000 to any address, postage paid, for 75 cents.

The following ticket has been nominated in Tazewell county, Ill.: Circuit Clerk, J. W. Larimore; Surveyor, Theodore Vogel; Coroner, Jacob Schneider.

The national emblem of the party, adopted by the national campaign committee and printed on second page of the Herald, will be furnished to branches and committees at 25 cents, postage paid.

The presidential electors of the Social Democratic party in Florida are Ernest Untermann, William P. Neeld, Edwin C. Smith, W. P. Reed. They were chosen at a convention held at Ocala, Sept. 22.

Branches in the 11th Congressional District of Massachusetts are requested to elect representatives on the congressional committee and report as soon as possible to R. F. Schmidt, 35 Creighton St., Roxbury.

A new branch organized at Louisville, Ky., is composed chiefly of trades unionists, including the president of the Central Labor Union. Jas. H. Arnold is secretary, C. J. Lehman, organizer and J. J. Donohue, treasurer.

The Socialist Women's club was entertained by Comrade Anna R. Weeks of Winnetka last Sunday. Two new members were received. The meeting was addressed by Comrade Ellen Edwards, Socialist candidate for university trustee.

Members of the Social Democratic branches who are vitally interested in the cause of Socialism will not permit these present days, which are of vast importance to the cause, to pass by without paying their membership dues. This is the nearest to hand duty of every Social Democrat.

It is of the highest importance that all branches remit at the earliest time possible, the quarterly dues for members. The prompt payment of dues is necessary to the proper carrying on of the work at headquarters.

Socialists willing to assist in forming new branches of the Social Democratic party are requested to communicate with the secretary, Theodore Debs, 126 Washington street, Chicago.

The Debs leaflet, at 75 cents per thousand, charges paid, is much the best leaflet for propaganda in some localities. We should receive more orders for them. They are small, but to the point, and will make S. D. P. votes.

The National Committee is now prepared to furnish Leaflet No. 2, Ben Atterbury's "Letter to American Workmen," in German. The price is \$1.25 per thousand. Send in your orders at once and put it out among your German friends.

The Socialist Woman's club reminds all men comrades, that all women 21 years old can vote for university trustee, and should register on next Tuesday, Oct. 16. Remember every ballot cast for a Socialist candidate will help swell the Socialist vote.

Comrades: Wherever our candidate speaks during the present month (see list of cities in this issue of the Herald) the local branches should have thousands of leaflets to distribute at the meetings, lithographs to display in store windows, and stickers by the thousands.

Our German comrades will do well to distribute the German translation of leaflet No. 2, Ben Atterbury's "Letter to American Workmen." Give every German voter a copy and you will much increase the German Socialist vote. The price is \$1.25 a thousand. Send in your orders.

It is advisable to stamp all leaflets, etc., with the local branch address and time of meeting, in order to get more direct returns for the work of distributing them. Let the voters of your locality know of your meeting, and then provide a good speaker to explain the principles of Socialism.

Last week over 100,000 copies of the Leaflets were shipped from the office of the National Campaign Committee and orders are coming in daily. At One Dollar a thousand (postage or express charges paid) they are the very best publications obtainable for propaganda. Hand them out and keep them going until November 6.

The portrait of the presidential candidate gives great satisfaction. Thousands have been mailed to branches and comrades in all sections of the country. It should be seen in every community; it informs the observer, directs attention to the party and makes votes. Ten copies, 35 cents; 33 for a dollar; single copy, 10 cents; postage prepaid.

The Woman's Political Equality league, Chicago, invited all women candidates for the position of university trustee to address them last Saturday afternoon. Our candidate, Comrade Ellen Edwards, gave an earnest, impassioned plea for Socialism. She demonstrated that under Socialism only could the benefits of a state university be extended to all children. Her radical remarks were well received. It was evident that there were more in sympathy with her than might have been expected.

THE CAMPAIGN FUND

H. J. Hlavacek, Chicago.....	1.00
B. Copestake, New York.....	.50
Wallace Armstrong, Pawnee Rock.....	.50
Flower sale, Chicago.....	1.00
A. E. Tyler, Chicago.....	1.00
N. B. Brown, Milwaukee.....	1.00
Branch 12, Illinois.....	50.50
F. A. Kulp, Battell Creek.....	5.00
Robert Swift, Cincinnati.....	5.00
Henry Harbicht, Milwaukee.....	3.25
J. H. Bosch, Bridgeport.....	1.00
C. Williams, Monroeville.....	2.25
A. E. Haeuser, St. Louis.....	4.00
F. E.....	5.00
August F. Mayer, San Francisco.....	1.00
W. H. Fawcett, Goldfield.....	1.00
F. W. Miller.....	1.00
A. W. Bennett.....	1.00
Chas. L. Camp.....	1.00
George Jettis.....	1.00
G. W. Sanders.....	1.00
E. Mitterer.....	1.00
Dr. K. B. Clapp, Chicago.....	5.00
Julius Bittlerick, St. Louis.....	5.00
J. H. Hudson, Urich.....	5.00
J. H. Hylan.....	5.00
Anna Perry Smith, San Diego.....	10.00
C. F. Meyer, St. Louis.....	.50
Geo. H. Merberger.....	.25
A. Pankau.....	.25
D. 348.....	.25
Adolph Dambacher.....	.25
Charles Gruis.....	.25
F. Behm.....	.50
William Meyer.....	.50
John Fawcett.....	.25
Konrad Zilja.....	.25
Herman Adler.....	.25
Alex Bauer.....	.25
Geo. H. Grange.....	.25
D. E. Ellis, Monroe.....	1.00
Otto Kuntert.....	1.00
Collection at Turner Hall, Chicago.....	22.81
J. M. Blum, San Francisco.....	1.00
M. C. Clennan.....	2.00
John Pearson.....	1.00
Mrs. Garland.....	.70
August Jones.....	2.00
Henry Warnecke.....	1.00
Mrs. Borrenson.....	1.00
Scott Anderson.....	.50
Central Labor Union, Shelbyville.....	10.00
Debs Meeting, Indianapolis.....	56.25
Previously reported.....	1,347.05
TOTAL.....	\$1,542.66

HERRON AT MILWAUKEE

Prof. Geo. D. Herron will speak in behalf of the Social Democratic ticket at Milwaukee, Thursday, October 18, after which he goes east to fill a number of lecture engagements and during the last week of the campaign will speak at several points in Iowa.

WANTED

Five Hundred Social Democrats to give One Dollar each to the National Campaign Fund for the work of the committee during the last three weeks of the campaign. The committee is dependent entirely upon voluntary contributions from friends of the movement for funds to discharge the duty assigned to it.

It expects every Social Democrat to do HIS duty.

NEW YORK COMRADES, ATTENTION

A meeting of Branch 20, S. D. P. of New York, will be held on Sunday, Oct. 14, 2 p. m., at 2766 Third Ave., Cor. 146th St. Business of importance will be transacted, and all members are earnestly requested to allow nothing to interfere with their duty to attend this meeting. Comrade H. Donohue will address the audience.

P. Donohue, Sec'y.

FLORIDA SOCIALISTS

E. C. Smith, Ocala, Fla., chairman of the State Executive Committee, Social Democratic Party, wants the name and address of every Socialist and sympathizer in the state.

Do not save a large order until the last week of the campaign and then expect us to fill it by return mail or express. Order now.

Besides the regular office force at campaign headquarters, 126 Washington street, Chicago, we have volunteers every day, sometimes two or three comrades at a time, filling orders, stamping and weighing mail matter, filing letters, sending out circulars and in various other ways helping on the campaign work. These comrades, many of them women, have an unsurpassed enthusiasm and are willing to back up their enthusiasm by good work for the coming commonwealth—for Socialism.

The new leaflets, Nos. 3, 4, 5 and 6, are going out fast. We hope to put in another order with the printers in a week or ten days.

The No. 2 leaflet, by Ben Atterbury, to the American workingman, has run a quarter of a million in the English edition. It is an excellent vote maker and can now be supplied in German, Polish and Bohemian.

Rev. H. S. Geneva Lake, one of the most able speakers in the country, is engaged to deliver addresses on Socialism at Aberdeen, Huguam, Elma and Olympia. Comrade Lake has been in the field twenty years and needs no introduction.

The largest single orders so far during the campaign were for 10,000 leaflets and another for 500 lithographs. The largest order for stickers was 10,000 and for buttons 500. Orders for 5,000 leaflets, 100 lithographs and 100 buttons are quite common.

Nearly one million copies of the leaflets have been disposed of by the national campaign committee up to date. During the next three weeks another million should be distributed, and it is your privilege to help by forwarding an order for a thousand or ten thousand. One thousand, \$1.00, all charges prepaid.

THE COLORADO TICKET

The following is the ticket nominated by the Social Democrats of Colorado: Presidential Electors—Thos. H. Gibbs, Wm M. Ash, John H. Morrow, J. Everett Seeley.

Justice, Supreme Court—Eugene Engley.

Governor—DeWitt C. Copley.
Lieut.-Gov.—Patrick W. Doyle.
Secretary of State—Geo. W. Sanders.
Auditor—W. G. Henry.
Treasurer—Geo. Seitz.
Superintendent Public Instruction—A. E. McCausland.
University Regents—Blanche L. Delapaine, Frank W. Miller.

Illustrated campaign souvenir. Stirring "Songs of Justice," inscribed to E. V. Debs, and Social Democrats of the world, by Rev. H. S. Geneva Lake. Fine. Price, 10c; 15c for \$1. This office.

Debs and Harriman Buttons

At last we have the BUTTONS, and at the right prices, UNION MADE. Both candidates on the button.

PRICES:

2 Buttons, 5 cents
5 Buttons, 10 cents
12 Buttons, 20 cents

All larger orders than a dozen, 1 1/2 cents each. Charges paid.

National Campaign Committee, S. D. P.,
126 WASHINGTON ST., CHICAGO



IF YOU SYMPATHIZE WITH TRADE UNIONS

You will encourage the sale OF UNION LABEL GOODS

If you want Union Label Shoes demand the above Union Stamp. No shoe is Union made unless it bears the Union Stamp. No charge or royalty for the Union Stamp. Visit your shoe dealer and take no excuses. Send for latest list of factories. Subscribe for "The Union Boot and Shoe Worker," 50 cts per year.

Boot and Shoe Workers Union,
629 Atlantic Ave., Boston, Mass.

CAMPAIGN LEAFLETS

PUSH THEM OUT AND MAKE VOTES

No. 1—Address to Unorganized Socialists
Contains information concerning the Socialist movement in the United States, the party and its methods, object and program.

No. 2—An Open Letter to the Average American Workman

By Ben Atterbury. This is an admirable and convincing paper on the wage question, production, distribution of wealth and an appeal to the intelligence of the working class.

No. 3—Machine Production Where the Profits Go.

The argument of this leaflet is a clincher because taken from the government reports made by the Commissioner of Labor, and proves that machinery, combinations, trusts and systematized production must lead to socialism. It's the only way out.

No. 4—Toilers of America Vote for Your Freedom.

This is a remarkably effective campaign document. Written by a prominent member of the United Mine Workers, it sets forth in a convincing manner the reasons why the miners of the country, railroadmen and all other wage workers should support the Social Democratic ticket.

No. 5—Industrial Crises—Cause and Cure.

A strong appeal to the common sense of the voters, this leaflet gives the Socialist view of industrial crises and convincingly shows that Socialism is the necessary solution.

No. 6—Platform and Debs Epigrams.

This is a very attractive addition to our campaign literature; it gives the party platform complete with a collection of the very best epigrammatic sentences from the lectures of Eugene V. Debs, together with other striking contributions.

Put Them Into the Hands of Every Workingman

PRICES.

50 Copies\$.10
100 Copies15
250 Copies25
500 Copies50
1,000 Copies 1.00
5,000 Copies 5.00

POSTAGE PAID.

Send orders to Campaign Committee Social Democratic Party, 126 Washington street, Chicago, Ill.

A PRIMER OF SOCIALISM

A 32-page pamphlet which contains in addition to the "Primer of Socialism" by G. O. Clemens, "Social zing a state," by the late Laurence Gronlund, and "Economic Terms and Phrases," by A. P. Huzel. One of the strongest pamphlets for propaganda yet issued. A splendid vote-maker, and thousands should be circulated before election.

PER COPY, 5 CENTS—PER 100, \$1.50

Address, Debs Publishing Co.,
Terre Haute, Indiana.

**STICK UP THE STICKERS
MAKE THE FACT STICK**

**That Socialism is Here to Stick
STICKERS NOW READY**

They are two inches square, and a capital thing for Propaganda because they can be used in a hundred ways.

Sent only in packages of 500 or more. Price of 500, by mail, 50 cents.

Address, CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE,
126 Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

Sweeps Onward Like a Mighty Wave

Vast Audiences Everywhere

Ovation Upon Ovation Grooms Candidate Debs in this Most Remarkable Campaign

Tremendous Meeting in St. Louis

Some idea of the St. Louis meeting of our candidate, held Oct. 9, may be had from the following extracts from a report in a capitalistic daily, the St. Louis Globe-Democrat:

"Eugene V. Debs, candidate for president of the United States on the Social Democratic ticket, last night addressed a mass meeting in Lemp's Park hall, estimated as high as 6,000 people. Caleb Lipscomb, of Liberal, Mo., Social Democratic candidate for governor, also spoke and the speeches were liberally applauded. A torchlight procession in which were 2,500 members, added to the crowd which gathered earlier in the evening and formed an overflow meeting in the pavilion, at which the same speakers spoke. Mr. Debs' address was cheered and applauded. Long before the arrival of Mr. Debs and the other speakers of the evening, a crowd had packed the hall so that standing room was not to be had when J. F. Bergheim, a shoe worker, called the meeting to order at 8 o'clock. After making a brief speech, in which he complimented the followers of Mr. Debs and Social Democracy upon the strides the party had made during the present campaign, Mr. Debs was introduced. He spoke along the lines which have become associated with his name, and he appealed to his hearers to exercise their suffrages in behalf of the party he represents, declaring that only by the success of the principles it advocates can the condition of the laboring class be bettered. In the meantime a torchlight procession, headed by a band and drum corps, was in process of formation at the old French market. William Brand acted as grand marshal. T. M. Putnam, one of the street car strikers and candidate for congress, marched on foot at the head of the parade. When Lemp's park was reached the marchers took possession of the pavilion, Debs having by this time finished speaking in the hall. He was introduced by E. V. Putnam and spoke for half an hour. The same topics came in for his attention, though here his remarks met even greater applause than in the hall. Following Mr. Debs, Caleb Lipscomb addressed the gathering. He took up the issues made prominent in the platform of the party in Missouri, discussing industrial and trust conditions in the state and pledging himself to do all in his power to prevent class legislation should he be elected."

Speaking of his meeting Mr. Debs said: "If all the people who come to our meetings will vote the ticket the result will be astonishing. I feel confident that the party will receive large accessions this year, though the loss of the older parties will be equally divided."

The Westliche Post, St. Louis, gave a three-column report of the meeting and demonstration and printed a two-column half-tone cut of the presidential candidate.

Enthusiasm at Pana

Comrade J. A. Bruell writes of the Pana meeting as follows: "Pana voters turned out en masse to hear the great apostle of Socialism, Eugene V. Debs, deliver his masterly address here on Monday evening. The meeting started at 8 o'clock, but at 7 o'clock all seats were filled, and when the meeting started over 600 people had assembled—all that could wedge their way into the hall. The speech was interrupted by outbursts of enthusiasm that lasted several minutes at a time. Democrats and republicans both agree that it was the best speech delivered here during the campaign. Debs' name is on every tongue and Socialism is being discussed on every street corner. The democratic paper ignored the meeting before and after."

Following is what the Pana Beacon Light said of the meeting:

"Eugene V. Debs, the leader of the Social Democratic party and its candidate for president of the United States, addressed a big audience at the old Hayward opera house last night. The crowd was made up of Social Democrats, democrats and republicans, who had gathered to listen to the apostle of labor and

liberty. It was an orderly crowd, and listened to what Mr. Debs had to say with interest. The address lasted nearly two hours. . . . Mr. Debs referred sarcastically to the claims of the democrats that the Social Democratic campaign fund is being put up by Mark Hanna. "We try to emancipate humanity," he said, "and they say we have been bought."

Debs at Kansas City

The Kansas City meeting was a sweeping success. It was held in the Turner hall the sides of which almost bulged out from the over-crowding. The Star began its report thus:

"If Mr. Bryan is opposed to private monopoly he is opposed to private ownership. If he is opposed to private ownership he is a Socialist. If he is not opposed to private ownership or all natural monopolies he favors the capitalistic class. There can be no middle ground for him."

"Thus declared Eugene V. Debs, Social Democratic candidate for President, in a speech at Turner hall last night. Mr. Debs arraigned both of the old political parties. It seemed to be half expected that he would make a vigorous attack on the administration of President McKinley, but the severity with which he handled Mr. Bryan seemed to surprise many of his hearers."

"Turner hall was packed and an overflow meeting on the outside was addressed by Carl Brown of Coxe army fame. Mr. Debs' audience was composed largely of workmen and there was a good sprinkling of women and girls. A number of merchants were also present."

"Mr. Debs was introduced amid vociferous cheering by Garrett Fulvove, a member of the Jackson county Social Democratic central committee, which arranged the meeting."

Comrade Clemens also spoke, making a fine presentation.

Taxed the Hall at Wichita

Of the Wichita meeting, the Wichita Daily Eagle gave over two columns, referring to the meeting and speaker in the following words:

"If ever the Garfield hall was crowded it was packed last night by people who turned out to hear the candidate for President on the Socialist ticket, Eugene V. Debs. While the hall was crowded, Debs could have filled the Auditorium, and owing to a mistake in regard to the place of speaking, many were disappointed and went to their homes not knowing that the man was at the Garfield hall."

"People were surprised at the appearance of Debs. He is a nice appearing man. He has a good countenance. He is bald headed and, as one man said last night, reminds one of Bill Nye, only he is better looking. After all that one could say about Eugene V. Debs he has an attractive personality. Every person present last night stayed in the hall until Debs concluded his speech. His language in the main was interesting. He rapped both parties. He paid no particular attention as to where his blows landed and when they did land a cheer went up from his audience, whether it was republican, democrat, populist or not."

"Perhaps no character which has been in Wichita for a long period of time has interested Wichita people as much as did Debs. They had heard about him, read of him, talked about him, but as far as Debs himself was concerned, Wichita people did not get a chance to see him until last night. The meeting was in charge of Dr. W. L. Rose."

The Wichita Eagle in advance of the meeting there said, among other things:

"Eugene V. Debs, candidate for President on the Socialist National ticket, will speak at the Auditorium in this city to-night. This is the first time during the present campaign that a presidential candidate has made his appearance in this section of the state. Debs has the reputation of being a brainy man and the ideas which he is imparting under the Socialist movement is new to the people of this state. The Socialist party has a following, however, in this county. Since the announcement of the coming of Debs to the city, there has been considerable curiosity evinced among the people of all parties to know just in what manner Debs will handle the issues of the campaign from a Socialistic standpoint. The democrats are inclined to think that it will amount to nothing, but at all events he will have an audience composed of thinking people."

Capitalist Trickery at Topeka

The Debs meeting at Topeka was a magnificent one, the new Auditorium being packed to the ceiling. Comrade G. C. Clemens presided and introduced the speaker. The papers studiously avoided so much as a brief mention of the meeting, and the bill poster did not put up the bills given him. Comrade Clemens, with his well known power for cutting criticism, denounced the whole outfit in scathing terms and the audience cheered wildly, stood up and yelled when he characterized the old parties as rotten to the core. Comrade Debs spoke for two hours and was listened to with marked attention and demonstrative approval. At the close of the meeting the crowd seized Debs and almost tore him to pieces in its exuberance. A feature of the evening was the presence of the members of the grievance committee of the Board of Locomotive Firemen representing the entire Santa Fe system. They were in session in Topeka and adjourned to be at the meeting. There were many other railroad men present, and when Comrade Clemens said in his speech that the three thousand railway men employed at Topeka were the friends of Eugene V. Debs and would resent at the polls the insult of the capitalist papers in not sending a reporter to such a great meeting, there was a rising demonstration that fairly shook the building.

Colony's Welcome to Debs

Fort Scott, Kan., Oct. 11.—The entire Socialist colony of Freedom, in this county, drove five miles to-day to greet Eugene V. Debs, its candidate for President, as he passed through Fulton on the train. The colonists carried transparencies and a large crayon portrait of Debs and Clemens, the Socialist candidate for governor. The train would not stop long enough for Debs to speak.

Notes of Western Tour

Debs and Clemens are stirring Kansas from center to circumference. The fusionists who have tasted the blood of capitalist office, are howling in impotent rage. On with the revolution!

In his Kansas campaign Comrade Debs had an amusing experience. At a certain station (it shall be nameless, as also the railroad, for obvious reasons), a crowd had gathered to see the presidential candidate. The train only stopped a minute, but the engineer, who was a veteran of the A. R. U. strike, found it easy to discover that there was something wrong with the engine that required about fifteen minutes' tinkering to put in shape. Debs got in a red-hot Socialist speech, and the train pulled out with everybody cheering.

The dinner hour at Fort Scott, Kan., where the train stopped twenty minutes, offered Comrade Debs a chance to address the large crowd from a baggage truck.

Winfield, Kan., was well represented at the station. Debs and Clemens spoke to the crowd from the rear platform of the train.

The campaign in Kansas is of the cyclone variety. Comrade Clemens, our candidate for governor, is touring the state with Debs and they are speaking to large crowds at the railway stations where stops are made. The Associated Press is significantly silent about this remarkable campaign and the mighty outpouring of the people all over the Sunflower State.

The Debs meetings in Kansas were big in spite of such obstacles as capitalism was able to throw in their way. The bill posters refused to put up the bills for the meetings, and those that were posted by the extra exertions of comrades were torn down by people in the pay of the politicians of both old parties. This same sort of thing is being systematically done all over the country, but our party has tremendous meetings everywhere just the same. The attitude of the railroads is also becoming manifest and the evidences show that they are concertedly fighting us.

While at Wichita Comrade Debs received the following dispatch:

"Geary, O. T.—Greeting and best wishes. Sorry cannot hear you to-night. Oklahoma will speak in November. "E. T. Tucker."

The Toledo Blade, administration organ, is making all kinds of fun of Mayor Jones because of his taking the stump along with Bryan, even charging him with neglect of his official duties. This isn't very serious considering that all office-holding politicians are open to the same charge.

Old Parties Getting Uneasy

Admit they Cannot Figure Out the Debs Vote in the States of The Middle West

Democrats Worried

Under a flaring heading: "Is Debs' Stronghold," the Chicago News last week published an interview with Chairman Jones of the National Democratic committee, in which he admitted that the Debs' vote was a source of worry, but insisting that its strength in Illinois would be centered in Chicago. Evidently he doesn't want to give the mining district too much encouragement. The article is as follows:

"Democratic leaders do not attempt longer to conceal their anxiety over the Debs' vote, and Senator Jones, chairman of the Democratic national committee, stated today that he believes Chicago is the strongest Debs city in the entire country. What worries the Democratic leaders is their absolute inability to size up the vote that will be cast for the Socialist-Democrat candidate in the doubtful states. Throughout the middle west the Democrats admit that their ranks will furnish the great bulk of the votes that are cast for Debs next month, except in Indiana, where they assert that 'Debs is strongest among the workmen in the natural gas belt. This is a Republican stronghold.'"

"I confess that the Debs vote is an unknown quantity so far as I have been able to discover," said Senator Jones today. "I cannot find anybody else who knows any more about the probable size of the vote Debs will poll than I do. I don't know what truth there is in the assertion that Debs will draw heavily from the Democrats in the coal mining district down in the central and southern portion of Illinois. It is my opinion that Debs is strongest right here in Chicago, and at that I don't anticipate that he will poll a dangerously heavy vote here."

Republicans Too

And now it is the Republicans who are frightened about Indiana. Witness the following dispatch to the Chicago Record, and note also the Republican trick it exposes, a trick that by their own admission has given them the worst of it:

Indianapolis, Ind., Oct. 11.—The Republicans of Indiana who appreciate the political situation are badly scared. Witness the words of one, upon whose efforts depends the capture of the farmer vote, which is considered necessary to Republican victory in the state:

"The lethargy of the majority of the Republican managers in Indiana is threatening us with disaster. The Democrats are spending more money in this state than we are. The railroad employes are almost solid for Bryan. They scoff at prosperity, because while the roads have made more money since 1896 than ever before, wages have not been raised and the employes are discontented."

"In the rural districts we planned to aid Debs because we thought he would draw largely from the Democratic party. But we were fooled. He has drawn mostly from the Republican party. The small storekeeper and well-to-do farmer will not contribute to the campaign fund. They say: 'Why don't you get your money from the trusts? That is the interest that profits most by the McKinley administration.' Our sole chance of carrying Indiana lies in the farmer vote, and, while we have made gains there, I doubt seriously whether they are enough to offset the loss in the towns."

"But the question is, can we bring out the farmer vote that we have won. Rain on election day will probably defeat McKinley in Indiana. It is sure to be close. A sick hog will keep one farmer from the polls, and 100 sick hogs may give the state to Bryan."

A Two-Edged Sword

And still the speculation as to the Social Democratic vote goes merrily on. The Kansas City Times does some wild guessing, as follows:

"Realizing that the labor vote was lost to them in a number of the debatable states, the republicans conceived the idea of encouraging Debs, figuring that every vote he received would come from the ranks of organized labor, and every vote would be one less for Mr.

Bryan. Of late they have begun to realize that the Debs vote is a two-edged sword, and that it cuts both ways. Mr. Debs recently made an excursion into the natural gas belt in Indiana, and was greeted by large audiences of working men employed in the factories there. The republicans were jubilant until they discovered that the majority of these men voted for Mr. McKinley four years ago, impelled thereto by a belief that they were voting for prosperity, 'full dinner pails,' fat savings bank accounts and all that. They have not received what they consider their share of the heralded McKinley prosperity; sometimes their dinner pails were not very well filled, and their savings bank accounts have not grown to such proportions as to tempt dishonest bank officials. When the republicans realized that the votes which Mr. Debs would get in the gas belt would come from Mr. McKinley's plurality of four years ago, they saw that in Mr. Debs they had, like Frankenstein, constructed a monster that was destroying them. But they were game, and are still encouraging the Social Democracy movement and depending upon it to pull their chestnuts out of the fire in Illinois and Indiana."

"The democratic leaders are not worrying about the Debs vote. They frankly admit that they cannot with any degree of certainty estimate its strength, but that it will be heavy enough to materially affect their chances of success in any state they do not for a moment consider a possibility. Senator Jones said yesterday he was unable to discover anywhere that Debs would poll a dangerously large vote."

"I have heard a good deal of talk about the Debs vote," he said, "but I do not believe it will be nearly as large as the republicans would have us believe. At any rate, I see no reason why it should be drawn more largely from the democrats than from the republicans."

Kansas Pops Startled

Topeka, Oct. 10.—The fusion managers in Kansas were somewhat surprised to-day to learn that George D. Herron, of Chicago, had come out for Debs for President and had contributed \$500 towards his campaign fund. Herron has been a regular idol among the Socialists faction of the populist party in Kansas. John Breidenthal has insisted that Herron is one of the greatest men in this country. He has fairly worshipped him in the past. He will probably revise his opinion in the event that Herron comes to Kansas and makes some speeches for Debs and Clemens. An effort is being made to get him here. —Kansas City Journal.

Likens Debs to Lincoln

The Rev. Frank De Witt Talmadge, D. D., of Jefferson Park M. E. church, Chicago, preached a sermon on the coming election and the presidential candidates last Sunday, in the course of which he took occasion to pay a rather unusual, yet well deserved compliment to the Social Democratic nominee. He singled Comrade Debs out from the whole list for a special and beautiful tribute to his sincerity and worthiness. The Rev. Talmadge is a large improvement on his sire, the czar-eulogizer.

His reference to the candidates was, in part, as follows:

"In the first place the signs of the times tell us we ought to thank God because we have honest candidates. Never since the country was started has there been purer or better men nominated by the different parties than those presented now. The Republican party with President McKinley at its head; the Democratic party with William J. Bryan; the Prohibition party with John G. Woolley, and the Socialistic party with Eugene Debs, have all honored their country by honoring themselves. AND AMONG ALL THESE FOUR MEN THERE IS NO HONESTER ONE THAN EUGENE V. DEBS. I heard him speak at a great mass meeting in Central Music Hall. Among all the speakers whom I have ever heard there has not been one which came nearer to my idea of Abraham Lincoln than Eugene Debs."

HE COULDN'T DELIVER SOCIAL DEMOCRATS

Failing to Reap the Harvest Sown,
Editor Hearst Looks for Ways
to Block the Socialist
Advance

GIVES HIS GAME DEAD AWAY

Wants Certain Measures Adopted to Delay
The Coming of the Co-Operative
Commonwealth

When the New York Journal was begun by Hearst he undertook to make it the especial pet of the large, but scattered, radical element in the country, and to have his radicalism as scientific and "startling" as possible, he employed several well known Socialists to write his editorials, and gave them carte blanche to write as radical as they liked. Little he cared how much forbidden truth they told so long as the people liked it and it brought shekels into the Hearst coffers. The most notable of those who came to the Journal's editorial staff was the late Laurence Gronlund, long to live in the memory of men as author of "The Co-operative Commonwealth," and other Socialistic books. Then there was Arthur Brisbane, son of Albert Brisbane, of Fourierite fame, a Socialist less known than Gronlund, but just as sharp and cultured a writer. And Herbert Casson was another, and so on. The Journal's editorials caught on in great shape, and people imbibed new ideas, new hope and better guidance from them, but the coin came in, and Hearst cared not. It is true that these Socialist writers in the Journal's pay were a little cautious. They never quite pounded in the logical conclusions of their articles strong enough, but still they were good stuff, as the saying goes.

However, Mr. Hearst got ambitions politically, and then came some embarrassments. He thought at first that he could swing the Socialists of the country round to the Bryan camp, and he tried to do it, but it didn't work for shucks. Bryan and Socialism didn't dovetail and the Journal—and its twin, the Chicago American—discovered that it could not ride the two horses successfully at once, and so it prepared to come down from its menage act as gracefully as possible, and it did so in a long editorial entitled, "The Socialism of the Trusts." At best it was a labored effort to hide a retreat, an attempt to throw dust in the eyes of those who had been made quasi-Socialists by the Journal editorials. And the interesting thing about it is that the editorial is calculated to make more Socialists, instead of throwing them off the track.

Cut down a little, for the sake of brevity, the editorial is as follows: "The American Republic was built upon the foundation of individual enterprise. This old economic order, which has produced what we know as the American character, with all its vigor, audacity and self-reliance, is threatened from two sides. The avowed Socialists would take all business out of the hands of private citizens and intrust it to public officials. The trusts would take it out of the hands of ordinary men and give it to a few monopolists.

"In so far as the conduct of the national industries is concerned, there is no difference between state Socialism and trust Socialism. Both abolish individual enterprise in business. Both reduce the population to the position of employees. But there is a great difference in the distribution of the product, and in the effects on national happiness and character. State Socialism gives everything produced to the workers. Trust Socialism gives the workers the lowest wages for which they can be induced to labor and turns over everything else to a handful of capitalists. Under State Socialism the employee is a self-respecting public official who works for no man, but for the whole community, of which he is a citizen equally with his superior officer. Under trust Socialism the employee is a servant. He is working for men who stand on an entirely different level from his own. There is no possibility of winning promotion that shall put him on their grade.

"By all its traditions the democratic party is pledged to the maintenance of the American system of individual enterprise as far as possible. The ideal of its founders was a state of society in which every man should be his own master. But due regard must be paid to the course of social development. The tendency toward the concentration of industries in many directions cannot be and ought not to be resisted. Where an industry has passed beyond the stage in which competitive, go-as-you-please management can secure the best results for the public, it ought to be organized under a single control. But in that case, as a rule, that control should be directed by public authority.

"In other words, where the progress of events has made an infusion of So-

cialism unavoidable, the democracy prefers state Socialism to trust Socialism. (1)

"That is the case, for instance, in the matter of the telegraphs. The telegraph business is organized on a thoroughly Socialistic basis. A single vast system extends its wires from Key West to Puget Sound. Competition is practically non-existent and individual enterprise entirely so. In such circumstances private control is wholly mischievous. In every respect except its management and the distribution of its profits the telegraph system is a public enterprise, and the process of nationalization ought to be made complete.

"So of the railroads. We have not yet reached the single railroad trust that is to control all the transportation routes of the country, but things are moving that way so rapidly that the end is plainly in sight. Already we have single men in command of railroad systems greater than the whole mileage of important European countries. Half a dozen men could get together about a lunch table and dictate the policy of all the roads in the United States.

"The railroads of the country employ a million men—one-fifteenth of all the voters of the Union—representing a population nearly equal to that of the state of New York. These men constitute a force too formidable to be under any control but that of the nation. We talk about the dangers of militarism, from a standing army of a hundred thousand men, but here is a standing army of a million men—the picked men of the country for vigor, courage and endurance. By the side of such forces how petty were the little bands of men-at-arms with which the Colonna and the Orsini terrorized Rome in the Middle Ages!

"The railroads not only control the largest organized force of workers in the United States, but they control practically all the industries in the country. By their alliance with the trusts they are helping to kill off competition everywhere. They built up the Standard Oil combination by discriminating rates and persecution of rivals until now the creature is greater than its creator. They have maintained the monopoly of the sugar trust. They uniformly use their power to build up great combinations and destroy individual enterprise.

"The railroad system has passed beyond the competitive stage of organization, and therefore it ought to belong to the public. Under national control, with discriminations abolished and a fair field opened to all, IT WOULD HELP TO DELAY THE ADVANCE OF SOCIALISM IN OTHER DIRECTIONS.

"Meanwhile it should not be forgotten that THE ONLY PARTY THAT CAN LOGICALLY OPPOSE THE GENERAL ADOPTION OF STATE SOCIALISM IS THE DEMOCRACY. It is the only guardian of the competitive system. The trusts have deprived their friends of every argument against Socialism. They have trampled on the principle of individual enterprise; they have proved that the national organization of industry is practicable, and they have carried it out in the most offensive form—a form in which the masses do all the work and the few absorb all the profits.

"An advocate of the trusts must be either a Socialist or a pirate. The man who abhors piracy and still clings to so much of individual enterprise AS CAN BE PRESERVED in our stage of development must of necessity be a democrat." (1)

There is some very specious reasoning in the above. It is an attempt to confuse the voter as to what Socialism is. He is made to think that it is State Socialism that the Social Democrats want, which is untrue. State Socialism is the thing that will be resorted to by capitalism when it finds the Socialistic demand among the people so insistent that it must be met. We will be checkmated with Bismarck Socialism, with autocratic Socialism, as a means to give capitalism a little longer lease of life. The enemies of Socialism always take pains to call it State Socialism. The Journal says the democratic party is the guardian of what there is left of individual "enterprise" in our present society. This is rich. Before the Socialists get through democracy's ward will have so shriveled that the Bryans and other office hunters will have deserted and tied up to some new prejudices. Meanwhile we smile.

Pres. Edward Boyce, editor of the official organ of the Western Federation of Miners, prints a signed card in the current issue of that magazine, declaring that "the only logical candidates for president and vice-president that workingmen can CONSCIENTIOUSLY SUPPORT and be true to themselves," are the candidates of the Social Democratic party. He treats the old parties scathingly, showing how capitalism uses them, republicans or democrats alike, to crush labor.

Hearst's Chicago American printed a garbled version of the resolutions passed by the national convention of brewery workers in which they declared for Debs and Harriman, left out all reference to our party and candidates and made it appear to be an endorsement of Bryan.

BLOODTHIRSTY TEDDY'S ROUGH RANTING

Is After Workingmen in Same Spirit
as he Branded Cattle and Shot
His Fellow Humans

LOW VIEW OF HUMAN NATURE

Roosevelt and Bryan at the Same Game
and Only Gudgeons will Bite—Eugene
V. Debs The Only Hope

By Jacob Hafl

Of all the ridiculous phases of the present presidential campaign, the Don Quixotic triumphal tour of Teddy Roosevelt, the remarkable, resplendent, retaliatory, rhomboidal rough rider and his retinue of roughs, who were saved from annihilation by the colored troops at San Juan hill; of all the morbid appeals to American manhood for support and veneration, this little tattle-tattle Te Deum Teddy toadism takes the whole cake.

Think of it, you sober men of sound, common sense, a man at the close of the nineteenth century going about a so-called enlightened and Christian country, boasting of his willingness to kill his fellowmen, and waving the scalps of his past victims in the American voter's face, and asking to be elected to second place at the head of a great country.

How much difference between this bombastic, triumphal march of bloody splendor and sounding brass of Teddy and his mob and some old barbarous chief going about through the jungles of heathendom with a dozen bleeding human heads reared on bamboo poles, and naked criers announcing at the entrance of every squalid village: "Behold the man who delights in blood! The man who kills for pleasure! Behold the bleeding heads of his last victims, who were slain by his mighty hand! Great is Potbelly Jackasso, king of the Gudgeons!"

Nonsense, do you say? Well, is it any more nonsensical than Roosevelt's appeal to American manhood? What has this man done for his country, or for humanity, outside of his rough rider fiasco at San Juan hill? Has he ever in all his miserable and insignificant life given birth to a single thought that could be applied to any social or political reform? Has he ever advocated one single idea or theory for bettering the condition of the American laboring man? Has he ever condemned child labor, or the enslavement of American women?

Our wives, mothers, sisters, sweethearts, daughters are every year driven in larger herds into the slave mills of capital, and yet this great Teddy overlooks it all, and only asks the voters to look upon him and live, the same as the children of Israel were commanded to look up to the brazen serpent in the Egyptian wilderness.

What a farce! Have we drifted back to the days of war and conquest, when the women went crying through the streets, "Saul hath slain his thousands, and David his tens of thousands!" I thought the days of brute force were past, but Teddy has resurrected the ghosts of barbarism and is trying to pose as the most holy ghost of them all. The only redeeming feature about Teddy is our genuine faith in the solemn fact that he never killed anybody to a noticeable extent. Yet Teddy sees nobody worth talking about but the men who have died on the field of battle. The American workingman has no grievance, no reason to kick. He was born a slave, and must be satisfied with his condition, or get off the earth.

And, as a companion farce comedy troupe, playing jingoism on the political platform, our great reformer, W. J. Bryan, looks over Teddy's bloody battlefields and sees only the living Filipino struggling for liberty. Bryan is a far-sighted man. He sees nothing wrong at home, except that a few of the competitive forces have grown into such big fish that they are devouring the dear little competitive fishes he loves so well.

Bryan does not believe in any more rights for the laboring man. He only wants to see capital in small lots protected from capital in large gobs. Labor does not need anything but lots of work. Laboring men are slaves, and they must not think that because they are Democrats they have any right to an inheritance on earth. The earth belongs to capital—to capital in small quantities. Bryan is opposed to billionaires, but he wants quite an army of millionaires. He wants capital to stop crushing small capitalists, but he gives it full permission to grind labor at its own sweet will.

But marching beside these two fakirs who are spreading their halo of jingoism, we find Eugene V. Debs, at the head of the Social Democratic ticket, standing on a platform that promises labor all it produces. A platform that assures the laboring man that the mistake is not the Creator's, but through just such scheming politicians as Roosevelt and Bryan have the poor been robbed of their inheritance on earth.

With due veneration for all the dead who died in the cause of human liberty, and with heartfelt sympathy for all the living anywhere on this greed-cursed ball, who are struggling for liberty and justice, our candidate and our platform recognizes the cause of liberty and justice at home as the paramount issue.

How long, great God! how long will human reason become choked on chaff? How long will the humbug and the fakir grow fat on our sweat and blood and toil, while we eat the crust of accursed slavery and cheer the dealers in human flesh who lead us to the public block, like cattle, every year? Jersey Shore, Pa.

To Workingmen

Workingmen and workingwomen produce all the wealth of the world.

Up to the present age they have been robbed by a leisure class of non-producers of a greater per cent of their wealth. Chattel slave owners of ancient times took all the wealth of their slaves; less a small amount necessary to keep them alive.

Feudal landlords owned the earth and the serfs thereto attached; men thought they were free, but they were not.

Modern capitalists own the machinery—the tools of production and distribution—and the workingmen and women, depending on wages from the capitalists for working the machines they themselves invented and made, are still enslaved to a leisure class of non-producers.

Chattel slavery was abolished and free citizenship, as then understood, was established.

Feudalism has passed away and a more or less politically free citizenship has taken its place.

Wage-slavery still remains. Is there any hope of abolishing it? Read further.

The working people abolished slavery in first one country and then another; the same with kings and feudal lords. This was not done at one time, or with very great success, for they overthrew one set of rulers only to uphold another set of rulers, that is to say, of non-producers.

Capitalism cannot be overcome by removing one capitalist and upholding another. Capitalism reaches out, around the world, it unites Earl Li in China with Krupp of Germany; the czar of Russia; Carnegie, the Scotch-American nobleman and steel magnate; Vanderbilt and all other owners of the tools of production and distribution, of land and capital.

Capitalism knows no country.

Neither does Socialism.

Capitalism aims to preserve the safety of a leisure class by the slavery of the wealth producers.

Socialism aims to preserve for the workers the wealth they produce.

The leisure class has heretofore been divided; different sets of rulers were apparently opposed to each other and the wealth producers were engaged in the useless task of turning the government over from one to another—the "ins" and the "outs."

But capitalism is international, and the working class begins to see it.

Socialism has also become international and the leisure class begins to fear it.

Socialism does not deal with the "ins" and the "outs."

Socialists are not concerned in the see-saw game between Republicans and Democrats.

Socialism is against capitalism.

Socialism is in the line of evolution of progress.

Capitalism is satisfied with conditions as they are, because the leisure class that composes it is well satisfied to receive the wealth of the working class.

The leisure class has, in truth, always been united, but machine ownership by capitalists was necessary to make this union of interests among the leisure class apparent to the wealth producers.

The working class interests are opposed to capitalism the world over, and the days of chattel-slavery, serfdom, and wage-slavery, in the interests of a leisure class, are growing less as the working class understands Socialism.

The working class is justly opposed to slavery or a system that gives a greater per cent of wealth to the leisure class, and, very naturally, any change of system must come from the working class, as it always has in the past.

International capitalism would give to the leisure class all wealth, less a small amount necessary to keep the producer alive.

International Socialism would secure to the working class all the wealth it produces.

The large capitalists will vote for capitalism—for Republicanism.

The small capitalists (desiring to be large capitalists) will vote for capitalism—for Democracy.

The wealth producers should vote for Socialism.

Vote for the Social Democratic party and its candidate for president, Eugene V. Debs, who said:

"It is infinitely better to vote for freedom and fail than to vote for slavery and succeed." HORSESHOE JOE.

The Debs-Herron pamphlet is sold at \$3 a hundred, \$15 a thousand.

Says Rockefeller Is The Peer of Shakespeare, Tra La!

According to Dr. Oscar L. Triggs, professor of literature at the University of Chicago, England, Greece and Rome are by no means the only countries of the world which have produced men of genius, whose works will make them immortal.

Dr. Triggs believes that in John D. Rockefeller and George M. Pullman America has produced men who are not only the peers of Shakespeare, Homer and Dante, in creative genius, but men who are their superiors because of the more practical value of their efforts. He rejoices in the trusts which these men have labored to form, and says they are a part of the very nature of things. Politics, too, he says, will eventually be one great trust.

In a lecture to his class in American literature yesterday Prof. Triggs said: "I am tired of hearing America criticised for its lack of artistic sense and creative power. Hereafter when people ask me who among Americans have shown a really wonderful creative genius and stand out head and shoulders above other men as Shakespeare does I shall point to John D. Rockefeller and George M. Pullman.—Chicago Record.

Tammany to Feast Mr. Bryan

New York, Oct. 9.—Richard Choker has planned a love feast to signalize William J. Bryan's first visit east in the campaign of 1900. At a meeting in Tammany hall tonight it was announced that a dinner would be given to Mr. Bryan at 5 o'clock in the afternoon of Oct. 16, in the Moorish rooms of the Hoffman house. Mr. Croker will preside. The dinner pail brigade having dined out of its tin cans at an earlier hour, will not be invited.

Wastes and Profits of Competition

Wabash, Ind., Oct. 9.—The stupendous task of destroying an industry representing an outlay of \$2,000,000 five years ago was begun today in the removal of the six-inch pipe line which starts in Nottingham township, Wells county, and runs westward 150 miles to the oil refineries at Momence, Ill. The abandonment of the line, which was built by Michael and John Cudahy, is said to be due to its purchase by the Standard Oil Company, to compete with which it was constructed. Through the transfer of the property the Cudahys are said to have cleared \$1,000,000 each. The Kankakee refineries will be closed.

Tires of a Hopeless Fight

According to the following dispatch Monnett of Ohio, the man who raised the hopes of thoughtless radicals by his legal fights on the trusts has acknowledged his defeat by going over to Bryan. Now he wants revenge, not having deep vision enough to see the Socialists' way out of the difficulty.

Columbus, Ohio, Oct. 9.—Former Attorney-General Frank S. Monnett has joined the Bryan column. Trusts are responsible for the new allegiance. Mr. Monnett for many years held office as a Republican, and during his administration as the state's legal representative he brought many suits to dissolve what he judged to be illegal combinations of capital. In none of these actions was he successful, and he was much piqued over his numerous failures.

From Humane Motives—Of Course

Chicago, Oct. 10.—Hereafter trainmen on the eastern division of the Chicago & Alton railroad will not be required to work WHEN THEY NEED REST. A. Griggs, superintendent of the division, with headquarters at Bloomington, Ill., has issued an imperative order to trainmasters, roundhouse foremen and yardmasters on the division to that effect. By his action Superintendent Griggs has launched a reform that long has been sought by trainmen everywhere, and some operating officials believe that other superintendents will spread the reform to affect the employees on the divisions in their charge.

Almost from the time that the operation of railroads in this country was begun the uncertainty of hours has been one of the most undesirable and unattractive conditions in the lives of trainmen. In these days it is not an infrequent thing for a trainman to be KEPT ON DUTY FOR TWENTY-FOUR HOURS or more, and THIRTY-FOUR and even THIRTY-SIX-HOUR "TRICKS" sometimes fall to the lot of the trainman.

Railroad officials always have realized that a trainman, employed either in yard work or in "line" work, should be alert, quick of wit and action, and, most important of all, steady and reliable, notwithstanding. Trainmen have been frequently discharged because of their refusal to respond to calls to duty WHEN THEY WERE NOT SUFFICIENTLY RESTED FROM THE EFFECTS OF A LONG "TRICK" IMMEDIATELY PREVIOUS.

Notice

Owing to the extraordinary demand for The Herald, all back numbers have been exhausted and are now out of print. We are having to refuse orders for them every day.

Social Democratic Herald

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board
EDMUND HEATH Chairman
EDMUND STEWART Secretary
EUGENE V. DEBS
VICTOR L. REMORSE
CORINNE E. BROWN

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, 50 cents. Six months, 25 cents. No papers sent to any one on credit. If without having subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and no bill will follow. Foreign subscriptions \$1.00.

Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

A. S. EDWARDS, Editor
EDMUND DEBS, National Sec'y-Treas.
120 Washington St., Chicago.

120 is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 121 your subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, OCT. 20, 1900.

NATIONAL TICKET

Social Democratic Party



For President:

EUGENE V. DEBS.

For Vice-President:

JOB HARRIMAN.

He Knows What's What

"Men may come and men may go" but it is safe to wager that Prof. Triggs will go on forever. 'Cause why? 'Cause the professor knows which side his bread is buttered on, that's why. Prof. Triggs is a pedagogue at the Rockefeller university and to his class in American literature he recently said of Rockefeller:

"With their own individual intellects they have performed two herculean tasks, and today their power is felt throughout the world. Shakespeare pictured to himself a scene and put it into words; these men conceived great industries, where thousands of men might find employment in producing what millions of people need. Who shall say that their genius was less than the genius of Shakespeare? It has a far-reaching, practical influence, and in my opinion it will be just as lasting."

Verily, Prof. Triggs is the fittest to survive as a teacher of youth in an oil-endowed university. And such men as Prof. Herron, Frank Parsons, E. Benjamin Andrews, Prof. Bemis are the unfit, don't you know!

A Democratic paper sets up a pitiful whine about the Republican congressmen using their postal franking privilege to flood the country with Republican campaign literature. The pot loth to call the kettle black. As far as our observation goes, they are both at it, and at it hard, as our comrades probably know. Every voter, capitalistic or socialistic, whose address can be secured by either of the old party national committees, stands to receive from one to five of these campaign effusions a week, sent out, post free under some congressman's name. They are ostensibly extracts from speeches delivered in congress, but most of them, as a matter of fact, are out-and-out campaign stuff, blowing hot or cold on the various fake issues of the present campaign. The franking privilege accorded members of congress is a good one when used legitimately, and is in the interest of the spread of knowledge on public questions among the people. It can be used, however, and through it the capitalistic parties save enormously in the matter of postage. In our own case, the affair is different. All Social Democratic campaign mail matter is fully prepaid in the matter of postage—we get none of Uncle Sam's charity.

A Chicago university professor says truly that the trust is the product of evolution and as such is a part of the order of things. And then he adds: "It has been coming for more than a hundred years, and seems to have reached its culmination in men like Rockefeller." That the trusts will reach their culmination in men like Rockefeller is not at all unlikely. They are voracious and will as willingly swallow each other as they do the little fish. The sooner they prepare the field for collective possession the better, and when the time comes no Rockefeller will be mighty enough to stay the people's hand.

The Democrats seem to have stolen a march on our ex-S. L. P. comrades in New York. The latter chose as their campaign device a flaming torch, and the Democrats have now sent out window lithographs of Bryan and Stevenson with the self-same torch between them. As they are ruled by passion, prejudice and ignorance, a torch ought to be a dangerous thing in the hands

of the Democrats. As the torch in this instance was originally devised to singe the pin feathers off of the arm with the hammer, our New York comrades can well afford to let it go and to center their attention on the real enemy, the capitalist system.

The Republican papers willingly print speeches made by Democrats before audiences limited to a few hundred people and the Democratic papers cheerfully print speeches made by Republicans at like meetings, and the capitalistic associated press takes pains to put long accounts of such meetings on the wires, but when Eugene V. Debs addresses a vast concourse of 8,000 people, as he did at St. Louis, two or three lines are sent out about it, and most of the papers throw the dispatch in the waste basket. Never was capitalism so afraid to have the people hear Social Democracy.

Sixteen speeches a day is the record of the presidential candidate of one of the capitalist parties, and those sixteen were all aimed at coaxing the workingman to vote the class he does not belong to into power. With all the jawing the workingmen are getting they are voting less and less for the plute candidates. Just wait till we force the old parties to discuss Socialism and then see the working class get its eyes open.

Here is a sample of many a letter that comes to headquarters from members of the vast army of men who "live by permission":

"Please send me instructions how to organize a local Social Democratic branch here. I can organize a branch here if the trust by whom I am now employed do not cut off my employment and force me to leave here to hunt for work. I am a Debs' man, first, last and all the time, and believe Alabama will put up an electoral ticket."

The Social Democratic movement calls for heroes and martyrs such as the writer of the above—and it is getting them!

"We are opposed to the government of ten million Filipinos without their consent," shouted the campaigner, and Mayor Jones shed a tear and led the applause. "And," continued the campaigner, with ringing voice, "we are also opposed to the government of seventy-five million Americans without their consent," and Mayor Jones hung his head.

Hearst's New York Journal and his western campaign sheet, the Chicago American, continue to brazenly and dishonestly to declare that Debs will withdraw in favor of Bryan. Thus far all efforts to make these papers call in the falsehood have been unavailing. They have no shame, no conscience that can be appealed to. They have a wide circle of readers who, to a large extent, read no other papers. Hearst is therefore in a position to do as he pleases, knowing that the fact of the falsity of his claim will hardly get to them. This being the case, it is a situation that should be met and our people must devise ways to get the truth to the voters. By passing denunciatory resolutions and forcing their local newspapers to publish them, by circulars even—by any means conceivable, in short, must this wrong be fought.

NOTES AND COMMENT

Right wrongs no man. Socialism is right.

What is an autocracy? It is a government in which one man; the autocrat, rules. Capitalism is autocracy.

The timidity of capital is consequent only upon the opportunities it can create to reduce the incomes of workingmen.

Capitalism pursues the methods of miscreants who hold up trains to increase its capital. The train may proceed if all aboard hand over their pocket-books.

A key note is the first or fundamental note in the scale, all other notes take their tone from it. What is the key note of labor in the campaign of 1900? Vote for Debs and Harriman.

The silk worm spins its task and dies. The rich get the silk for their adornment. The workingman performs his task, grows old, and fills a forgotten grave. The rich riot on the wealth he creates.

Chauncey M. Depew was long since due in England to dine with the Prince of Wales. Chauncey is never so much at home as when distending his waistbands with the menu luxuries of the British aristocracy.

Roosevelt, as a cowboy, learned how to punch and round up cattle, brand them and ship them to the shambles. In his rough-riding tour over the country he is punching and rounding up working men and trying to put his brand upon them to be counted at the polls as his steers, to be skinned by capitalism if he and McKinley are elected.

Truth forever on the scaffold,
Wrong forever on the throne,
Socialists, though often baffled,
Will yet cheer the world in every zone;
Bounded by Truth's sacred light,
With shouts of triumph for the right.

Capitalism has a cinch upon all the great industrial enterprises of the land. Like the centurion to his soldiers, it says to thousands of workingmen "go" and "they go;" to other thousands, "come," and "they cometh." It is an autocrat whose word is law, and labor must obey or starve.

A footpad may take your watch, your coat, your cash, or even your dinner pail, but he does not cut down your wages or remand you to idleness. Capitalism strips you naked, closes factory and shop and sends you forth to join the army of tramps and become a footpad yourself, if you resist its demands.

In dividing the game between the white man and the Indian, the white man said to "Poor Lo": "You take the buzzard and I'll take the turkey, or I'll take the turkey and you take the buzzard." In dividing the wealth which labor creates the capitalist says to the workingman: "You do the work and I'll take the profits, or I'll take the profits and you do the work." The Indian's reply to the white man's proposition was: "You no say turkey to me once." And the workingman replies to the capitalist: "You no say profits to me once."

Notes of the Movement

Philadelphia, Oct. 8.—A flutter of excitement went round the meeting of the delegates to the United German Trades Union yesterday, when it was announced that Eugene V. Debs, the presidential candidate of the Socialist party, will be in this city on Thursday, Oct. 25. An effort will be made today to secure the Academy of Music for that date, so that the Socialist leader can have a suitable place in which to further his campaign.

Aside from reports by the delegates of various trades, the principal business transacted was the donations of money to the Socialist campaign fund, to the Galveston sufferers, and to the textile workers in Jamestown, N. Y.

Money was voted to the Socialist campaign fund by unions as follows: Bakers, \$5; Brewers, \$25; German Machinists, \$10; Beer Drivers, \$15; Butchers, \$5; Musicians, \$5; Typographers, No. 1, \$20. Following are the amounts of money sent to Galveston: Woodworkers, \$10; Typographers, No. 1, \$15. The striking textile workers of Jamestown received contributions as follows: German Machinists, \$10; Upholsterers, No. 37, \$5; Butchers, \$5; Typographers, No. 1, \$5.

Milwaukee, Oct. 10.—The Milwaukee Federated Trades Council has voted \$50 to the Social Democratic campaign fund. At a recent meeting a committee of seven stanch and well-known union men was appointed to visit the meetings of the various unions of the city and to show them why it was necessary for the workingman to work actively for the Social Democratic party. Thus far the committee has met with cordial receptions and has been listened to attentively. Some idea of the keen interest in the campaign among workingmen may be had from the fact that a second lot of tickets had to be printed for the entertainment and ball which the party will give at the Freie Gemeinde Hall, Fourth street, Sunday, Oct. 21. Prof. Herron will speak Thursday, Oct. 18, at Lincoln Hall, Sixth street and Grand avenue, and a big crowd is assured. On Monday evening, Oct. 22, the big Debs' meeting will take place, the Pabst theater having been secured for the purpose. It is a large auditorium and centrally located. Our comrades have just decided to have 1,000 of the Debs' lithograph portraits posted on the billboards of the city under a guarantee from the bill posters that they will remain up until election day.

British Columbia, Oct. 8.—Wednesday, Oct. 3, was a red letter day in the history of Socialism in this province, for the first annual convention was held in the city of Vancouver of the Socialist organizations of British Columbia, together with the opening of a new hall built by the United Socialist party of Vancouver. The convention was attended by delegates from the Nanaimo Socialists and from the Canadian Socialist League of Victoria, Port Moody, Saperton, and other points. Some others sent letters of regret. Resolutions were passed calling on the Socialist organizations to join in political action, to abstain from political action in the coming Dominion election save in the Delta district where Comrade Will McClain has been nominated for parliament by the Fraser river fishermen on a strict Socialistic platform. Resolutions were also passed urging the building up of the trade union movement and the educating of trade unionists on correct economic lines. J. M. Cameron was made secretary of the central organization, and a committee of three appointed to draw up a manifesto. In the evening the hall was appropriately dedicated, with Frank Webster presiding. Ernest Burns made the dedication address and

remarks were also made by J. M. Cameron, Rev. McCall, Ben Baker, Will McClain, and T. Matthews. There was great enthusiasm and the meeting closed with three cheers for the social revolution. The U. S. P. was originally formed of members of the Vancouver section of the S. L. P., who had become disgusted with the blind, intolerant bigotry and abusive propaganda of the Socialist Labor party. The methods and tactics of the U. S. P. are identical with those of the S. D. P. of America.

Chicago.—A meeting will be held at 2525 S. Halsted street, Sunday, Oct. 21, at 3 p. m. Speakers, F. G. Strickland, Peter Knickrehn, and E. Svoboda. A distinguished comrade from Germany, a member of the Bricklayers' union, will address a meeting Sunday, Oct. 28, at 714 Blue Island avenue, at 3 p. m. The other speakers will be Comrade Collins, of the Machinists' union and candidate for congress Peter Knickrehn, of the Cigarmakers' union, Comrade Kurzer, of the Amalgamated Woodworkers, Philip Brown and F. Svoboda, members of the state campaign committee. The ninth anniversary, concert and ball of the Socialist Saengerbund, will be held at Brand's hall, Clark and Erie streets, Sunday, Oct. 21, at 3 p. m.

Gossipy Dashes

New York comrades will wind up the campaign with a torchlight procession.—Comrade A. S. Edwards, of THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD, who is making a speaking tour through Indiana, will speak in Terre Haute, Oct. 22. Meetings at Clinton and Brazil have also been arranged. He spoke in Muncie on the 17th.—Kier Hardie and John Burns of Battersea, have been sent to Parliament by our English comrades.—Beyven, a long established Scandinavian paper, has come out for the party.—The Reveille of Butte, Montana, ought to add Gov. Steunenberg to the list of Democratic candidates it urges laboring men to vote for.—An exchange quotes a traveling man as saying that every two out of three votes cast for Debs in Indiana will come from former republicans.—The Chicago American of Sunday, Oct. 14, ran a half-page display contributed editorial from Prof. Herron, "Why I am a Socialist."—This campaign presents some woeful sights. Renegade Powderly is campaigning against the Socialists. Helen Gouger, who has tried to maintain that she was "a Socialist, too," is at the same game. And then

"It is infinitely better to vote for freedom and fail, than to vote for slavery and succeed."—Eugene V. Debs.

LOCAL BRANCHES

Notices of Branch Meetings Inserted for 25 Cents per Month

CALIFORNIA
Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evenings, commencing at 8. Admission free. Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening.
Membership, Social Dem. Oct. 1: 1erald free to each member, 25 cents per month.
Apply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk street.
Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 8 o'clock at Woodman's Hall, 1234 Spring St. J. Franco, 700 Dayton Ave., Secretary.
Branch No. 2, San Francisco (German), holds business meetings first Sunday each month, at 1 o'clock p. m., at 117 Turk street. Agitation meeting on third Sunday evening, same place, to which public is invited. August F. Mayer, secretary, 1440 Polk street.

COLORADO
Branch No. 1, Denver, meets every Sunday at 8:30 p. m., at 1715 California Ave., Chas. M. Davis, Secretary, 1629 17th Street.
Branch No. 3, Goldenfield, meets every Sunday at 7:30 p. m., at City Hall. Chas. Le Camp, Secretary.

CONNECTICUT
The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at 8 p. m., at P. Schaffer's, 1029 Main St., Hartford. Louis Schial, Sec., 28 Spring St., Rockville, Conn.
Branch No. 3, New Haven, meets every Wednesday evening at 8 p. m., at Anson's Hall. C. Volmer, Sec.
Branch No. 4, Bridgeville, Conn., meets first and third Thursdays at Turn Hall meeting room, Village street. Secretary, Richard Niederwieser, Box 760.

ILLINOIS
Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 63 Dearborn St.
Branch No. 1, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening. Thomas Kirwin, Secretary, 2604 Westworth Ave.
Branch No. 2 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets first and third Sundays at 8 p. m., at N. E. Hall, 135 Blue Island street. Ferdinand Svoboda, Secretary, 694 West 18th Street.

Branch No. 3 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Mondays at 8 p. m., in Dundee's place, 1050 W. 18th place. Joseph Dundee, Secretary.
Branch No. 4, Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays of each month at Piskir's Hall, corner Centre av. and 19th st. Joe Cerny, Sec'y, 380 W. 18th St.
Branch No. 5, Chicago, meets at Adolph Jankowski's place, 80 West 31st street, every other Saturday in the month. A. Getzler, Sec., 754 W. 30th street.

Branch No. 6 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays, at 8 p. m., at 8023 Line Street. J. A. Ambros, Secretary, 4840 Wood Street.
Branch No. 8, Chicago, meets at 1148 W. 3rd st., first and third Sundays at 8 p. m. Gus Larson, Secretary, 2343 Center avenue.

INDIANA
Branch No. 4, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichwein's Hall, corner Market and Noble st. Address all communications to the Sec. of State Executive Board, Thomas C. Catton, 617 Arbor ave.
Branch No. 1, Ellettsburg, meets every fourth Friday in the month at 8 p. m., in James Baxter, chairman, Wm. Truman, secretary, Box 131.

KENTUCKY
Branch No. 4, Bellevue, meets 1st and 3rd Sunday, at 2 p. m., and 2nd and 4th Wednesday at 8 p. m., at 91 Fairfield ave. We will aim to make it interesting for all. Henry Listerman, Sec., 128 Foote ave.

MASSACHUSETTS
Branch No. 2, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at Sprindale Turner Hall. Carl Schwab, Organizer, 21 Jackson St.
Branch No. 3, Lynn, permanent headquarters 71 Monroe St. Business meeting every Monday night at 7:30. Open house. Public invited. Harry Gozmer, Sec., 428 Essex St.

Branch No. 4, Brockton, meets Friday nights at 8 p. m., for business at Socialists Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Center Sts. Every comrade is expected to attend one meeting a month. Mrs. Annie Borworth, Secretary, 21 Prospect St.
Branch No. 20, Roxbury, Mass., meets at 21 Warren st., 3d and 4th Fridays of every month. Public invited.

think of Ellen Lease stumping for McKinley!—A "golden rule" policeman in Toledo forced a S. D. P. agitator to cease speaking.—Mother Jones has been doing valiant service in the coal strike region.—John Voss of Manitowoc has been nominated for congress from the sixth Wisconsin district. The legislative nominees from the first and second Wisconsin districts are Fred Luedke of Manitowoc and Henry Goeres of Kiel, respectively.—In Chicago the republicans are sending out "heart to heart" talk-wagons to the factory district. Heart to heart is good. The heart of the predatory class is a minus quantity.

The following comrades constitute the Wisconsin state campaign committee: Victor L. Berger, John Doerfler, Eugene H. Rooney, Emil Seidel, L. A. Arnold, Jacob Hunger, and Edward Ziegler.

No Social Democrat's library, however small, is complete without a copy of the Social Democracy Red Book. Order it while the edition still lasts. It contains information you can get nowhere else. Price 15 cents, this office.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS

A. B.—"Merry England," with preface by Debs, can be secured at this office. The price is 10 cents. The facts you are looking for can be found in Prof. Thorold Rogers' "Six Centuries of Work and Wages." We have it on sale at 25 cents.

E. P. Hasenger, Wis.—That annoyance will be but transitory. The Democratic party has not long to live. Its following will before long disperse, some to go into the ultra capitalist Republican party and the rank and file into the ranks of militant Socialism. The Democratic party is falsely named, and ours is the task to show that this is so. Our party stands for just what its name indicates, for a society democratically administered. Any confusion as to its name on the part of the public is due to the fact that we have hitherto been too small to be correctly known by it. This campaign is settling that and hereafter the confusion will disappear. The objection to the name Socialist party is that it is not explicit, there being various kinds of socialism. It may mean Black socialism, or Christian socialism (which has no thought of the class struggle and centers its interest in profit-sharing and like palliatives—vide Kingsley, Hughes, et al.), or Utopian socialism. As our kind of socialism—scientific or modern socialism—really stands for democracy in its truest, most literal sense, we fail to see any wisdom in advocating a change of name.

J. E. C., Mo.—The comrade you refer to left the campaign to attend the congress at Paris.

Wm. J. N.—If you are skeptical about the conspiracy of silence, just try personally to get Debs' speeches over the Associated Press. The Associated Press agent in your city will do some amusing squirming if you try to personally corner him. Try it.

MICHIGAN

Branch No. 1, Battle Creek, Mich., meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of each month, at 8 p. m., at 30 W. Main Street, in the International Congress Hall. All are cordially invited. L. O. Rogers, Secretary.

MINNESOTA

Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Gosswein, on Main St. A. Kingsbury, Secretary.

MISSOURI

Branch No. 7, Kansas City, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m., at 1200 Union Ave. G. J. Storr, Secretary, 1200 W. 9th St.

MONTANA

Branch No. 1, Butte, meets every Thursday, at 8:30 p. m., Engineers' Hall, Owsley Block. G. Frankel, Sec., 71 E. Park Street.
Branch No. 2, meets first and third Sundays of each month at G. W. Wood's home, Chico, Mont.

NEW JERSEY

Branch No. 1, Secretary, Michael W. Schor, 81 Livingston st.
Branch No. 5, Camden, N. J., meets every 2d Sunday of the month. For particulars address Paul Edering, 1208 Kaighn's Avenue.
Branch No. 3 (German) Newark, meets every third Saturday, at International Hall, 7 Bedford St. Hans Harwig, Secretary, 7 Bedford St.
Branch No. 6 (German), Paterson, N. J., meets first and third Mondays at 8 p. m., at Helvetia Hall, 644 Van Houten St. Karl Linder, Secretary, 344 Edmond St.

NEW YORK

The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York, meets every second Tuesday at 412 Grand street, Windsor Hall. James Allman, Secretary, 22 Suffolk st. care of "Forward."
East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every first and third Thursday at 115 Clinton St. A. Guyer, Secretary, 145 Suffolk St.
Branch No. 5, Brooklyn, New York, meets every Saturday at 8 p. m., at 56 Moore St. Visitors welcome. Comrades desiring to organize should communicate with Secretary Sol. Freeman, 126 Boerum St.
Branch No. 14, New York, meets every Friday, at 8 p. m., 209 E. Broadway. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Organizer, Joseph Williams, 56 Henry st.

OHIO

Branch No. 4, Cincinnati, meets at Richelieu Hall southeast corner 9th and Plum Sts., every Sunday at 1 p. m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Joe Jasin, Secretary, 1430 Central Avenue.

RHODE ISLAND

Branch No. 1, Portland, meets every Monday night at Washington Hotel, Cor. 3d and Grand st. Every body invited. T. C. Weidland, chairman; Mrs. N. E. Fortlich, secretary.

PENNSYLVANIA

Branch No. 1, Philadelphia, meets every Monday, at 8 p. m., at 423 E. 3rd Street, until further notice.
Branch No. 4, Connersport, Meets every second and last Wednesday of each month in K. of L. hall. Chas. Knispel, Chairman; L. M. Morse, Secretary, Ben. Codrington, Treasurer.
Branch No. 5, Philadelphia, meets first Friday of each month—Executive meets every 3d Friday morning at S. D. P. Club Rooms, at 423 E. Third St. Organizer, M. Gillir, 1007 E. Third St.

Branch No. 10, Williamsport, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2 p. m., in Social Labor hall, No. 78 East 3d St. G. B. Smith, chairman; Jno. Logan, secretary, 243 Second St. Public invited.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee Central Committee, S. D. P., meets second and fourth Monday of each month at Stevens' Hall, southeast corner Fourth and Chestnut st.
Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets at Kallier's Hall, Fourth Street, between State and Prairie, every second and fourth Thursday evening.
Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Friday in Geatke's Hall, corner Green Bay and Concordia Ave.

Branch No. 2, Sheboygan, Meets every second Thursday of the month at Emil Henderlich's place, 1311 Milwaukee ave. Secretary, Eugene F. Hickenberger, 174 N. 11th street.
Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday each month at Miller's Hall, corner 2nd and Brown Sts. George Moerschel, Secretary, 201 5th St.

Branch No. 5, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at R. Sigel's Hall, corner east corner Orchard St. and 9th Ave. O. Wild, Secretary, 1111 11th St.

Branch No. 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of each month at Volkmar's Hall, 11 and Center st., 8 p. m. Secretary, Randolph Loeschmeyer, 1128 13th St.

Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets second and fourth Wednesday of each month, at 524 Clark street. Henry Harbicht, Sec., 1074 7th Street.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

THE NATIONAL PLATFORM

Adopted at the Indianapolis Convention, March, 1900

NOW READY TWO GREAT SPEECHES

Should be Read by Socialists Everywhere
and Put into the Homes of Non-Socialists

Delivered at Central Music Hall, Chicago, Saturday,
September 29, 1900, by

EUGENE V. DEBS
AND
PROF. GEO. D. HERRON
A Splendid Campaign Document

Sixteen Page Pamphlet. Price, Five Cents
One Hundred, \$3.00

Address, 126 Washington St., Chicago

NEW BRANCHES

Massachusetts, three.
Wisconsin, two.
Illinois, two.

NATIONAL SECRETARY-TREASURER

THEODORE DEBS

No. 126 Washington Street, Chicago.

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness depend upon equal political and economic rights.

In our economic development an industrial revolution has taken place, the individual tool of former years having become the social tool of the present. The individual tool was owned by the worker who employed himself and was master of his product. The social tool, the machine, is owned by the capitalist and the worker is dependent upon him for employment. The capitalist thus becomes the master of the worker and is able to appropriate to himself a large share of the product of his labor.

Capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people; but the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system will necessitate the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare.

The present system of social production and private ownership is rapidly converting society into two antagonistic classes—i. e., the capitalist class and the propertyless class. The middle class, once the most powerful of this great nation, is disappearing in the mill of competition. The issue is now between the two classes first named. Our political liberty is now of little value to the masses unless used to acquire economic liberty.

Independent political action and the trade union movement are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its political, the other its economic wing, and both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system.

Therefore the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be:

First—The organization of the working class into a political party to conquer the public powers now controlled by capitalists.

Second—The abolition of wage-slavery by the establishment of a national system of co-operative industry, based upon the social or common ownership of the means of production and distribution, to be administered by society in the common interest of all its members, and the complete emancipation of the socially useful classes from the domination of capitalism.

The working class and all those in sympathy with their historic mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America. The control of political power by the Social Democratic party will be tantamount to the abolition of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting the millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international Socialism, the brotherhood of man. As steps in that direction, we make the following demands:

First—Revision of our federal constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to complete

control of government by the people irrespective of sex.

Second—The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

Third—The public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones; all means of transportation, and communication; all water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

Fourth—The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal, and other mines, and all oil and gas wells.

Fifth—The reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

Sixth—The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

Seventh—Useful inventions to be free, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

Eighth—Labor legislation to be national, instead of local, and international when possible.

Ninth—National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.

Tenth—Equal civil and political rights, for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

Eleventh—The adoption of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

Twelfth—Abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

ROBERT MEISTER.....Chairman
JOSEPH R. FINN.....Treasurer
SEYMOUR STEDMAN.....Secretary
Address, 126 Washington St., Chicago.

FINANCE COMMITTEE

EDWARD ZEIGLER.....Chairman
JOSEPH R. FINN.....Treasurer
JAMES WRIGHT.....Secretary
Address, 126 Washington St., Chicago

COMMITTEE ON LITERATURE

A. S. EDWARDS.....Chairman
VICTOR L. BERGER.....Secretary

COMMITTEE ON PRINTING

JOSEPH WINNEN.....Chairman
PHILIP BROWN.....Secretary

COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

SEYMOUR STEDMAN.....Chairman
ARTHUR DENNISON.....Secretary

COMMITTEE ON SPEAKERS

OSCAR LOEBEL.....Chairman
SEYMOUR STEDMAN.....Secretary

NATIONAL PAPER OF THE PARTY:

The Social Democratic Herald
50 CENTS A YEAR.
126 Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.

HEADQUARTERS: 126 WASHINGTON ST., CHICAGO

WHERE DEBS WILL SPEAK

Omaha, Neb.....	October 16
Clinton, Iowa.....	" 17
Muscatine, Iowa.....	" 18
Davenport, Iowa.....	" 19
Burlington, Iowa.....	" 20
Sheboygan, Wis.....	" 21
Milwaukee, Wis.....	" 22
Cleveland, Ohio.....	" 23
Wheeling, W. Va.....	" 24
Philadelphia.....	" 25
Trenton, N. J.....	" 26
Whitman, Mass.....	" 27
Boston, Mass.....	" 28
Rockland, Mass.....	" 29
New York City.....	" 30
Connecticut.....	" 31
Connecticut.....	November 1
Rochester.....	" 2
Evansville.....	" 4
Terre Haute.....	" 5

NOTES FROM THE FIELD

Fifteen cents will purchase *Merrile England in the German language*, adapted to American needs. If you don't read German, buy one for your friends.

Don't be contented to live among anti-Socialist neighbors. Convert 'em!

Smiley's excellent pamphlet, "To What Are Trusts Leading?", sent free to any address for 5 cents.

Modern Socialism, by Chas. H. Vail, 180 pages, 25 cents, this office.

The campaign committee has a few dozen photographs, cabinet size, of Eugene V. Debs, which they are selling at 15 cents each.

Comrade Albert E. Tibbetts of Hyde Park, Mass., has been nominated as a candidate for the legislature from the Third Norfolk district.

Portions of Comrade Debs' reply to Mayor Jones got into the daily papers and furnished good warm reading for people with consciences.

The small 4-page leaflet used by the Chicago comrades is good for any part of the country; 1,000 to any address, postage paid, for 75 cents.

Comrade Jesse Cox, ex-chairman of the national executive board and Secretary Seymour Stedman are campaigning in Milwaukee and Sheboygan this week.

The national emblem of the party, adopted by the national campaign committee and printed on second page of the Herald, will be furnished to branches and committees at 25 cents, postage paid.

Comrade Julius Fix of Lincoln, Ill., is our party candidate for congress in the Seventeenth Illinois district. He is a cigarmaker, an old time worker, and a trade unionist.

Branches in the 11th Congressional District of Massachusetts are requested to elect representatives on the congressional committee and report as soon as possible to R. F. Schmidt, 35 Creighton St., Roxbury.

Members of the Social Democratic branches who are vitally interested in the cause of Socialism will not permit these present days, which are of vast importance to the cause, to pass by without paying their membership dues. This is the nearest to hand duty of every Social Democrat.

Get your friend that you are trying to convert to read *The Co-Operative Commonwealth*, by Lawrence Grovland. You can have it for fifty cents by sending to this office.

The Indianapolis Press has discovered that there are quite a number of Debs voters among the men in the railroad shops at Ft. Wayne, Ind.

It is of the highest importance that all branches remit at the earliest time possible, the quarterly dues for members. The prompt payment of dues is necessary to the proper carrying on of the work at headquarters.

Among the 'five-cent books,' Debs' great speech on "Liberty," his address on "Prison Labor," and Hyndman's Socialism and Slavery, can be used effectively in propaganda. This office.

Socialists willing to assist in forming new branches of the Social Democratic party are requested to communicate with the secretary, Theodore Debs, 126 Washington street, Chicago.

The Debs leaflet, at 75 cents per thousand, charges paid, is much the best leaflet for propaganda in some localities. We should receive more orders for them. They are small, but to the point, and will make S. D. P. votes.

Howard Tuttle, candidate of our party for governor of Wisconsin, has begun a speaking tour of the state and will visit the chief centers so far as possible in the time remaining to him.

The National Committee is now prepared to furnish Leaflet No. 2, Ben Atterbury's "Letter to American Workmen," in German. The price is \$1.25 per thousand. Send in your orders at once and put it out among your German friends.

The Chicago Daily News of Oct. 10, in making fun of Roosevelt and Bryan, exchanging salutations as their special trains passed by each other; printed a cartoon in which various political enemies were grouped in attitudes of mock friendliness. Among others were Debs and Depew "Swapping stories."

Comrades: Wherever our candidate speaks during the present month (see list of cities in this issue of the Herald) the local branches should have thousands of leaflets to distribute at the meetings, lithographs to display in store windows, and stickers by the thousands.

Our German comrades will do well to distribute the German translation of leaflet No. 2, Ben Atterbury's "Letter to American Workmen." Give every German voter a copy and you will much increase the German Socialist vote. The price is \$1.25 a thousand. Send in your orders.

It is advisable to stamp all leaflets, etc., with the local branch address and time of meeting, in order to get more direct returns for the work of distributing them. Let the voters of your locality know of your meeting, and then provide a good speaker to explain the principles of Socialism.

The portrait of the presidential candidate gives great satisfaction. Thousands have been mailed to branches and comrades in all sections of the country. It should be seen in every community; it informs the observer, directs attention to the party and makes votes. Ten copies, 35 cents; 33 for a dollar; single copy, 10 cents; postage prepaid.

THE CAMPAIGN FUND

Branch 21, Wisconsin.....	\$ 10.00
Branch 1.....	3.00
John Aird, Chicago.....	1.00
S. M. Towner, New York.....	1.00
J. B. P. Springfield.....	1.00
F. P. V.....	1.00
O. Fellows, Pasadena.....	8.00
S. C. Mead, Chicago.....	2.00
W. Wilkinson, New Glasgow.....	1.00
J. E. Collins.....	1.00
Arthur Nagel, Chicago.....	2.00
Wm. Towner, New York.....	1.00
O. T. Tanner, New Boston.....	1.00
Branch 8, Massachusetts.....	5.00
Branch 6, Massachusetts.....	4.00
Emily Thomas, Union Springs.....	1.00
A. T. Kirby, Chicago.....	1.00
Twisty & Liss, New York.....	2.00
A. Anderson, Butte.....	2.00
E. H. Thomas, New Glasgow.....	14.00
J. R. Beckwith, Essex.....	1.00
Robt. Swift, Cincinnati.....	1.00
Cash, Ardmore.....	1.00
Previously reported.....	1,542.66
	\$1,600.16

If you have your eye on a friend or fellow workman who is half a Socialist and whom you wish to make a real, full-fledged one, the best thing you can do is to get him to pay fifty cents for a year's subscription to the Social Democratic Herald. If after reading the Herald a year he is not a Socialist, it will not be your fault.

SPECIAL CAMPAIGN NUMBER NEXT WEEK

Number 10 will be a special campaign propaganda issue, and it will be a hot one. The contents will be selected as to make the paper interesting to everyone. To begin with, it will have a

SPECIAL ENGRAVED HEADING

Order it in bundles and give it out at your meetings. It will be a Socialist maker! Jump in with your orders, as time is short. The campaign will soon be over, work done now will count at the ballot box.

PRICE:—65 CENTS PER HUNDRED COPIES, IN BUNDLES

The Illinois Socialists will hold another mass meeting in Central Music Hall, Chicago, October 31. Comrade Geo. D. Herron will give one of the addresses. Every seat in the house will be sold for the uniform price of fifteen cents. The sale of seats will open at Room 64, 163 Randolph St., Saturday, October 2. Not more than twenty tickets will be sold to one person during the first day of sale.

Our speakers in Indiana have been giving the Democratic managers conipition fits. When Bryan heard last week that Comrades Oneal and Evenger had gone to the town of Linton to speak, he hurried there with his special train to try to offset the result of their visit! The probabilities are that before the close of the campaign men like Oneal and other Social Democratic speakers will have their footsteps dogged by the great Democratic candidate.

FLORIDA SOCIALISTS

E. C. Smith, Ocala, Fla., chairman of the State Executive Committee, Social Democratic Party, wants the name and address of every Socialist and sympathizer in the state.

Are you the only Socialist in your town or in your factory? The Social Democratic Herald will furnish you with the best arguments for Socialism to fire at your neighbors and friends and the members of your union. The Herald will give you Socialism up-to-date and supply you with the most telling ammunition for your arguments.

The new leaflets, Nos. 3, 4, 5 and 6, are going out fast. We hope to put in another order with the printers in a week or ten days.

The No. 2 leaflet, by Ben Atterbury, to the American workingman, has run a quarter of a million in the English edition. It is an excellent vote maker and can now be supplied in German, Polish and Bohemian.

Do not save a large order until the last week of the campaign and then expect us to fill it by return mail or express. Order now.

If you want to be a good, reliable member of the Social Democratic army you should be posted on the past history of the party and the Socialist movement in this country from the early days down. Only in this way can you understand the significance and aims of the present day movement. You will find what you want in the Red Book.

The Chicago central committee passed the following resolution at its regular meeting on Wednesday, Oct. 10, 1900:

"The Chicago central committee of the Social Democratic party, recognizing devotion, ability and worth of Comrade Seymour Stedman, do hereby request and insist that he reconsider his declination of the nomination for a member of the national executive committee, and do further again nominate him for that position.

"We further express our confidence in his honesty and integrity."

PHILIP T. BROWN,
Temporary Secretary.

WANTED

Five Hundred Social Democrats to give One Dollar each to the National Campaign Fund for the work of the committee during the last three weeks of the campaign. The committee is dependent entirely upon voluntary contributions from friends of the movement for funds to discharge the duty assigned to it.

It expects every Social Democrat to do HIS duty.

Illustrated campaign souvenir. Stirring "Songs of Justice," inscribed to E. V. Debs, and Social Democrats of the world, by Rev. H. S. Geneva Lake. Fine. Price, 10c; 15 for \$1. This office.

Debs and Harriman Buttons

At last we have the **BUTTONS**, and at the right prices, **UNION MADE**. Both candidates on the button.

PRICES:

2 Buttons, 5 cents
5 Buttons, 10 cents
12 Buttons, 20 cents

All larger orders than a dozen, 1 1/2 cents each. Charges paid.

National Campaign Committee, S. D. P.
126 WASHINGTON ST. CHICAGO



IF YOU SYMPATHIZE WITH TRADE UNIONS

You will encourage the sale
OF UNION LABEL GOODS

If you want Union Label Shoes demand the above Union Label. No shoe is Union made unless it bears the Union Label. No charge for reply for the Union Label. Send your shoe dealer and take no return. Send for latest list of factories. Subscribe for "The Union Boot and Shoe Worker," 50 cts per year.

Boot and Shoe Workers Union,
620 Atlantic Ave., Boston, Mass.

CAMPAIGN LEAFLETS

PUSH THEM OUT AND MAKE VOTES

No. 1—Address to Unorganized Socialists

Contains information concerning the Socialist movement in the United States, the party and its methods, object and program.

No. 2—An Open Letter to the Average American Workman

By Ben Atterbury. This is an admirable and convincing paper on the wage question, production, distribution of wealth and an appeal to the intelligence of the working class.

No. 3—Machine Production Where the Profits Go.

The argument of this leaflet is a clincher because taken from the government reports made by the Commissioner of Labor, and proves that machinery, combinations, trusts and systematized production must lead to socialism. It's the only way out.

No. 4—Toilers of America Vote for Your Freedom.

This is a remarkably effective campaign document. Written by a prominent member of the United Mine Workers, it sets forth in a convincing manner the reasons why the miners of the country, railroadmen and all other wage workers should support the Social Democratic ticket.

No. 5—Industrial Crises— Cause and Cure.

A strong appeal to the common sense of the voters, this leaflet gives the Socialist view of industrial crises and convincingly shows that Socialism is the necessary solution.

No. 6—Platform and Debs Epigrams.

This is a very attractive addition to our campaign literature; it gives the party platform complete with a collection of the very best epigrammatic sentences from the lectures of Eugene V. Debs, together with other striking contributions.

Put Them Into the Hands of Every
Workingman

PRICES.

50 Copies	\$.10
100 Copies .....	.15
250 Copies .....	.25
500 Copies .....	.50
1,000 Copies	1.00
5,000 Copies	5.00

POSTAGE PAID.

Send orders to Campaign Committee
Social Democratic Party, 126 Washington
street, Chicago, Ill.

A PRIMER OF SOCIALISM

A 32-page pamphlet which contains in addition to the "Primer of Socialism," by G. O. Clemens, "Socializing a State," by the late Laurence Gronlund, and "Economic Terms and Phrases," by A. P. Hazel.

One of the strongest pamphlets for propaganda yet issued. A splendid vote-maker, and thousands should be circulated before election.

PER COPY, 5 CENTS—PER 100, \$1.50

Address, Debs Publishing Co.

Terre Haute, Indiana.

STICK UP THE STICKERS

MAKE THE FACT STICK

That Socialism is Here to Stick

STICKERS NOW READY

They are two inches square, and a capital thing for Propaganda because they can be used in a hundred ways.

Sent only in packages of 500 or more. Price of 500, by mail, 50 cents.

Address, CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE,

126 Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

THIRD YEAR. No. 19.

CHICAGO, ILL., U.S.A., SATURDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1900.

Whole No. 121.

Is Advancing in Quickstep Time

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE READY FOR SOCIALISM

CAPITALISM ALREADY ON THE RUN

Tremendous Meetings in Nebraska and Iowa

Progress of the Campaign

During the past week the presidential candidate of the Social Democratic party passed through the states of Nebraska, Iowa and Wisconsin, with tremendous meetings everywhere. He spoke at Omaha, Clinton, Muscatine, Davenport, Burlington, Sheboygan and Milwaukee. The size of his meetings has been a genuine surprise to the old parties, and the enthusiasm for Social Democracy all along the line has taken them off their feet. Up to time of going to press we are able to insert reports of the meetings specified below.

A Dense Crowd at Omaha

The Debs meeting at Omaha on the 16th was a bombshell in the camps of the two wings of capitalism. He held his hearers as under a spell for two hours and a half. State Organizer Edwards writes: "His appeal to American manhood fell on eager, listening ears. The absolute benefit to the cause in Omaha can hardly be measured." Some idea of the meeting may be had from brief quotations from the capitalist papers. Said the Omaha Bee: "Eugene V. Debs opened his campaign in Omaha as candidate of the Social Democratic party for president last night at Washington hall, which was crowded to the doors to hear him. The stage was filled with sympathizers and there was no room left in the gallery. Mr. Debs was introduced by Clement Ryan, chairman of the Social Democratic organization. Some 200 or 300 of the audience crowded forward to the stage to grasp Mr. Debs' hand when he finished, many of them being women and enthusiasts."

Under the caption, "Debs Talks to a Big Audience," the Omaha News prints a column report and a large cut of the speaker.

The World-Herald, a Bryanite paper, printed an eight-line report, but admitted that the meeting was a big one.

The Iowa Tour

Comrade A. W. Ricker writes: "The tour of Comrade Eugene V. Debs through Iowa has been a continuous ovation. Such crowds have seldom greeted a public speaker in Iowa as filled the seats, jammed the aisles and were turned away at the doors—and in spite of the intense opposition of the two old parties, who have seen their following among the working class slowly and surely walk away, and without a band or torchlight on our part to invite them, with one single exception. In truth, we are as much amazed as the politicians. In all the cities visited two-thirds of the audiences have been from the labor ranks, who have listened, cheered and thrown away their McKinley and Bryan buttons. At Clinton the meeting was the largest in numbers and the most intense in interest of any held by any party in years. At least 500 people were turned away. At Muscatine the largest hall in the town was packed to the doors and hundreds turned away. At Davenport the great Turner opera house, holding 1,800 people, was packed to suffocation and hundreds also turned away. At Burlington the story of the other three cities was repeated. The politicians are unnerved. Brass bands, torchlight processions, free passes on railroads and street cars, all have failed to draw the crowds that have greeted the Socialist leaders. Hundreds of voters have been converted beyond a doubt. The election will surprise and strike with consternation the old party politicians. Capitalism has waxed fat through being able to weaken labor at the ballot by dividing it. The breaking of the chains of partisanship and the coming together of the working class into one mighty class-conscious workingman's movement marks the eve of the fall of capitalist oppression."

A Crush at Clinton

"Candidate for President on the Social Democratic Ticket Draws an Immense Audience to the People's Theater," is the way a heading in the Clinton Daily Herald reads. It printed a three-column report, also noticing the remarks of Comrade Ricker and Comrade Breckon, the candidate of our party for congress.

And at Muscatine

"Stein's Hall Was Packed," reads a headline in the Muscatine Journal, and its report opened as follows:

"Last evening at Stein's hall the disciples of Socialism held forth, and a remarkably fine audience was out to hear them, the hall being packed to its utmost capacity. George A. Lloyd, who has been prominently identified with the Socialist movement in this state for some time, presided over the meeting, and the speakers of the evening were Charles L. Breckman, candidate on the Socialist ticket for congressman from this district, and Eugene V. Debs, presidential candidate."

The Muscatine News gave a column report, quoting the speaker at length and commenting on the fact of his having a greater audience than one of the old parties had the night before.

The Davenport Demonstration

Under the flaring heading, "Thousands Hear Debs at the Turner Opera House," the Davenport Republican ran a three-column report of the meeting,

together with an amusing and harmless cartoon on Debs copied from the Minneapolis Tribune. "Social Democratic Candidate for President Makes a Fine Explanation of the Movement of Which He is Leader," the headlines continue, and then comes this introduction: "At 8 o'clock last evening Turner opera house was crowded with a larger audience than any political speaker, except Col. Roosevelt, has been able to attract during the present campaign. Every seat in the parquet, gallery and boxes was occupied and standing room was at a premium. The attraction was Eugene V. Debs, the Social Democratic nominee for president of the United States, who talked for nearly two hours and held the close attention of his audience during every minute of that time. The meeting was opened with a song by the German Glee club. Eugene V. Debs was introduced and was warmly greeted by the audience, which was composed of people of all parties and all classes. Mr. Debs as a man was certainly a favorite with those whom he addressed last night. As an orator, too, he did not fail to please. He is a ready speaker, undoubtedly much in earnest and a firm believer in what he had to say."

Campaign Notes

Debs' last speeches in Kansas were at Herington and Armourdale. Both were boomers.

At Sedalia, Mo., where a new branch has been recently organized, a large crowd was at the station as the train bearing Debs went through. The presidential candidate mounted a trunk and gave the crowd a five-minute speech, which evoked cheer upon cheer.

(Continued on Second Page)

SOCIALISM IS THE ONLY OUTCOME

Editor of the Cosmopolitan Magazine's Stirring Words

By John Brisbane Walker

Very curious have been the many expressions on the subject of the trusts during the past year. A quarterly dividend of twenty millions of dollars for the Standard Oil Company, and nearly forty-two million dollars profits for one member of the steel trust—Mr. Carnegie's end of it—for one year are facts sufficiently surprising to startle even the deaf and dumb. Either of these fortunes continued at this rate would shortly gather to itself all the wealth of the United States and shortly thereafter might command that of Europe as well. It is a very simple problem in arithmetic. Nearly all sorts and conditions of men unite in declaring the danger which lies in the trusts; and the most delightful suggestions are made regarding the methods of curbing them. President Hadley of Yale suggests that the heads of these trusts are improper men, who should be socially ostracized. But this idea is evidently not fully shared by all college presidents, because in the New York "Mail and Express" we have headlines reading this way: "Brown Alumnae Dine. President Faunce Makes Address. Doctor Schutman Also Speaks; He Pays a High Tribute to Andrew Carnegie and John D. Rockefeller."

"Brains," Doctor Schurman is quoted as saying, "can make money, but money cannot make brains. One of the greatest problems of the day is presented by the inequality of wealth. I begrudge no man his twenty or thirty millions a

year without considering some other things: Has he increased the wages of his employees? Is he using his wealth in a way to benefit the people? If he is, he is a benefactor. All honor to Andrew Carnegie as long as he uses his money in such fashion."

If President Hadley had in view the social ostracism of Mr. Carnegie and Mr. Rockefeller, it is quite apparent that it would be difficult to carry out the scheme without the co-operation of his distinguished collaborators in the field of education.

Other thinkers, after wrestling with this difficult problem of what will become of us if the trusts go on eating up the wealth of the country with such avidity, finally get down to the conclusion which deserves to rank with President Hadley's. "If we have publicity, the problem will be solved," they say. Yet we have publicity now. Everybody knows the actual facts; there is no dispute regarding the conditions; nothing that could be divulged could be more startling than what we now know; all are agreed, and evidently some of these gentlemen have in mind that old fable of the cat and the mice. If the cat only had a bell on her, they would be comparatively safe, they argue. Ting-a-ling, a-ling, a-ling, and everybody, they imagine, might dodge out of the way. But the trouble is that not everybody can dodge. Pretty much everybody has been hearing the ting-a-ling for quite a while now, and with no other result than that they are compelled to sit still to be presently gobbled up. This gobbling process has now got to a very interesting stage. It is now up to the millionaires.

But the gentlemen who are almost equally divided between social ostracism and publicity as a remedy for trusts, are, ostrich-like, SIMPLY POKING THEIR HEADS INTO THE SAND and kicking their heels in the air. They refuse to recognize this scientific truth, that the trusts are in the direction of good organization. Trusts are doing away with the wasteful methods that have come down to us from barbarism. It is the trend of the times; it is bringing accurate thinking and thorough organization to bear upon the great problems of production. The advantages of this process have now been so well learned that the evolution in organization can never stop. The President Hadleys and the advocates of publicity might as well fix this thing in their minds first as last. What we call the trusts are simply the latest development of organization of the methods of production. Because mankind at large has refused to study these problems of organization and a few individuals have mastered the science, those few individuals are reaping all the benefits. Four chief points present themselves, and only four:—

First. The trusts are in the direction of scientific organization of the methods of production.

Second. Nearly all the benefits of these magnificent organizations now go to a few individuals.

Third. It is contrary to the best interests of the public and dangerous to a republican form of government that these profits should continue to accumulate in such enormous percentages.

Fourth. How are we going to bring the benefits of scientific organization into the hands of the many instead of the few?

A hundred thousand of the best brains of the world are to-day engaged on this problem. Most of these brains are those of men who have begun life by believing in the system of individual competition. Therefore they turn away

(Continued on Third page)

HOW THEY LOVE THE TOILERS!

Democratic Record

Alien contract labor bill passes Congress with every vote against it democratic.

Labor arbitration bill in Congress, 30 Democrats vote against it.

Bull pen outrage. Democratic Governor Stuenkel gets troops to terrorize the miners.

Bryan votes to ratify the Philippine treaty, 1900.

Democrats (108 of 'em) vote for a standing army of 100,000 men, in house of representatives.

All the votes in House of Representatives against bill prohibiting convict contract labor system were Democratic. 1887.

All the votes in Congress against establishing a government department of labor were democratic. 1888.

Democratic party disfranchises the negro in North Carolina. 1900.

Clark of Montana buys his way into United States senate. He gives \$100,000 (and probably more) to the democratic campaign fund. 1900.

Cleveland sends United States troops to Chicago in great A. R. U. strike, 1894.

Democratic judge issues an injunction and Debs goes to jail. 1894.

Democratic secretary of state of Louisiana refuses to put Social Democratic ticket on the ballot. 1900.

Cleveland ratifies a treaty with Russia to send back Russians who have opposed Czarism. 1894.

Democratic politicians form the ice trust in New York to squeeze the people. Thirty-seven dead babies were taken to the morgue in one day under Ice Trust Mayor Van Wyck.

Injunction against printers saving anything against the New York Sun by democratic Judge Bookstaver.

Only five democrats vote for bill to give congress power to regulate trusts, 1900.

Fifty-seven democrats and five populists vote to pay Spain \$20,000,000 for the Philippines.

Democratic Mayor Van Wyck of New York city holds 10,175 shares of ice trust stock. Stock is also held by democratic Judges Newberger, McMahon and Cowing and State Supreme Court Judges Barrett, Ingraham, Fitzgerald, Fursman and Patterson.

Senator Jones of Arkansas, now the chairman of the democratic national campaign committee, offered in the senate an amendment to the Porto Rican act, providing for the repayment of duties on articles imported from Porto Rico since United States occupancy. This would have given the sugar trust \$1,500,000. 1899.

Multimillionaires Clark, Croker, Mackay, Belmont, Hearst, Stevenson, Hill, Keene and officers of the silver trust and copper trust contribute heavily to the democratic campaign fund. 1900.

Republican Record

Bull pen outrage perpetrated by republican Gen. Merriam.

Eight-hour bill fails to pass the United States senate, forty republicans voting against it.

Under republican rule, republican profit sharks send 10,000 cans of putrid meat to troops in Cuba. 1899.

It is openly conceded that Hanna buys his way into the United States senate. He contributes heavily to republican campaign fund.

Republican governor of Ohio orders troops to Cleveland in street car strike. 1899.

Race riot in Illinois. Troops ordered out by republican governor. 1899.

In Oshkosh strike republican governor of Wisconsin orders troops to the scene with the remark that strikers will return to work when they see the guns. 1898.

Republican governor sends troops to Ottawa, Ill., to intimidate strikers. 1897.

Board of directors in the New York ice trust are republicans.

Republican Record

Labor leaders thrown into jail in Porto Rico by republican officials in attempt to break up unionism.

In the great Homestead strike republican governor of Pennsylvania orders the troops to the scene.

Republican Teddy Roosevelt as head of the New York police force, authorizes use of the saw-tooth club, on which the commissioner of patents refused a patent on the grounds of being inhuman and disgraceful.

Hazleton massacre, strikers shot down in cold blood by deputies under republican Sheriff Martin. He is afterward acquitted by jury of believers in capitalism.

Roosevelt orders the infamous New York Seventh regiment (that was too cowardly to go to Cuba) to Croton Dam to intimidate men striking against inhuman conditions.

Carnegie, of blow-hole armor plate notoriety and who lives in a castle in Scotland, becomes a howling anti-imperialist. 1899.

Multi-millionaires Havemeyer, Frick, Carnegie, Gould, Hanna, Sage, Morgan, Vanderbilt, Armour, and Rockefeller contribute heavily to the republican campaign fund. 1900.

Gov. Pingree announces alliance with multi-millionaire Gen. Alger in the latter's attempt to get into United States senate. 1899.

Prof. E. Benjamin Andrews, president of Brown university, is fired.

Republican chief of police in New York city stops May day meeting of Socialists. 1899.

Republican receivers Henry C. Payne and others get democratic United States Judge Jenkins to issue an injunction prohibiting the men on the Northern Pacific railway from striking.

Republican ex-President Benj. Harrison argues against the 3-cent street car fare in Indianapolis.

Social Democratic Herald

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board
FREDERIC KEATE Chairman
SEYMOUR STEEDMAN Editor
EUGENE V. DEBS National Sec'y-Treas.
VICTOR L. BRIGGS
CORINNE S. BROWN

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, \$5.00. Six months, \$3.00. No papers sent to any one on credit. If, without having subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and no bill will follow. Foreign subscriptions \$1.00.

Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

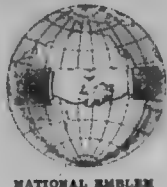
A. S. EDWARDS, National Sec'y-Treas.
126 Washington St., Chicago.

121 is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 122 year subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, OCT. 27, 1900.

NATIONAL TICKET

Social Democratic Party



For President:

EUGENE V. DEBS

For Vice-President:

JOB HARRIMAN

Inhuman Humans

The working class own nothing but their labor-power, which they must sell to the capitalist in order to live. The machine competes with the worker and reduces the number of jobs. The great number of workers bid against each other for the small number of remaining jobs, and wages go down practically to the subsistence level. It is no fault, therefore, of the worker that his wages are low, and no badge of his personal inferiority.

In Chicago the other day a wealthy cloak manufacturer gave a "heart to heart" (ugh!) talk to a theater full of the victim class—the sharp-faced, hollow-eyed toilers in the cloak and other factories, and he told them what a blessing McKinleyism was, and how it kept wages up so that the working people "shared with capital and did not have to work for foreign pauper wages." And then a poor, goaded slave in the gallery called out:

"But I only get \$7 a week!"
And what was the "heart to heart" orator's reply, do you think? He said: "If you do you are probably not worth any more," and the thoughtless crowd set up a laugh, while the other \$7-a-week fellows kept silent.

It was a cruel, brutal retort and it showed the real heartlessness of capitalism as exemplified in one of its beneficiaries, who probably thought himself humane.

If you will cast your eye over the national Republican campaign book you will find that the industrial workers in the prosperous western state of Iowa get on the average \$6.80 a week, and in the representative eastern industrial state of Pennsylvania an average of \$8.60. But these are capitalistic figures, and in compiling them the fat salaries of stock-holding presidents and of superintendents have been included. These will balance the item of child labor. So you can see that the \$7-a-week Chicago man was an average worker after all, and the remark that he wasn't worth any more would apply to the average worker—man, woman and child—in this great land of the "free."

Capitalistic Buncombe

"I declare most emphatically that the interests of business-men and working-men are identical. They cannot be separated. We cannot benefit the one without conferring a corresponding benefit on the other; nor can we injure the one without injuring the other."

There is just enough truth in the above piece of republican campaign oratory to fool some workingmen. Under the present capitalistic system—a system of a master class and a servant class—the servant is affected by the fortunes of the master. The more resplendent the table of the master the more the crumbs that fall to the servants. So if you believe in a system that divides the people into a master class and a servant class, you will doubtless vote for the republican outfit. But do not forget that such a division of society is an abomination to all our ideals of brotherhood and the rights of equality in citizenship. It is your duty, not to look for crumbs like some domesticated inferior beast, but to vote out the bad system and to vote in the new system of brotherhood, of Socialism. Vote to hold your head as high as any other man, and to cut yourself off from de-

pendence on the fortunes of any other man. To-day the capitalist class owns and controls the means of production, and only by their permission can you earn a "living." You are puffed up with the idea that you are a "free" American citizen. Why don't you vote to make yourself truly so? A ballot for Eugene V. Debs is a world-shaking kick against the present iniquitous and hellish system.

An Impending Change

This has been a campaign without issues so far as the capitalist parties are concerned. The things they trumped up as issues were puerile in the extreme. Light weight Bryan is the same old voluble, anti-anything-for votes that he has always been, and has given the Republicans a seeming walkover. The disintegration of the Democratic party is impending, and no big party will step into its shoes, for the reason that the rising Social Democracy will drive the capitalists and believers in capitalism into the ultra-capitalist (republican) party, the better to fight the young labor giant. Capitalism will be forced to close in its ranks, for to divide its forces will be to give the Socialists a clear road to Washington. From the break-up of the democratic party we will get those who are truly democratic, the reactionaries will go to the party of capitalism. Who says we are not making history?

The Dignity of a Day

"In the present campaign the brunt of the fighting will again fall upon the workingman. The fate of the nation is once more in his hands. Upon his decision may depend the prosperity and happiness of this and many future generations of Americans."

The above is out of the mouth of a Republican stump orator. Ah, if the toilers only understood the truth of it as well as the masters do! Think of it, the great class of oppressed, distressed and harassed people having it in their power to unilaterally vote away the incus. Why not do it? Is there any good reason why? Why not vote out the condition of perpetual embarrassment, of the endless worry and anxiety of existing under capitalism? Why not stand together? If we "do not hang together we will hang separately" as things are going to-day. Let us meet the occasion as becomes vigilant, thinking human beings—let us be our own true friends, and with our united strength wrench the reins of government from the clutch of the oppressing class, and make clear the pathway along which will come the co-operative commonwealth.

Mayor Jones contributes a short letter to Hearst's Chicago Nightmarer in which he says that what the starving miners need is arbitration. And Bryan also sends a letter and says the same thing. With due respect for these two campaigners for capitalism, we would modestly submit that a better thing still would be PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.

Think of the many half-starved workingmen who have applauded the political speeches of Corporation Attorney Bourke Cockran, and then say there is not plenty of work to be done by the Socialists!

Senator Beveridge says it is the trusts that are preparing opportunities for young men. This is an admission that the competitive system has outlived its usefulness.

A timely note to our comrades everywhere: Make your preparations to have watchers in all the voting places. Do not underestimate the importance of this. Do not leave the emissaries of capitalism, the fellows who have torn down our bills and destroyed our literature, to be masters of the situation. Let them know that they are watched and that to destroy a ballot is a much more serious thing than to deface a poster or a sticker.

Thus far considerably over a million pieces of campaign literature have been sent out from the headquarters of the national campaign committee. Two hundred thousand of the small Debs leaflets have been sold, 250,000 of the stickers, 400,000 each of leaflets 3, 4, 5 and 6, 350,000 of leaflet 2, of which 50,000 were in German, 30,000 in Polish and 25,000 in Bohemian.

The reports of the Paris World's Congress of Social Democrats are so meager and unsatisfactory that we must ask our readers to wait for the special report which we will shortly receive from our party's representative at the meeting, Comrade Eugene Dietzgen.

NOTES AND COMMENT

There are distinctions without a difference. What difference would it make to Socialists whether Bryan or McKinley is elected? None whatever. The rule of capitalism would proceed as at present, and workingmen would be plundered as at present. The right thing is to vote for Debs and Harriman.

"If Bryan is elected," says Mark Hanna, "the country will be ruined!" "If McKinley is elected," says Boss Croker, "the republic will be wrecked and an empire will be established upon its ruins." In either case it is from the "frying pan into the fire." Workingmen by voting for Debs and Harriman will avoid all responsibility for the calamity predicted.

The republican party has a Mark Hanna with a jimmy to crack safes and rake in all the cash he wants. The Socialist Democratic party has no Mark Hanna with a jimmy. It depends upon free-will contributions for its campaign fund.

There is one way out of the sad conditions which environ workingmen—not to back out a la crawfish; not to fight out a la strike; not to shoot out a la Christian civilization, but vote out like a courageous, independent, liberty-loving Socialist.

Would you like to behold a picture more precious than silver or gold, jeweled crowns and garnered pelf? Then go to the polls on election day and hear a Socialist freeman say, "Here is a man who owns himself."

It was Goldsmith's idea that those who think govern those who toil. When toilers think as well as toil, and vote their convictions, the new civilization which Socialists contend for will be inaugurated.

Capitalism, unlike the spider to the fly, doesn't invite the workingman into its parlor nor its dining-room, but seizes upon his wages and tells him to find consolation in his hut at the foot of the hill.

"Let well enough alone," is an old adage. But when did well enough in human affairs exist? Just now things are bad enough to satisfy Satan. To let them alone is to obey the behest of capitalism.

Socialism proposes a new civilization by the ballot. Capitalism proposes to retain and maintain the old civilization by the bullet.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS

J. P. L.—The plan is full of danger and should be avoided at all hazards. The same purpose is served by voting for the single elector. Fight the suggestion; it might give rise to grave suspicions.

Jason Spafford, Mass.—Will appear next week.

Wm. J. J., Kan.—From 1850 to 1880 the productivity of labor increased five-fold. If wages had increased in the same proportion, the average wage in 1880 would have been \$1,240. In the same proportion the average wage today would be considerably over \$2,000.

W. S. Varnum, Arizona, and K. J. Wilson, Washington.—The corrected figures were given in No. 17, which see.

M. B. M., Mass.—If one of the old parties is to blame for the trusts, why are there trusts in Europe?

Big Herron Meeting at Milwaukee.

Last Thursday evening Professor Herron addressed a big meeting at Lincoln Hall, Milwaukee, the audience being made up of radicals of various sorts and also those who went out of mere curiosity. Robert Meister presided, and a brief address was also made by J. Still Wilson, of Michigan. Prof. Herron was received with strong evidences of approval and spoke for two hours. He made many telling points. Speaking of "prosperity" of the McKinley sort, he likened society to the human body, and said that if the blood all went to the head it would not be called prosperity, but apoplexy.

How are we to settle the unequal contest between man and machine? Will the machine finally go into partnership with the laborer? Can these forces of nature finally be controlled for the benefit of her suffering children? Will these giants, these Titans, shorten or lengthen the hours of labor? Will they give leisure for the industrious, or will they make the rich richer and the poor poorer? In the days of cannibalism the strong devoured the weak—actually ate their flesh. In spite of all the laws that man has made, in spite of all advances in science, the strong, the heartless, still live on the weak, the unfortunate and the foolish. The poor man who deforms himself by toil, who labors for his wife and children through all his anxious, barren, wasted life—who goes to his grave without ever having one luxury—has been the food of the others.—Col. R. G. Ingersoll.

Texas—The initial number of the Southern Socialist, published at Blum, Texas, is a creditable production. Its motto is: "He that won't reason is a bigot; he that can't reason is a fool, and he that dare not reason is a slave." The number contains the Social Democratic platform and a well-selected miscellany. A Texas comrade writes that the capitalistic politicians are conceding the Social Democrats a vote of 20,000 in the Lone Star state.

Don't forget Prof. Herron at Central Music Hall, Chicago, October 31st. Bring a friend. An admission fee of 15 cents will be charged, which will pay for the hall and leave a snug sum over, so that no further call for money will be made on those in attendance.

Campaign Notes

(Continued from First Page)

Comrade Chas. E. Breckman, our candidate for congress in the Second Iowa district, is making a stirring canvass. As an old trades' unionist he is bringing the party the active support of organized labor, and his capitalist competitors are wroth to see their constituents intellectually stamped.

The battle is raging fiercely in Iowa. The Socialistic shells are bursting all along the line and the old politicians are trying frantically to check the stampede. Rally, comrades, rally!

At Topeka the old A. R. U. veterans, scarred and weather beaten with black-list persecution, were a commanding feature of the meeting, and when Debs said: "In 1894 we were clubbed, jailed and shot by the government for venturing to make a very modest request of the railroads, while in 1900 we are marching on the government, and when we take possession of that we will take care of the railroads," the roar that went up made the windows rattle and jarred the rafters.

Comrades Ricker, Lloyd and Breckman toured Iowa with Comrade Debs and took care of overflow meetings at every point. The enthusiasm everywhere is intense. Watch Iowa!

At Topeka Comrade Debs was met on the stage by a delegation of engineers and firemen, headed by Joshua A. Leach, the founder of the Brotherhood of Firemen, who initiated Debs into the brotherhood at Terre Haute twenty-five years ago. The tears glistened in the eyes of "Old Pap" Leach, as he embraced Debs and exclaimed, "My boy," and those who witnessed the touching scene will not soon forget it.

The meeting at Armourdale was the most satisfactory of those held in Kansas. It took place in the open air, and at the conclusion over a hundred, in shaking hands with Debs announced their conversion from old partyism. Among these was a family of five brothers, all Republicans.

No political meeting can be held in Kansas on Sunday, so Comrade Debs gave free lectures instead. They were straight Socialism and made many converts. At the one held at Abilene scores took off their McKinley and Bryan buttons.

Sees the Populists' End

Under an Abilene (Kan.) dateline the Kansas City Star last week published the following: "E. V. Debs made two addresses in this county yesterday, speaking at Herington in the afternoon and here last night. His lectures were upon the ethics of Socialism and made little reference to the political campaign."

"I find," he said this morning, "a very strong Socialist sentiment in Kansas. Many men tell me they are going to support the movement and I have fully realized all I expected in this state. Were we able to make the canvass in Kansas that the old parties are making, we would cast 50,000 votes. A large element is ripe for the teachings of Socialism. After the election that element of the people's party that keeps up a separate existence for the purpose of allying itself in fusion with the democracy will be dead as a door nail. It will be one thing or the other. This is the last campaign in which the people's party will cut any figure. The fight is narrowing down to capitalism and Socialism, and there is no room for a party that is neither flesh, fish nor fowl."

Our comrades in Newark, N. J., have flung to the breeze an elegant street banner, a photograph of which has been sent to this office. The banner is a large net-work affair, hangs over the middle of the street, and bears portraits of the two national candidates, together with suitable lettering. These are the things that help thwart the conspiracy of silence and which send to the toiler's consciousness the message of the coming of Social Democracy to strike down his chains.

To the hundreds of comrades who have written to headquarters for a Debs date for their city and have been disappointed, the national campaign committee would suggest, as a substitute, that they order a hundred, or a thousand, Debs and Herron speeches. The committee has had these grand opening speeches of the campaign printed in small booklet form, and offers them as the best literature of the campaign. Comrades who were willing to stand the expense of a lecture by our presidential candidate should invest the amount in these speeches at \$3 per hundred, \$15 per thousand.

NOTICE

The old parties got better treatment from the button factory than we did, and this accounts for the delay in the buttons. They failed to keep their contract to deliver the new buttons on the 15th, and last week, with orders from all sections to the number of 8,000, we were not able to ship a button. They are here now and they are beautiful! We can now sell either old or new patterns at the old price, 20 cents a dozen.

Comrade F. J. Hlavacek, the Bohemian organizer, has been doing great havoc in the Illinois coal region.

Farmer Socialists

The interest in Socialism on the part of the farmers is one of the surprises of the last few years. It used to be supposed that Social Democracy was a thing to interest city wage-workers only, but this notion is being summarily dispelled. The earnestness of the farmers in studying scientific Socialism has come as a surprise even to the Social Democratic agitators themselves. The Appeal to Reason, the most extensively circulated Social Democratic paper in this country (only the Youth's Companion has a larger weekly circulation), says that a large fraction of its readers are farmers, and we are gratified to state that a large number of our branches are made up of the same class. And it is no wonder that the farmers are waking up to their peril when it is understood that less than half of the farmers of the United States actually own their own farms.

It used to be supposed that the farmers' great enemy was the bonanza farm, but now there is a wakening up to the fact that the farmer is exploited more directly through the transportation companies. Instead of working for himself, the farmer really works for the greedy railways and the other highwaymen of commerce. He is at their mercy. He cannot get to market except under the conditions they are pleased to lay down. The government statistics show that, while the farmers as a class are not being decimated in number, they are being ground down to most miserable poverty. Between the railroads and the money-lenders, the farmers have been squeezed most viciously, and the world-wide gambling in food-stuffs, the tampering with national conditions by wheat and other corners, have all sooner or later come down upon his unprotected shoulders with the full ferocity of a wolfish civilization. To keep his head above water is the great daily worry with the tenant of the farm. The amount of hired farm help is decreasing, and the farmer himself and his family are doing the work. They are workers and have at least the same interests as the workers of the cities. Capitalism, as has been said, exploits the farmer terribly, it having absolute control not only of the means whereby he gets his crops to market, but of the fixing of the prices of the crops.

According to the government census of 1890, the average income of the American farmer was \$540 a year, with an average of five mouths to be fed in his family. Now notice how close this is to the average income of a city wage-worker, who gets \$440, as shown also by the census. In this latter figure is included the wages of child labor, so that the probability is that the farmer and the city worker fare about alike. There are 2,512,604 farm families who live on farms they have not a clear title to—over half the entire number of farm families. There are over 2,000,000 tenant farmers in the country. And those who have mortgaged farms or crops are worse off than those who are mere tenants. They may be able to pay off the mortgage, but it takes all they have and they must immediately open up accounts under a mortgage for the next year.

No scheme of finance, tariff or taxation can better the farmers. They must join with their brothers in distress in the cities to fight for Socialism.

Startles the Conservatives

Prof. Albion W. Small, of the Chicago University, uttered a truth last week that must sound ominous to the hosts of capitalism. With the dignity that pertains to the office of college instructor, and in plain, dispassionate language, he gave it out cold that Socialism was to be the issue of the immediate future, willy-nilly. The following from a daily paper tells the tale:

"Prof. Albion W. Small head of the sociological department at the University of Chicago, told the members of his classes yesterday that in subsequent political campaigns the issues will be questions having a sociological and social bearing. 'In 1904,' Professor Small said, 'socialism will be the issue of the national election.'

"If it happens that there shall be a time of business depression between the election next November and the election four years later Socialists will make a strong bid to the people for their votes. Socialism will take a more conspicuous part in politics the longer you live. So far Americans have not been called upon to settle questions of this kind, as have the English and the Belgians. Nevertheless social problems are bound to take the place of the questions on which issues are now based."

Professor Small is one of the leading sociologists of the country and is editor of the Journal of Sociology. He has long been one of the most fearless of college professors in the matter of the social problems, and seems thus far to have successfully braved the Rockefeller censorship. He claims to be a republican.

Comrade Edwards is having big meetings in Indiana. Particulars next week.

The Cook County, Illinois, ticket will appear next week.

TRAVELING MEN ARE IN THE SOUP

Overtaken by the Brutal Might of
the Competitive System they Go
Down Like Bees in the
Shambles

COME TO SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

Drummers for the Wholesale Grocers Make
Profits for their Employer and End
The Year in Debt

No class of workers has been struck harder by the recent development of commercialism than the traveling men. The old-time jolly drummer, dressed faultlessly, putting up at the best hotels, and liberal in his expense account, is a thing of the past. His was a sort of specialized, skilled work, for which he had fitted himself by years of experience, and he was worth a good deal of money to his house, and if his house did not appreciate him, there were other houses ready and anxious to get his services. In other fields of toil, the workers were more and more getting the worst of it, but the drummer never gave this a thought, for he felt himself secure beyond peradventure. In the factories and mills and mines, perfected machinery produced an overplus of workers and they had to underbid each other for the number of jobs that remained. In the great mills, machines were introduced that could be run just as well by women, and, later on, by children. Homes were desolated, men and women were brutalized and made reckless even unto suicide, but the drummer did not allow this to worry him; nay, more! it was quite probable that his sympathies were with the capitalists when the poor wretches struck against degrading conditions. On the political field the drummer was either a whooping republican or a hurrahing democrat. He said that only lazy people could not succeed in this great land of the free and that if there were any real justification in the murmurings of the toilers it lay in the fact of "too many foreigners coming here"—in very few instances seeing down deep enough to realize the true cause of their misery: the exploitation under the capitalistic wage system.

But the drummer finally found himself in the plight of the boy who stood by grinning when his companions were attacked by bees. Something suddenly struck him, and struck him hard. And then our friend the drummer found himself in the same boat as the toilers of mill and factory.

The concentration of business under fewer heads, the driving out of the smaller concerns under the remorseless law of competition, the more economical organization of the great business interests soon brought about a condition under which one traveling man could do the work formerly done by the competing many. The many thrown out of work soon discovered that while they were valuable men in their life-long calling, they were misfits and incompetents where they tried to invade new fields. Wherever they turned they found seekers after employment ahead of them, and they began to think there were too many men in the world. Then there was naturally a turning back to the old field and a desperate scramble to get at the few remaining jobs. As always, capitalism saw its advantage, and down went the drummers' wages.

And this is the condition of things to-day. It is no wonder that the more clear-headed drummers (those who still have employment, and those who have not), are turning to Social Democracy as the only hope of humanity. They can see now the trend of things, the inevitable and unchangeable law, and the only possible salvation. Many of their brothers, it is true, have gone wildly into the trust-smashing camps and have grasped at the first reactionary scheme of wily politicians that has come to their notice, but even they, after they get a dose of experience, will get in line for the co-operative commonwealth.

But let us give a concrete case, to give point to the above. Let us take, for instance, the drummers for the big grocery houses, men who were formerly among the best paid and valuable of traveling men. To-day, almost without exception, they are lucky to eke out a bare living. Under the new conditions they are paid at the rate of 4 per cent on their sales, and an extra good man who can sell from \$70,000 to \$80,000 worth of goods would therefore appear to make about \$3,000 per annum; but this is not the case. Out of that \$3,000 he has to pay his expenses, which amount to about \$1,800 a year, which means that his income is not over \$1,200, where it used to be from \$1,800 to \$2,000.

Now, mind you, the above pertains only to the privileged few, the pink of

the profession, who are able to make big sales. The majority sell much less than the amount given above. They do well if their yearly sales reach \$40,000 or \$50,000, so that, at the 4 per cent rate, we see that they make SCARCELY A PENNY OVER THEIR TRAVELING EXPENSES. Some may make a trifle over, but surely not enough to support a family on! There you see where men land under the competitive system.

And the wholesale grocer is careful to manage so that he does not lose anything. He makes it a rule to demand a deposit of at least \$1,000 from every traveling man he sends out, and he takes from this anything the drummer uses while on the road, either for himself or for his family. In most cases, the fact is that the deposit is used up before the year has passed, and the traveling man, WHO HAS MADE PROFITS FOR HIS EMPLOYER, BECOMES HIMSELF A PAUPER, or the next thing to it, AND HAS TO QUIT.

Frederic Heath.

Socialism Is The Only Outcome

Editor of the Cosmopolitan Magazine's Stirring Words
(Continued from First page)

now from any true solution of the difficulty. They exchange such valuable suggestions as those regarding social ostracism and publicity. Why? Because they do not wish to see the figure of governmental co-operation, which looms up as the only barrier to individual accumulation.

A man whose father was one of the great operators of Wall street, who controlled so many millions that he was able to wreck or make the great business enterprises, said to the writer recently at a dinner that all investment was becoming doubtful; he did not know where to put a dollar. All classes of enterprises were so largely at the disposal of manipulation in the street, one day depressed far below par and the next raised far above, always with a like purpose, the one of serving individual interests, that investment in securities quoted on the street had become a lottery. It was in the power of four or five men, by manipulation of the stock or by starting a parallel enterprise, or by any other of the numerous methods so well known, to make or break literally anything or anybody. Here were the methods of the father being applied to the son's disadvantage. Greater whales had appeared in the seas which were capable of swallowing the sharks; the sharks were in jeopardy.

No well-informed man in the business world of to-day but believes that with two or three hundred millions at his disposal, a brain as able as some of those now in active careers may in turn attack and crush one leading business interest after another until even the millionaires may be swept from the field and practically all the wealth of the country concentrated in one great corporation.

It is lucky that the first man to perfect a science of business organization should also be a man whose impulses carry him in the direction of education. The same means that build great universities might just as deftly merge the republic into a monarchy. Any one who is at all on the inside of affairs in New York has hourly proof of the endless influence which money exercises over politicians, the press, educational institutions, and even the ministry itself. A hundred thousand apologists of no mean intellectual capacity are always at the beck and call of a hundred millions of dollars, together with a less army of viler minds who stand ready to tear down the best and noblest if by so doing they can earn a fee.

Here we are then.

Eighty millions of people under a form of government which may be denominated a republic tempered by the use of money at the polls, up against the question of the distribution of wealth. Let it go on upon present lines, and in ten years more not all the intelligence of the nation can provide a remedy. AND IS THERE ANY REMEDY TO-DAY? ONE ONLY—GOVERNMENTAL OWNER-SHIP. Buy out these great interests; pay them a fair price—an extravagant price if need be, but buy them and turn them into the hands of the people to manage FOR THE BENEFIT OF ALL.

Ah! the people! I hear you say that they are crude and stupid and corrupt and will not manage well. Perhaps. Undoubtedly the management of many will never equal in economy of management the management of one brain. But then, economy is not the sole purpose; and if it costs more to manage, let us bear in mind that this additional cost will be represented by salaries of the many.

We have no civil service capable of administering such things? I grant you. We have never had occasion for a civil service. Our postal affairs and our collections of customs dues are comparatively unimportant. A little better or a little worse does not concern the average man. He would scarcely cross the street to help better the civil service. But if the street-cars were under the control of the civil service, if the great transportation com-

TRAGEDY OF THE ECONOMIC PROBLEM

Quotations from Rev. George D. Herron's "Between Caesar and Jesus":
We live near the culmination of a social system.

The social crisis discloses conscience and civilization becoming separate entities. Civilization no longer represents the conscience of the individuals who must find therein their work. The facts and forces which now organize industry and so-called justice violate the best instincts of mankind. Civilization affords no industrial machinery by which the Christ-spirit can express itself in things. This best force in society is helpless to effectuate itself in facts.

In fine, civilization denies to man that highest of all rights—the right to live a guiltless life, the right to do right. It is only the densest ethical ignorance that talks about a "Christian business" life, for business is now intrinsically evil, whatever good may come out of it. Whoever says that a man can live the Christian life, while at the same time successfully participating in the present order of things, is either profound in the lack of knowledge, or else he deliberately lies.

Only by a sort of terrible daily denial of his spiritual self, a cruci-

fixion of the principles by which he longs to organize his life, can a man wrest a stained and insecure livelihood from this terrible war for bread which



REV. GEORGE D. HERRON

we call "industry." This forcible appropriation of the resources of the people and of the products of their toil we are taught to view as the devel-

opment of industry; while people starve in a world of abundance because, as Edward Bellamy says, too much is produced. In a competitive society, with its natural monopoly of opportunity and power by the strong; with its desolating conquests of sheer economic might, a complete ethical life is impossible to the weak and strong alike.

Only in a subjective and inadequate sense, and that through collision and suffering, can a man even try to follow Christ in the present system.

There must be a new social machinery in order that love and conscience may organize the world for the common good of all. It does not lie in the nature of things that righteousness should be pursued and achieved only through tragedy. There is no individual redemption from a social system; only a social redemption will free each individual at last. Society can be healthy only in the health of the whole body. The church that stands for a mere saving and culture of the individual soul is the abode of the lost, and not an ark of safety. Private property in righteousness is the worst form of private property.

panies having in charge the safety of his person and the prompt delivery of his freight were in charge of the civil service, how quickly the public interest would be aroused. Then we should have a civil service in reality.

I challenge any reasoning mind taking up this subject without regard to past prejudices to arrive at any other goal than public ownership. "Social ostracism," "publicity"—they are the FEEBLE CRIES OF CHILDREN. Let us brace up and look the situation fully in the face. Either it must continue, and it is every moment growing more like an avalanche, or it must end in public ownership.

Notes of The Movement

Chicago—Social Democrats of this city have a fad. They call it Sticker parties, and they have more fun than a barrel of monkeys and do some pretty tall campaigning at the same time. Night after night parties of our comrades, both boys and girls, sally forth with their pockets full of Debs stickers and nothing escapes them. Windows, telegraph poles, railings, lamp posts and what not. The approaches to the elevated railroads are almost white with the bits of propaganda paper, and they have given the old parties a genuine fright. They begin to realize that Socialism must be reckoned with. Nor do the stickers give undue indications of strength. The Debs sentiment is growing amazingly. A month ago the street campaign button men had no use for Debs buttons; now there is a local Debs button famine because of their anxiety to stock up with them. One man, for instance, who came into the office of The Herald last week, said he had over 250 calls for Debs buttons in two days. He wanted twenty dozen, but had to be temporarily disappointed. A speaking campaign of unprecedented magnitude is being carried on all over the city. Over twenty-five meetings are held each evening, and street meetings without number on all evenings and Sunday afternoons. Some of the campaigners who are at work are: J. Stitt Wilson, Seymour Stedman, Walter Thomas Mills, George Koop, Geo. Evans, J. B. Smiley, Jesse Cox, Philip Brown, F. Svoboda, Chas. Soelke, W. C. Horgan, Jacob Winnen, F. C. Strickland, Peter Knickrehn, James Wright and—but it would make a long list to give them all. You can look for a big Debs vote in Chicago.

Wisconsin—Racine comrades have been doing effective work by asking old party speakers what they think of Socialism. Their replies have been funny, and the audiences have rather relished the interruptions. Milwaukee is doing a good speaking campaign. Besides our candidate for governor, Howard Tuttle, we have had J. Stitt Wilson from Michigan, Prof. Herron, Dr. Berger, Emil Seidel, Thos. C. P. Myers, Richard Elsner, Carl Malewsky, Victor L. Berger, Robert Meister and others. Howard Tuttle held a big meeting at Two Rivers last week. Two Rivers is the home town of Comrade Dicke, our candidate for lieutenant-governor, and his fellow townsmen showed their appreciation of his worth by their greeting as he appeared at the meeting. The Milwaukee Federated Trades Council has voted to attend the Debs meeting in a body.

Massachusetts.—A pamphlet has been issued for distribution to voters in Hanson, Hanover and Rockland, in the interests of the candidature of Comrade McCartney, who has so faithfully served the people of those places during his term in the Massachusetts legislature. It gives a list of the bills introduced by him and also several really surprising excerpts from Boston and other papers showing the power for the people wielded by him in the halls of state legislation, with an introduction by Comrades Inkley and Holmes, respectively the president and secretary of Branch 20,

S. D. P. There is also a card from Comrade McCartney in which he "hopes that this new method of rendering an account to the people will meet with approval." The hearts of all true Social Democrats go out to the Massachusetts comrades in their bright prospects of again placing in the state house so wholesome a personality as Comrade McCartney, and such a true socialist.

Michigan.—The Rev. C. A. Varnum was recently required by the Methodist Michigan Conference to withdraw from his candidacy for judge of probate of Calhoun County on the Social Democratic ticket, although other Methodist preachers were candidates on other tickets. Being threatened with removal if he refused to withdraw, and knowing that with millions of workers in other fields he was dependent upon the powers that be for his daily bread, he complied. He was not thereby converted from Socialism, and it is a gratifying fact that through this partisan action the cause of Socialism has received larger attention than it had before in that portion of the state.

"It is infinitely better to vote for freedom and fail, than to vote for slavery and succeed."—Eugene V. Debs.

LOCAL BRANCHES

Notice of Branch Meetings Inserted for
25 Cents per Month

CALIFORNIA

Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evenings, commencing at 8. Admission free. Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening. Membership, Social Democracy Herald free to each member, 25 cents per month. Apply to the secretary, John C. Wexley, 117 Turk street.

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock at Woodmen's Hall, 1234 Spring St. J. Franco, 700 Dayton Ave., Secretary.

Branch No. 12, San Francisco (German). Holds business meeting first Sunday each month at 1 o'clock p. m. at 17 Turk street. Agitation meetings on third Sunday evening, same place, to which public is invited. August F. Mayer, secretary, 1400 Polk street.

COLOMADO

Branch No. 1, Denver, meets every Sunday at 8:00 p. m. at 1718 California Ave. Chas. M. Davis, Secretary, 1023 17th Street.

Branch No. 2, Goldfield, meets every Sunday at 7:30 p. m. at City Hall. Chas. La Camp, Secretary.

CONNECTICUT

The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at 2 p. m. at P. Schaffer's, 1039 Main St. Hartford. Louis Schaff, Sec., 26 Spring St., Rockville, Conn.

Branch No. 3, New Haven, meets every Wednesday evening at 8 p. m. at Aurora Hall. C. Volmer, Sec.

Branch No. 4, Rockville, Conn., meets first and third Thursdays at Turn Hall meeting room, Village street. Secretary, Richard Niederwieser, Box 750.

ILLINOIS

Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Gross's office, 83 Dearborn St.

Branch No. 1, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening. Thomas Kirwin, Secretary, 254 Westworth Ave.

Branch No. 2 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets first and third Saturday at 8 p. m. at Nagli's Hall, 535 Blue Island Ave. Ferdinand Svoboda, Secretary, 604 West 18th St.

Branch No. 3 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets second and fourth Mondays at 8 p. m. in Dunder's place, 1080 W. 18th place. Joseph Dunder, Secretary.

Branch No. 5, Chicago, meets second and fourth Sunday at 8 p. m. at 1403 Liss Street. J. A. Ambros, Secretary, 640 Wood Street.

Branch No. 6, Chicago, meets at 1145 W. 63rd St., first and third Sundays at 3 p. m. Gus Larson, Secretary, 6243 Center avenue.

INDIANA

Branch No. 4, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month at Schuchman's Hall, corner Market and Noble sts. Address all communications to the Sec. of State Executive Board, Thomas Catton, 617 Arbor ave.

IOWA

Branch No. 1, Hiteam, meets every fourth Friday in the month at opera house. James Baxter, chairman, Wm. Truman, secretary, Box 161.

KENTUCKY

Branch No. 4, Bellevue, meets 1st and 3rd Sunday, at 3 p. m.; and 2nd and 4th Wednesday at 8 p. m., at 91 Fairfield ave. We will aim to make it interesting for all. Henry Listerman, Sec., 122 Peble ave.

MASSACHUSETTS

Branch No. 1, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at Springfield Turner Hall. Carl Schwabe, Organizer, 24 Jackson St.

Branch No. 1, Lynn, permanent headquarters, 71 Monroe St. Business meeting every Monday night at 7:30. Open house. Public invited. Harry Gotsamer, Sec., 423 Essex St.

Branch No. 3, Brockton, meets Friday nights at 8 p. m. for business at Social Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Center Sts. Every comrade is expected to attend one meeting a month. Mrs. Annie Bosworth, Secretary, 81 Prospect St.

Branch No. 19, Roxbury, Mass., meets at 24 Warren st., 2d and 4th Fridays of every month. Public invited.

MICHIGAN

Branch No. 1, Battle Creek, Mich., meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of each month, at 3 p. m. at 10 W. Main Street, in the International Congress Hall. All are cordially invited. L. C. Rogers, Secretary.

MINNESOTA

Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every Tuesday in real estate office of Fred Gesswein, on Main St. A. Kingsbury, Secretary.

MISSOURI

Branch No. 7, Kansas City, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1200 Union Ave. G. J. Stora, Secretary, 1200 W. 9th St.

MONTANA

Branch No. 1, Butte, meets every Thursday, at 8:30 p. m. at Citizens' Hall, Owsley Block. G. Frankel, Sec. 71 E. Park Street.

Branch No. 3 meets first and third Sundays of each month at G. W. Wood's home, Chico, Mont.

NEW JERSEY

Branch No. 1, Secretary, Michael W. Schor, 57 Livingston st.

Branch No. 5, Camden, N. J., meets every 3d Sunday of the month. For particulars address Paul Eberding, 1204 Third Avenue.

Branch No. 2 (German) Newark, meets every third Saturday, at International Hall, 7 Bedford St. Hans Hartwig, Secretary, 7 Bedford St.

Branch No. 3 (German), Paterson, N. J., meets first and third Mondays at 8 p. m. at Bellevue Hall, 14-56 Van Houten St. Karl Linder, Secretary, 246 Edmond St.

NEW YORK

The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York, meets every second Tuesday at 412 Grand street, Windsor Hall. James Allman, Secretary, 23 Suffolk st. care of "Forward."

East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every first and third Thursday at 113 Clinton St. A. Guyer, Secretary, 163 Suffolk St.

Branch No. 5 Brooklyn, New York, meets every Saturday at 8 p. m. at 16 Moore St. Visitors welcome. Comrades desiring to organize should communicate with Secretary Sol. Pressman, 190 Boerum St.

Branch No. 10, New York, meets every Friday, at 8 p. m. at Broadway. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Organizer, Joseph Williams, 50 Henry st.

OHIO

Branch No. 4, Cincinnati, meets at Richell Hall southeast corner 9th and Plum Sts., every Sunday at 3 p. m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Joe Jasin, Secretary, 1410 Central Avenue.

OREGON

Branch No. 1, Portland, meets every Monday night at Washington Hotel, Cor. 3d and Flinders Sts. Every body invited. T. C. Wendland, chairman; Mrs. M. E. Fortisch, secretary.

PENNSYLVANIA

Branch No. 1, Philadelphia, meets every Monday, at 8 p. m. at 423 E. 3rd Street, until further notice.

Branch No. 4, Coudersport, meets every second and 4th Wednesday of each month in E. of L. Hall. Chas. Koipfel, Chairman; L. E. Morse, Secretary; Ben. Coddington, Treasurer.

Branch No. 5, Philadelphia, meets first Friday of each month—Executive meets every Sunday morning—at S. D. P. Club Room 1, at 423 E. Third St. Organizer, M. Gillie, 1007 E. Third St.

Branch No. 10, Williamsport, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2 p. m. in Social Labor Hall, No. 26 East 3d St. G. E. Smith, chairman; Jno. Lyon, secretary, 743 Second St. Public invited.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee Central Committee, S. D. P., meets second and fourth Monday of the month at Brewers' Hall, southeast corner Fourth and Chestnut sts.

Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets at Haller's Hall, Fourth Street, between State and Prairie, every second and fourth Thursday evening.

Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Friday in Geath's Hall, corner Green Bay and Concordia Ave.

Branch No. 3, Sheboygan, meets every second Thursday of the month at Emil Handach's place, 1011 Michigan ave. Secretary, Eugene F. Richenberger, 1701 N. 11th street.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday each month at Moller's Hall, corner 2d and Brown Sts. George Moerschel, Secretary, 381 5th St.

Branch No. 5, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at R. Breg's Hall, southeast corner Orchard St. and 9th Ave. O. Wild, Secretary.

Branch No. 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of each month at Volkmann's Hall, 21 and Center st. Secretary, Rudolph Loeschman, 1125 3rd St.

Branch No. 22, Milwaukee, meets second and fourth Wednesday of each month, at 434 Clark street. Henry Hartlieb, Sec., 1074 7th Street.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

THE NATIONAL PLATFORM

Adopted at the Indianapolis Convention, March, 1900

WHERE DEBS WILL SPEAK

Cleveland, Ohio.....	October 23
Wheeling, W. Va.....	" 24
Philadelphia.....	" 25
Trenton, N. J.....	" 26
Brockton, Mass.....	" 27
Whitman, Mass.....	" 27
Boston, Mass.....	" 28
Rockland, Mass.....	" 29
New York City.....	" 30
Connecticut.....	" 31
Rochester.....	November 2
Toledo, Ohio (afternoon).....	" 3
Evansville.....	" 4
Terre Haute.....	" 5
Linton, Ind. (afternoon).....	Nov. 5

NEW BRANCHES

Indiana, two.
Oregon, one.
Massachusetts, one.
Kansas, one.
Ohio, one.

NATIONAL SECRETARY-TREASURER

THEODORE DEBS
No. 126 Washington Street, Chicago.

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness depend upon equal political and economic rights.

In our economic development an industrial revolution has taken place, the individual tool of former years having become the social tool of the present. The individual tool was owned by the worker who employed himself and was master of his product. The social tool, the machine, is owned by the capitalist and the worker is dependent upon him for employment. The capitalist thus becomes the master of the worker and is able to appropriate to himself a large share of the product of his labor.

Capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people; but the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system will necessitate the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare.

The present system of social production and private ownership is rapidly converting society into two antagonistic classes—i. e., the capitalist class and the propertyless class. The middle class, once the most powerful of this great nation, is disappearing in the mill of competition. The issue is now between the two classes first named. Our political liberty is now of little value to the masses unless used to acquire economic liberty.

Independent political action and the trade union movement are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its political, the other its economic wing, and both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system.

Therefore the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be:

First—The organization of the working class into a political party to conquer the public powers now controlled by capitalists.

Second—The abolition of wage-slavery by the establishment of a national system of co-operative industry, based upon the social or common ownership of the means of production and distribution, to be administered by society in the common interest of all its members, and the complete emancipation of the socially useful classes from the domination of capitalism.

The working class and all those in sympathy with their historic mission, to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America.

The control of political power by the Social Democratic party will be tantamount to the abolition of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting the millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international Socialism, the brotherhood of man. As steps in that direction, we make the following demands:

First—Revision of our federal constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to complete

control of government by the people irrespective of sex.

Second—The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

Third—The public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones; all means of transportation, and communication; all water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

Fourth—The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal, and other mines, and all oil and gas wells.

Fifth—A reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

Sixth—The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

Seventh—Useful inventions to be free, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

Eighth—Labor legislation to be national, instead of local, and international when possible.

Ninth—National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.

Tenth—Equal civil and political rights, for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

Eleventh—The adoption of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

Twelfth—Abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

ROBERT MEISTER.....Chairman
JOSEPH R. FINN.....Treasurer
SEYMOUR STEDMAN.....Secretary
Address, 126 Washington St., Chicago.

FINANCE COMMITTEE

EDWARD ZEIGLER.....Chairman
JOSEPH R. FINN.....Treasurer
JAMES WRIGHT.....Secretary
Address, 126 Washington St., Chicago.

COMMITTEE ON LITERATURE

A. S. EDWARDS.....Chairman
VICTOR L. BERGER.....Secretary

COMMITTEE ON PRINTING

JOSEPH WINNEN.....Chairman
PHILIP BROWN.....Secretary

COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

SEYMOUR STEDMAN.....Chairman
ARTHUR DENNISON.....Secretary

COMMITTEE ON SPEAKERS

OSCAR LOEBEL.....Chairman
SEYMOUR STEDMAN.....Secretary

NATIONAL PAPER OF THE PARTY:

The Social Democratic Herald
50 CENTS A YEAR.
126 Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.

HEADQUARTERS: 126 WASHINGTON ST., CHICAGO

NOTES FROM THE FIELD

Fifteen cents will purchase Merrie England in the German language, adapted to American needs. If you don't read German, buy one for your friends.

Smiley's excellent pamphlet, "To What Are Trusts Leading?", sent free to any address for 5 cents.

Modern Socialism, by Chas. H. Vail, 180 pages, 25 cents, this office.

We have received a small lot of the Social Democratic red buttons gotten up by comrades in Milwaukee which will sell at the rate of two for 5 cents until they are gone. In the past we have had numerous calls for them. They have a field of white and the letters, "Social Democratic Party," are of white with the flag as a background. They are pretty and artistic.

The campaign committee has a few dozen photographs, cabinet size, of Eugene V. Debs, which they are selling at 15 cents each.

The small 4-page leaflet used by the Chicago comrades is good for any part of the country; 1,000 to any address, postage paid, for 75 cents.

A new lot of superb campaign buttons have been received at headquarters. They comprise the presidential candidate singly or the two candidates together. They are the same price as the old ones, two for 5 cents, or 20 cents a dozen.

The national emblem of the party, adopted by the national campaign committee and printed on second page of the Herald, will be furnished to branches and committees at 25 cents, postage paid.

Comrade Edwards held his first meeting in Indiana at Kokomo, speaking to 300 people at a street meeting. A local paper said of him: "Mr. Edwards is a fluent and at times an eloquent speaker and is evidently a gentleman of wide reading and high intelligence."

Members of the Social Democratic branches who are vitally interested in the cause of Socialism will not permit these present days, which are of vast importance to the cause, to pass by without paying their membership dues. This is the nearest to hand duty of every Social Democrat.

The Debs-Herron pamphlet is positively the finest propaganda literature ever gotten out in this country. They are 5 cents each, or \$2 by the hundred. They will be just as good after election as before.

The National Committee is now prepared to furnish Leaflet No. 2, Ben Atterbury's "Letter to American Workmen," in German. The price is \$1.25 per thousand. Send in your orders at once and put it out among your German friends.

The Illinois comrades have done great execution with the stickers. They lick them and slap them into place and then hit them a blow with a newspaper formed into a spat. Thus treated they stick like grim death.

Socialists willing to assist in forming new branches of the Social Democratic party are requested to communicate with the secretary, Theodore Debs, 126 Washington street, Chicago.

Get your friend that you are trying to convert to read The Co-Operative Commonwealth, by Lawrence Grovland. You can have it for fifty cents by sending to this office.

It is of the highest importance that all branches remit at the earliest time possible, the quarterly dues for members. The prompt payment of dues is necessary to the proper carrying on of the work at headquarters.

Among the five-cent books, Debs' great speech on "Liberty," his address on "Prison Labor," and Hyndman's Socialism and Slavery, can be used effectively in propaganda. This office.

Now is the time to subscribe to the Social Democratic Herald and get the campaign news of the party. You may be sure this news will not appear in the capitalist papers. The Socialist vote in many places will be suppressed in the press reports, and will only reach us through our comrades. Every man who votes for Debs will be interested to know how many voted the same way, and only the Socialist press will tell him. Subscribe for the Social Democratic Herald; 50 cents a year, 25 cents for six months.

Comrades: Wherever our candidate speaks during the present month (see list of cities in this issue of the Herald) the local branches should have thousands of leaflets to distribute at the meetings, lithographs to display in store windows, and stickers by the thousands.

Do not be merely an approving bystander. Get into the fight and bear your share of the burdens. Capitalism will not be conquered by half-heartedness.

Our German comrades will do well to distribute the German translation of leaflet No. 2, Ben Atterbury's "Letter to American Workmen." Give every German voter a copy and you will much increase the German Socialist vote. The price is \$1.25 a thousand. Send in your orders.

It is advisable to stamp all leaflets, etc., with the local branch address and time of meeting, in order to get more direct returns for the work of distributing them. Let the voters of your locality know of your meeting, and then provide a good speaker to explain the principles of Socialism.

The portrait of the presidential candidate gives great satisfaction. Thousands have been mailed to branches and comrades in all sections of the country. It should be seen in every community; it informs the observer, directs attention to the party and makes votes. Ten copies, 35 cents; 33 for a dollar; single copy, 10 cents; postage prepaid.

Questions

Have you contributed to the national campaign fund?
Have you stuck up 500 stickers—at 50 cents?
Have you formed a new local branch?
Have you increased the membership of your branch?
Have you made a Socialist of your neighbor, your employee, your employer, your grocer, or your landlord?
Have you ordered and distributed a thousand leaflets?
Have you done all you can for the campaign and Socialism?

STICK UP THE STICKERS MAKE THE FACT STICK

That Socialism is Here to Stick
STICKERS NOW READY

They are two inches square, and a capital thing for Propaganda because they can be used in a hundred ways.

Sent only in packages of 500 or more. Price of 500, by mail, 50 cents.

Address, CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE,
126 Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

Notice to Texas Comrades

It will be only about one week until we will begin the work of printing the election tickets for the Social Democratic party of this state. Every Socialist should take an interest in this matter and assist us in the distribution of the tickets, that we may poll our full strength in Texas. The tickets will be ready for distribution by Oct. 25; in time to get them well distributed before election day. Let us hear from you, and send a little help.
W. E. FARMER, Chm.
S. J. HAMPTON, Sec.

NOW READY TWO GREAT SPEECHES

Should be Read by Socialists Everywhere and Put into the Homes of Non-Socialists

Delivered at Central Music Hall, Chicago, Saturday, September 29, 1900, by

EUGENE V. DEBS

AND
PROF. GEO. D. HERRON

A Splendid Campaign Document

Sixteen Page Pamphlet. Price, Five Cents
One Hundred, \$2.00
Address, 126 Washington St., Chicago

WANTED

Five Hundred Social Democrats to give One Dollar each to the National Campaign Fund for the work of the committee during the last three weeks of the campaign. The committee is dependent entirely upon voluntary contributions from friends of the movement for funds to discharge the duty assigned to it.

It expects every Social Democrat to do HIS duty.

Illustrated campaign souvenir. Stirring "Songs of Justice," inscribed to E. V. Debs, and Social Democrats of the world, by Rev. H. S. Geneva Lake. Fine. Price, 10c; 15 for \$1. This office.

"..... is a republican. He heard Debs the other night and says he agrees with everything he said. The subscription came in unsought."—Extract from a sample western letter.

FLORIDA SOCIALISTS

E. C. Smith, Ocala, Fla., chairman of the State Executive Committee, Social Democratic Party, wants the name and address of every Socialist and sympathizer in the state.

Are you the only Socialist in your town or in your factory? The Social Democratic Herald will furnish you with the best arguments for Socialism to fire at your neighbors and friends and the members of your union. The Herald will give you Socialism up-to-date and supply you with the most telling ammunition for your arguments.

THE CAMPAIGN FUND

Miss Corinne Brown, Chicago.....	2.00
Branch 4, Indiana.....	5.00
A. E. Giesler list, Chicago.....	7.25
J. L. Toronto.....	2.00
Geo. Markland, St. Louis.....	25.00
Geo. Markland, St. Omaha.....	1.00
Branch 3, Wisconsin.....	7.70
J. P. Malcoe, Spring Valley.....	1.00
Friend.....	1.00
F. H. Alexander, Omaha.....	1.00
C. R. Mitchell, Genda Springs.....	1.00
M. Gordon list, Hartford.....	7.50
E. Lindner list, Paterson.....	11.00
Branch 5, California.....	1.25
Joe. McKee, Indiana.....	1.00
Branch 1, Indian Territory.....	3.40
M. Josephson, Chicago.....	1.00
Levi Parker, West Newton.....	1.00
W. Roper, Big Spring.....	50
Alex. Kahn, New York.....	4.00
Michael O'Rourke, Toledo.....	1.00
A. E. Tyler, Chicago.....	1.00
James Birral, Miller City.....	1.00
A. Wing.....	1.00
Fred. Shieling, Milwaukee.....	1.00
W. O. Purris, Monroe.....	50
Mrs. Johnson, Chicago.....	1.00
N. S. Boston.....	2.00
L. A. Potter, Salem.....	1.50
Harry Blotz, St. Louis.....	1.00
Harry S. White, Boston.....	2.00
W. Wilkinson, Pendleton.....	1.00
J. H. Rex.....	1.00
W. C. Burgess.....	5.00
C. Jamieson, Clymer.....	50
A. F. Brewer, West Pullman.....	1.00
A. Rosenberg, New York.....	50
A. Pierson, Jacksonville.....	1.50
Debs meeting, Kansas City.....	15.00
G. W. S., Washington.....	1.00
O. H.....	1.00
Joe. W. Phillips, Ardmore.....	1.00
C. Bam's list, Newark.....	9.50
Previously reported.....	1,609.16
	\$1,744.16

The new leaflets, Nos. 3, 4, 5 and 6, are going out fast. We hope to put in another order with the printers in a week or ten days.

The No. 2 leaflet, by Ben Atterbury, to the American workingman, has run a quarter of a million in the English edition. It is an excellent vote maker and can now be supplied in German, Polish and Bohemian.

New Debs Button

At last we have the BUTTONS, and at the right prices, UNION MADE.

PRICES:

2 Buttons, 5 cents.
5 Buttons, 10 cents.
12 Buttons, 20 cents

All larger orders than a dozen, 1 1/2 cents each. Charges paid.

National Campaign Committee, S. D. P.
126 WASHINGTON ST. CHICAGO

**GERMAN
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC
LITERATURE**

SOCIALISTIC LETTERS
Being the chapters of Merrie England done into German and suited to American conditions
BY VICTOR L. BERGER
200 pages..... Price 15 cents

**THE MISSION
OF THE WORKING CLASS**
A German adaptation of the pamphlet by C. H. Vail.
BY JACOB WINNEN
15 pages. Price 5c., in larger amounts, 3c.

**IF YOU SYMPATHIZE
WITH
TRADE UNIONS**

You will encourage the sale
OF UNION LABEL GOODS

If you want Union Label Shoes demand the above Union Stamp. No shoe is Union made unless it bears the Union Stamp. No charge or royalty for the Union Stamp. Visit your shoe dealer and take no excuse. Send for latest list of factories. Subscribe for "The Union Boot and Shoe Worker," 10 cts per year.

Boot and Shoe Workers Union,
620 Atlantic Ave., Boston, Mass.

CAMPAIGN LEAFLETS

PUSH THEM OUT AND MAKE VOTES

No. 1—Address to Unorganized Socialists

Contains information concerning the Socialist movement in the United States, the party and its methods, object and program.

No. 2—An Open Letter to the Average American Workman

By Ben Atterbury. This is an admirable and convincing paper on the wage question, production, distribution of wealth and an appeal to the intelligence of the working class.

No. 3—Machine Production Where the Profits Go.

The argument of this leaflet is a clincher because taken from the government reports made by the Commissioner of Labor, and proves that machinery, combinations, trusts and systematized production must lead to socialism. It's the only way out.

No. 4—Toilers of America Vote for Your Freedom.

This is a remarkably effective campaign document. Written by a prominent member of the United Mine Workers, it sets forth in a convincing manner the reasons why the miners of the country, railroadmen and all other wage workers should support the Social Democratic ticket.

No. 5—Industrial Crises—Cause and Cure.

A strong appeal to the common sense of the voters, this leaflet gives the Socialist view of industrial crises and convincingly shows that Socialism is the necessary solution.

No. 6—Platform and Debs Epigrams.

This is a very attractive addition to our campaign literature; it gives the party platform complete with a collection of the very best epigrammatic sentences from the lectures of Eugene V. Debs, together with other striking contributions.

Put Them Into the Hands of Every Workingman

PRICES.	
50 Copies.....	\$.10
100 Copies.....	.15
250 Copies.....	.35
500 Copies.....	.50
1,000 Copies.....	1.00
5,000 Copies.....	5.00

POSTAGE PAID.
Send orders to Campaign Committee
Social Democratic Party, 126 Washington street, Chicago, Ill.

**SPLENDID LIFE-LIKE
PORTRAIT
OF
E. V. DEBS
CANDIDATE OF THE SOCIAL
DEMOCRATIC PARTY FOR
PRESIDENT
OF
THE UNITED STATES**

SIZE—21 X 28 INCHES, ON GOOD PAPER

Price, 10 Cents, Single Copy
Sent by mail, securely enclosed in tube to insure safe transmission, on receipt of price.
Address,
CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY,
126 Washington St., Chicago

The Chance is here—Vote for Debs and Harriman

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

THIRD YEAR. No. 20.

CHICAGO, ILL., U.S.A., SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1900.

Whole No. 122.

Surging Onward, Upward, Forward!!

During the week preceding the time of going to press with this issue of The Herald, Eugene V. Debs, candidate for president of the Social Democratic party, continued his remarkable speaking tour from Iowa into Wisconsin, holding monster meetings at Sheboygan and Milwaukee, going thence to Cleveland, to Wheeling, to Philadelphia, to Trenton, and up into Massachusetts, with his last speech of the week at Whitman and Brockton. At all these points vast crowds of people surged against each other for the opportunity of hearing the truths of Socialism from the lips of its gifted presidential nominee. The marvelous success of the tour continues to worry the old party politicians, and surprise even the Social Democrats themselves. From Massachusetts Comrade Debs will visit New York, Hartford, Rockville, Rochester, Toledo, Evansville, Linton and then close the campaign at Terre Haute, his home city, on Nov. 5, where the comrades are preparing for a monster celebration.

A Crush at Sheboygan

The meeting at Born's hall, Sheboygan, on Sunday evening was like unto those held in the Iowa cities, a monster affair, and an eye-opener to the capitalists. Addresses were also made by National Committeeman Seymour Stedman and Howard Tuttle of Milwaukee, candidate for governor of Wisconsin, who took care of the overflow meetings as well. The labor bodies were present at the meeting, and delegations from outlying towns and Socialist strongholds were also on hand. The enthusiasm was intense and the applause incessant.

Milwaukee's Record Breaker

Never in the history of the labor movement in Milwaukee was there such a monster outpouring of people to hear the cause of the dispossessed espoused as that of Monday night at the Pabst theater. The large playhouse was full to bursting by 7 o'clock, while outside a surging multitude struggled to reach the doors. Prior to this the delegates of the Federated Trades council met at their hall, Sixth and Chestnut streets, and marched down to the theater in a body, 237 men by actual newspaper count. They occupied seats on the stage and in the orchestra chairs, and later, through their organizer, Comrade Louis S. Wieman of the Cigarmakers' union, presented Comrade Debs with a big bunch of American beauty roses amid tumultuous applause. National Committeeman Victor L. Berger presided and introduced Comrade Debs as "the pathfinder of Socialism in America; the Fremont of the Social Democratic party." When Comrade Debs was finally able to speak, he thanked those present for their good will and then paid a pretty tribute to the chairman of the evening, Comrade Berger, from whom, he said, he had taken his first lessons in Socialism. He it was "who had made him see new light and filled his almost despairing soul with new ideals and new hope." He was pleased to make public announcement of this in Mr. Berger's home city. Comrade Debs then spoke for two hours, the vast audience being swayed between the greatest quiet and the most enthusiastic huzzas.

The Daily News, in a three-column account, said:

"The ovation tendered Mr. Debs last evening was a notable event. There are 2,400 seats in the theater. There were nearly 4,000 people in the hall at 8 o'clock. Hundreds were turned away and the overflow was caught and held by George Koop, a Chicago Socialist, who delivered an address in the street.

Debs was greeted by tremendous applause. Three times the uproar was renewed before the speaker was permitted to speak.

Mr. Debs talked for two hours, and the manner in which he held and swayed the vast audience was marvelous. While he arraigned the democratic and republican parties, his statements were clean, though penetrative. Throughout the address Mr. Debs attacked a principle and not individuals. Today, Mr. Debs said, the cheapest commodity on this earth is human flesh and blood,

Campaign's Close Marked by an Enthusiasm Paralleling Abolitionist Days.—Monster Audiences Greet Eugene V. Debs Everywhere.—Now for the Vote

but there is a star of hope in the horizon of the future, and it has come to the vision of those who will follow it to better things."

The Journal gave three columns of verbatim extracts from the address, and the Sentinel, the morning republican organ, gave a very good two-column report. The speech was the talk of the down-town streets next day, and the Social Democrats felt a foot higher in stature because of it.

A Jam at Cleveland

The Cleveland meeting was held in the Academy of Music, with an attendance of 3,000 and the usual overflow, notwithstanding that the democrats rushed Mayor Jones upon the scene for a meeting with which to try to counteract the effect. Says the report in the Cleveland Leader:

"M. S. Hayes, the Socialist candidate for congress in the Twentieth congressional district, presided, and in the audience could be recognized every known Socialist in Cleveland. On the stage with the speaker sat Robert Bandlow and Harry Thomas, veterans in the party, and beside them their newest convert, David Rankin, formerly a trusted lieutenant in the local Bryanite camp.

"Mr. Debs touched upon nearly all the issues between the two old parties, but only to ridicule them. He was especially merciless on what he called the 'purified democracy,' always with a sarcastic drawl upon the 'purified.' He referred to the so-called imperialism as the 'greatest of all humbugs,' and to the Bryanite anti-trust agitation as a 'sham issue intended to catch votes.' To 'Dick' Croker he referred as the dominant spirit in the 'purified democracy,' and he spoke of Bourke Cockran as the 'trust attorney with all the power of his purchased eloquence.'

"The democrats cannot smash the trusts," said Mr. Debs, "but they would not if they could. Four years ago, during the campaign Croker was in Europe. This year he is the dominant spirit in the 'purified' democracy. Four years ago Dave Hill never opened his mouth during the campaign. This year he is making speeches for Bryan. Four years ago Bourke Cockran would have nothing to do with democracy. This year he is one of the party's chief orators. Edward M. Shepherd is this year one of the chief apostles of the party. And who are these men? Croker and Shepherd are trust magnates, and Cockran and Hill are trust attorneys. Do you suppose they would work for Bryan if they considered him at all dangerous to the trusts?"

Wheeling Capitulates

The Wheeling Register said of the Wheeling meeting:

"Eugene V. Debs, candidate for President on the Socialist Democratic ticket, addressed a mass meeting composed chiefly of laboring men in the auditorium of the Arion Clubhouse last night. The meeting was worked up by the Wheeling branch of the Social Democrats evidently to good advantage, for when he began his address the house, both on the floor and in the gallery, was crowded to the doors. Mr. Debs held the audience during the two hours and fifteen minutes he spoke almost breathless. At every point in his discourse where the speaker wished, he almost brought his auditors to their feet. There was not the least sign of disorder, so that not one word of the speaker was lost on any one in the audience."

The tremendous ovation accorded Comrade Debs at Wheeling gave the old party papers no little concern and they rushed out with editorials full of advice to the dear working man, the sum of which advice was to fight shy of Socialism. But the comrades there

are only amused and are using the great interest created by the Debs meeting to draw into the ranks the rank and file of the army of toil.

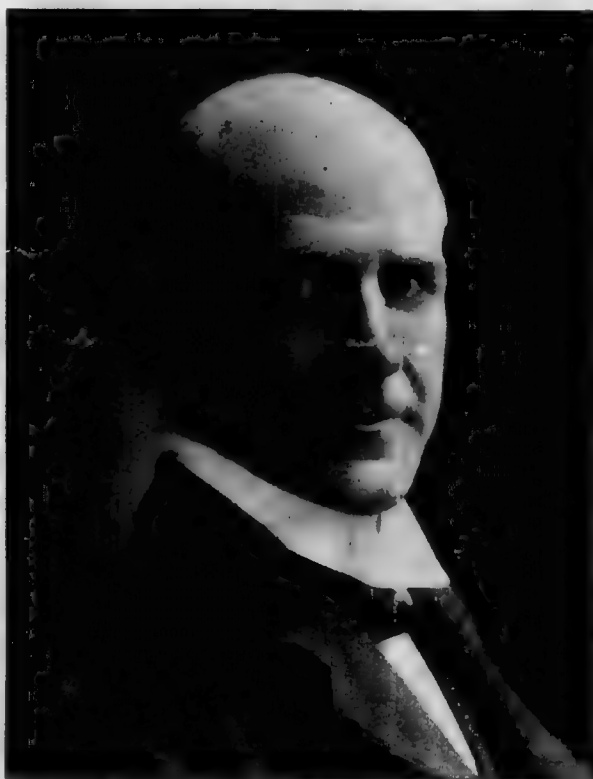
Monster Meeting at Philadelphia

And then came the great meeting at Philadelphia. Never was there anything like it in the history of Socialism in the Keystone State. The capitalistic papers were all forced to remark on the great crowd and the numbers turned away. "A monster demonstration," said the Philadelphia Call. "The attendance was unexpectedly large, even to the officers of the meeting," admits the Public Ledger, and it added: "No audience ever listened with closer attention or warmer sympathy." "For an hour before the opening of the meeting the people poured into the great auditorium," says the Times.

day. In his speech Comrade Debs predicted a panic, no matter whether McKinley or Bryan occupied the White House. This was sent out over the country by the Associated Press, contrary to its usual rule.

Trenton Tumbles

Comrade Debs' meeting at Trenton set the whole town agog. The newspapers couldn't ignore so big a meeting, and some of their editorials were funny in the extreme. Association hall held the usual Debs meeting crush and there was the usual breathless interest for two full hours. At the close of the address people jumped to their feet and cheered, and among those who pressed forward to grasp the candidate's hand were many former hard-shelled republicans and democrats, who proclaimed their conversion.



An' there's 'Gene Debs—a man 'at stan's An' jest holds out in his two hands

As warm a heart as ever beat Betwixt here an' the judgment seat. —James Whitcomb Riley.

DEBS' FINAL WORD

Comrades and Fellow Workingmen:

By your unanimous vote of confidence I was designated as one of the standard bearers of the Social Democratic party in the political campaign now in progress throughout the country.

The responsibilities of the position are appreciated in no small degree, and I am doing all that lies in my power to achieve success for the party.

The vast assemblages of people we are daily addressing bear eloquent testimony, not only to the righteousness of the principles of Socialism, but demonstrate beyond cavil that wisdom, truth and justice were in holy alliance when the Social Democratic party was organized and sent forth on its class-conscious mission.

But we cannot be in a hundred, nor even in two places at the same time, nor are we able to respond to one in twenty of the calls made upon us, and this must be my apology, if one is required, for resorting to this method of addressing the many thousands I cannot otherwise reach.

The thronging multitudes of earnest men and women who press to the meetings held under the auspices of the Social Democratic party and the inspiring and tumultuous applause which greets the announcement of its principles, bears trumpet-toned appreciation of the cause in which we are engaged and of its ultimate triumph.

Comrades, there is a mighty wave of thought, of intense interest sweeping over the country. Workingmen and women, everywhere in our broad land, are aroused as never before to the woeful condition of the working class in the

capitalist system. They have tried the Republican and Democratic parties again and again with the same results. They are beginning to realize that they are but two sections of the same party of the capitalist class, two wings of the same unclean capitalist bird, and that what is required is a change—not merely of parties, but of systems, and hence they are coming to the Social Democratic party, which stands committed to abolish wage slavery by making common property of all the means of wealth production.

A wide field of observation enables me to say that the outlook for our party is inspiring and that, all things considered, it could scarcely be more hopeful or animating.

The Social Democratic party in its youth is developing the stature of a giant. It has torn off its swaddling garments and with startling strides of self-contained strength already menaces the reign and rule of capitalism and the two old parties which do its bidding like trained monkeys in a circus ring. It has created consternation in their ranks, and as they see the pedestaled gods of crime which they worship with pagan devotion tumbled down by the iconoclastic attacks of the Social Democratic party, they know their doom is sealed.

If but yesterday the light of the Social Democratic party flashed upon the country was that of the glow worm in the meadow, it is to-day as effulgent as that of a fixed star in the realm of political activity.

Comrades, a vote cast for the Social Democratic party in this campaign is to be, by the fiat of history, a landmark—aye, a minor mark—better still, an emancipation mark in the onward and upward march of Socialism, of the working class, until they reach the highlands of that rightful freedom where a man owns himself, works for himself, and enjoys all the fruits of that liberty that knows no master, where fetters of the mind and shackles of the body disappear and he stands free and disenthralled by the overmastering power of the genius of Socialism.

Comrades, the battle is on. The serried hosts of capitalism confront us on every hand. They are as numerous as the sands and have money beyond the dreams of avarice. They ride in special trains provided with all the appliances of luxury and repose that plundered wealth can provide. They flash their shining blades in the faces of the working class upon which are engraved the texts from the sacred Koran of capitalism, and the wires flash the exultant boast, "We have smiled upon the working class and they are ours."

Comrades, now is the time for men to do and dare. Now is the time for the workingman to show that he is the equal of the capitalist. Are we ready for the fray? Is our courage equal to our conviction?

Comrades, my faith in your integrity is abounding. I take your hand and feel the thrill of comradeship. I catch the gleam of victory that flashes in your eye and hope takes on a warmer glow. I hear your resounding battle cry as if coming from the throat of a cyclone: "Lead on, we are with you to the end." It is enough.

Eugene V. Debs.

Roosevelt's Shame.

A correspondent in South Dakota asks for more information regarding Roosevelt's barbed policeman club.

The club was approved by Roosevelt while he was president of the police board of the state of New York, and an attempt was made (1896) to introduce it on the police force there, but was later abandoned for fear that the thugs would themselves use it. A patent was applied for but was refused by the United States commissioner of patents, for the reason that it was "barbarous in every characteristic" and "repugnant to the genius of our institutions." The decision was made at some length and was dated Nov. 14, 1897. The report in full will be found in Patent Office Reports, Mechanics, Vol. 2, for 1898. The examiner of patents first rejected it, and the report is made by the commissioner on an appeal.

The club is described as follows: Its barrel is hollowed and within it is an ingenious mechanism connected with four longitudinal rows of spurs or lancets, which lie concealed in the tube. On touching a secret spring these lancets spring from their hiding places, and through them, by a single wrench of the weapon, a most fearful mutilation is inflicted on the hand of an adversary that may have grasped it.

APOPLECTIC PROSPERITY!

SOCIALISM as a science analyzes economic conditions as they exist, and it encounters the proposition that the world now exists to produce wealth for wealth's sake. Profit, trade and business today are but forms of brute force by which the few get control over the masses. Centralization of wealth in the clutches of the few has been the cause of the destruction of the greatest nations that ever existed. They fell all through taking what we today call "prosperity." If I had a rub of blood to the head, all through taking what we today call "prosperity." No, I should have apoplexy. Still, with the nation's blood—her wealth—congested in a small portion of the system, we say we are prosperous.

—Prof. Herron at Milwaukee.

Social Democratic Herald

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board
FREDERIC HEATH Chairman
SEYMOUR STEPMAN Secretary
EUGENE V. DEBS VICTOR L. BERGER
CORINNE S. BROWN

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, \$0.00. Six months, \$0.00. No papers sent to any one on credit. If, without having subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and no bill will follow. Foreign subscriptions \$1.00.

Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

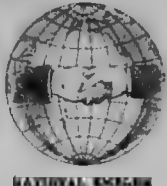
A. S. EDWARDS, Editor
THEODORE DEBS, National Sec'y-Treas.
188 Washington St., Chicago.

122 is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 122 your subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, NOV. 3, 1900.

NATIONAL TICKET

Social Democratic Party



NATIONAL EMBLEM

For President:
EUGENE V. DEBS

For Vice-President:
JOB HARRIMAN

IMPORTANT NOTICE.—The Associated Press is too capitalistic and hostile to give our party vote much consideration on election day, save at points where the vote is so large or the Social Democrat elected such an unexpected event that it cannot help itself. We therefore charge our members in the different towns and cities to themselves see that we have quick and accurate returns the moment the votes are counted. If possible, where the local comrades are willing to bear the expense, send by wire. The Herald will be held on the press, so as to get as late news as possible to our army of readers. Do not send reports by wire later than Nov. 7. Do not neglect this!

About Farm Wagons

An old-party wisecrack of Amesbury, Mass., one Geo. H. Briggs, in order to show the "kind of stuff the (Social Democrats) Ideal Paper publishes," writes a half-column communication to his local paper, quoting certain statistics given in The Herald recently, which showed the labor cost of a number of articles, among them farm wagons and buggies. Mr. Briggs says he wants to find out "whether Socialistic papers are published to give the truth to their readers, or for the benefit of the publishers."

Inasmuch as Mr. Briggs in quoting the items from The Herald also gives the authority for them—namely, the thirteenth annual report of Carroll D. Wright, United States commissioner of labor (Vols. 1 and 2)—we are somewhat at a loss to see why he challenges us to prove their correctness. Carroll D. Wright is not a Socialist, and his government statistics are prepared under capitalistic auspices. Mr. Wright belongs to Mr. Briggs' class, the capitalist class, and his interests are with that class. So far as we know, the capitalists of the country have never doubted the correctness of the figures of the department of labor. But be this as it may, we are glad to take up the cudgels on behalf of the labor bureau, in the case of the farm wagon or the buggy.

The government statistics show (and these figures are made up from direct information received from the manufacturers themselves) that a farm wagon "body brake, double box, spring seat, three and one-fourth skein, wheels three feet eight inches, one and one-half inch tread, is made in the average time of one person in forty-eight hours and eighteen minutes, and the wages paid for its production amount to \$7.19." This does not allow for the labor cost of the wood and iron, but Mr. Briggs will admit that it will be reasonable to figure this additional labor at not over, say \$1.75. Let us then say that the entire labor cost of the wagon, from the time the material leaves the mine and forest, equals \$9. The wagon sells in the market for \$75. So you see, because the workers work for a competitive wage and do not own the tools or forces of production, they only get a miserable fraction of the market value of the articles their industry produces. The great balance goes to enrich the beneficiaries of the capitalist system, and this is why the producers are poor and the non-producers rich. The farmer who buys such a wagon, as has been described, pays heavy tribute to the capitalist system. Under Socialism the cost of the wagon would be the sum of the well-paid labor contained in it. The profit

system robs both producer and consumer and builds up a millionaire and billionaire class to crowd the people out from the right to live happily in a world of beauty and abundance. This is an unrelished truth with Mr. Briggs, we fancy.

It is because the workers of the land get in exchange (wages) so small a fraction of the value of the wealth they create that capitalism has to look for foreign markets. The workers as a class are not able to buy back the things the industry of their class produces. The government reports of the census of 1890 show that the wage workers of the country averaged in wages a trifle over \$1.25 a day, and that the average value of the product of the average worker was \$10 a day. Now where does the \$8.75 go to? Labor does not get it. SOMEBODY does. With the tools and forces of production collectively owned, these "somebodies" would cease to be a master class, a predatory class, a class of human vampires, and would become part of the one universal class, the class of producers and enjoyers. That is just what we Social Democrats are fighting for.

Not Fair Samples

The Bryanite orators delight to single out the Standard Oil trust and the coal trust as representative of the great trust organizations. They do this because these two aggregations of capital are notoriously dishonest in their methods and because they have come about by fraud and brigandage. The moral they wish thereby to convey is that if trickery and brigandage be prevented by sundry laws that the trusts will be dealt a body-blow from which they cannot recover. Such an idea is the sheerest nonsense. In the first place both these trusts are not representative. They were organized before the late newly-dawning era of trusts, their lawless methods are not the methods of all the trusts. Many, indeed, most of the trusts are formed entirely within the law. They are safeguarded under the law and cannot be reached except by new and special laws and such laws cannot be framed without also working hardship to various other businesses which the professional trust fighters do not wish to injure. In short, the trust is the legitimate child of the competitive system, the natural and inevitable next step in the evolution of trade and manufacture.

It is with trusts much as a certain writer has said of Socialism—It is a part of social evolution, therefore, "the danger lies not in forwarding it, but in trying to prevent it."

The Immensity of the Plunder.

The "minimum of profits" enjoyed by the millionaires of the country, to put it large—say 50,000 of them—amounting to \$25,000,000,000 surplus wealth created by workingmen during the past ten years would require for its counting a cashier working eight hours a day and three hundred days in the year, and counting \$100 a minute, 1,755 years. The centuries would come and go, nations would be born and decay, and still the work of counting the wealth labor created in the short space of ten years would proceed. The millionaires who got the wealth would die and their remains be housed in palatial mausoleums in aristocratic cemeteries, and their posterity would inherit the wealth created by workingmen between the years 1890 and 1900. During the ten years to which reference is made, 50,000 workingmen averaged incomes, as Hon. John B. Conner, state statistician, says they averaged for the year ending May 31, 1899, in Indiana, \$145, or a total of \$74,500,000.

Now, then, to count the profits of these 50,000 workingmen for ten years would require a cashier, working eight hours a day, and 300 days in a year, and counting \$100 a minute, a fraction over five days. Hence it is seen that to count the profits for ten years of 50,000 millionaires requires 1,755 years, while to count the profits of the same number of workingmen for the same time requires five days.

Socialism'll catch YOU!!

If
You
Don't
Watch
Out!

The Republicans say things are all right and everyone contented.

The Democrats say things would be all right if it wasn't for the trusts.

The Social Democrats say that times are good for men of wealth only and that these men of wealth are, and always have been, a burden on the people. It holds that they are the legitimate fruit of the capitalistic system and that they have a right to their wealth under it. The entire system must be abolished before their right to plunder through profit, interest and rent will cease. Only then will there be actually good times.

The propertyless class to-day is estimated at thirty-four millions of people, almost exactly the total number of people who made up the nation's population in 1865! And during the years that this great dispossessed class was growing up, the national wealth increased forty-two billions.

The Southern Mercury, a Texas Populist journal, republishes Prof. Heron's Central Music Hall speech with favorable comment.

The trust is a natural development. It cannot be smashed. We do not want to smash it. We want to make it the property of the people.

The Social Democratic party holds that the present system is quickly outliving its usefulness and that it is rapidly working out its own downfall.

In our last issue, first page, the item concerning Bryan and the Philippine treaty should read: "Bryan favors the ratification of the treaty with regard to the Philippines."

Judge Kirkpatrick of New Jersey has refused naturalization papers to a negro, holding that the federal laws permit the naturalization of white men only.

The number of former Populist papers that have come out for Debs and Harriman is large enough to mean something to the student of political developments in the United States.

The settlement of the great coal strike hangs fire, but the miners appear to have gained their point—till after election, anyway, as the settlement is only till April 1st next. Whether the strike was an actual success or failure will not be clear till we can see how the poor victims vote on election day.

The Ohio supreme court, in the case of the State vs. The Continental Tobacco Co., has decided that a foreign corporation coming into Ohio to do business is not liable for the double liability enforced against Ohio corporations. This was one of the fights that ex-Attorney General Monnett was interested in, but the court goes dead against his contention.

Eugene V. Debs, of the workers rather than "for" them, and who carries a union card, is running for president as candidate of the party of the workers, and the Labor World of Duluth keeps silence about it! There are only a few such labor papers left and the workers are getting on to their curves in good shape.

And so Helen Gouger is stumping for Bryan in Indiana, too! Come to think of it, though, Helen never did get any further into Socialism than to proclaim herself one. It is one thing to say "I am a Socialist" (a la Jones) and quite another to ignore the chance of plute campaign money by getting into line with the toilers when a battle against capitalism is on.

Any man who is satisfied with conditions as they are should vote Republican.

Any man who thinks the bad conditions for labor can be bettered by merely making ugly faces at the trusts should vote Democratic.

Any man who realizes that the present system is crushing the people, soul and body, and who sees the only hope in public ownership, will vote Social Democratic.

NOTES AND COMMENT

Working men all along the centuries have been asking for bread and meat. Capitalism has given them stones and scorpions, breakfast, dinner and supper. Some fell sick and died, some perished by starvation, some became tramps, footpads, burglars, or professional thieves. Some committed suicide; some were sent to the penitentiary, some were shot down by capitalistic troops for striking against conditions so full of horror as to defy exaggeration, some remain upon the earth, having escaped the calamities which befell the unfortunate, and now, capitalism asks the survivors to vote that its power may be perpetuated rather than for the Social Democratic Party, which proposes to put an end, an everlasting termination, to capitalistic rule and rapine.

It has become axiomatic in the politics of the two great parties contending for supremacy in the United States that "a lie adhered to is as good as the truth," which is itself a lie. The only support a lie has is another lie. Thus lies beget lies, and the work proceeds until the structure built of lies tumbles down a wreck which no amount of lying can reconstruct. Bryant sounded a keynote when he sang: "Truth crush'd to earth shall rise again, The eternal years of God are hers."

The old parties admit that the Social Democratic Party will poll a large vote at the November election and they are asking from which of them will it be chiefly drawn? The answer is easy: It will be drawn from the party having the greatest number of men who dare vote for the emancipation of wage-workers from the poverty and degradation which the capitalistic system imposes upon its victims.

Please don't forget that a vote for Debs and Harriman means breaking capitalistic fetters.

The devil remarked, when he sheared the hog, "Great cry and little wool!" Capitalism, which is the child of the devil, shears workingmen and piles up colossal fortunes, and the victims of its spoliation in voting for its perpetuation, say, practically: "We are your sheep, shear us as much as suits your inordinate greed; we like the operation."

We are told that though we suffer cruel wrongs in this world, when capitalism robs us, "improves and degrades us," there will be glorious compensation for wage slavery in the next world. May we hope so, but nevertheless, heaven will lose none of its attractions if Socialism makes this world a paradise.

To cast a vote on election day is the highest prerogative of a freeman. If the vote is cast as the result of purchase or intimidation, if it does not express the honest conviction of the man who casts it, it is the vote of a slave, the depth of whose degradation no plummet can sound.

Lives of free men all remind us

We, too, may be free,
If capitalism does not blind us,
Forge its fetters, and then bind us,
Build its mills and then grind us—
Yes, if, don't you see?

The poet caught the idea when he sang of the ballot:

"A weapon that comes down as still,
As snowflakes fall upon the sod,
Yet executes a freeman's will,
As lightning does the will of God."

If capitalism, under present conditions of our civilization, is unavoidable, the supreme demand is to radically change our civilization by voting for the Social Democratic Party, which is pledged to change conditions.

If capitalism can so hypnotize working men as to influence them to vote for its perpetuation, then it is possible to persuade them that the difference between shop and hell is only one of orthography.

When a rich man offers to buy a vote and a poor man is willing to sell his vote, the extremes of capitalism meet. The fang and the rattle coalesce and capitalistic-civilization reaches its reptilian perfection.

Once in awhile an anarchist kills a king or some other titled creature, in the hope of bettering conditions. As well kill occasionally a jack rabbit in the the hope of exterminating the rodents.

The Standard Oil trust (monopoly, corporation or what not), paid dividends last year amounting to \$48,000,000. And every dollar of the vast sum of profits was filched from the earnings of labor.

The preacher who said to his audience: "I am your shepherd, and ye are my mutton," expressed the true capitalistic idea in industrial affairs—wage-workers are the mutton of capitalism.

Mark Hanna, making speeches in favor of good government, is like feeding troops on McKinley's embalmed beef—an article which, when thrown into the sea killed sharks.

J. Pierpont Morgan gave his daughter on her wedding day \$1,000,000. But for labor Miss Morgan would have received possibly \$10.

To be true to citizenship, to duty and to conscience, a man should vote his honest convictions.

It is easy to make figures lie, and still an easier task to make a ballot lie.

With a free ballot, workingmen may and ought to be freemen.

Don't make faces at the trusts—nationalize them!

They Do Not Dare.

The capitalist press, both Republican and Democratic, fought the Populist party. They have changed tactics so far as Socialism is concerned. The policy is to ignore the Socialists and by saying nothing of them keep the people from inquiring into the principles of Socialism.—Dr. Thurman, in Farmers' Review, Texas.

Bryan's Military Experience

"Experience," says W. J. Bryan, 'has taught me that the life of a soldier is a dangerous one.' In explanation of this statement it may be said that while Col. Bryan was camped in Florida he ate an unripe watermelon and suffered an attack of colic.—New York Mail and Express.

Rather tough on a "patriot" who rushes to the front to defend the "old flag." The military record of Colonel Bryan merits more serious treatment. Pity that Bill Nye is dead.

Look out for day-before-election "roorbacks." Any report that Debs has withdrawn is simply a bait of the old parties to get your vote by fraud.

NOW FOR THE HARVEST

Straws from the Various Strongholds of Revolutionary Socialism

After next Tuesday the Social Democratic party will have official standing in the majority of the states of the Union. This will be an immense gain and make future progress much easier than in the past.

Bonham, Tex., Oct. 30.—We expect forty or fifty thousand votes for Debs' in Texas. W. E. Farmer.

Cincinnati, Oct. 31.—From all indications we will double our vote in Ohio this fall. As a very conservative estimate I should say 15,000 votes for Debs'. Robt. J. Waite.

New York City, Nov. 1.—I predict 6,000 in New York State. Some think 7,000. Wm. B. Leaf.

Terre Haute, Ind., Nov. 1.—No one in that splendid field for propaganda, the gas belt, doubts that our vote in the state will go to 10,000. I believe it will be nearer 20,000. A. S. Edwards.

I predict the Pennsylvania vote for the S. D. P. (Socialist Party) will be from 4,000 to 5,000. Philadelphia will give 2,000. Last election the S. L. P. got 900 votes. M. Gillis.

Another prediction received as to Pennsylvania estimates the vote at 10,000.

Milwaukee, Nov. 1.—I should say the vote for our party in Milwaukee would be from 4,500 to 5,000.

E. H. Rooney.

A comrade writes from Oshkosh, Wis., that a traveling man who has been about the state, says Wisconsin will give us from 10,000 to 15,000 votes. There is strong sentiment for Debs' in Oshkosh.

Battle Creek, Mich., Oct. 31.—Our party vote in Michigan will range from 10,000 down to 7,500. City of Battle Creek, 1,000 to 1,200.

Chester G. Campbell.

Muscantine, Ia., Nov. 1.—Vote in this state will exceed our estimates based on reliable data at hand. Have made our campaign largely in about ten counties. In Dubuque county we will have about 100; in Clinton, 300; in Scott, 600; Muscatine, 200; Des Moines, 250; Wapello, 200; Monroe, 150; Appanoose, 100; Polk, 200; Boone, 100. This gives us a total 2,200 in the ten counties. There still remain 89 counties, which estimated at 20 votes each, will bring the total up to 4,200, which is a conservative estimate.

A. W. Ricker,

State Organizer.

It is merely a guess, but I should say our vote in Kentucky will reach 1,000.

J. H. Arnold.

I am sure that our candidates will receive 70 per cent of the Bohemian coal miners at Coal City, Braidwood, Godlepe and other Illinois towns.

F. J. Hlavacek, Organizer.

Comrade Edwards of Canton, Ill., will easily get 300 votes as S. D. P. candidate for congress.—Correspondent in Galesburg Labor News.

"The size of the Debs vote is going to surprise the country. I have been told that in one shop in this city 150 men who voted for McKinley in 1896 will vote for Debs."—From a letter written to the National Democratic Campaign Committee by L. A. Russell of Cleveland.

National Organizer W. J. McSweeney, who was in Chicago last week after a trip through Illinois, Missouri and Iowa, said to a Chicago Journal reporter: "We will poll at least 1,000,000 votes," he said. "I know of several men who will bet considerable sums of money on that proposition. In Cook county we will poll from 20,000 to 25,000 votes. In Illinois we will poll at least 50,000 votes. In Ohio we will poll at least 40,000 votes. In the coal regions of Illinois we are in splendid shape. I met the miners of Illinois at Coal Valley, Spring Valley, Pana and Virden. The miners at Pana told me they would carry that city without doubt."

In an article in the Chicago News of Oct. 23, entitled "Watch the Labor Vote," the claim is made that the Debs vote will cut heavily into the Democrats. "Debs will get a big vote," it quotes a trade union official as saying, "and what is left will be divided almost evenly between McKinley and Bryan." The article concluded with several interviews with union leaders. Thomas I. Kidd, general secretary of the Amalgamated Woodworkers' Union, said: "I will vote for Eugene V. Debs, and I know a large number of our members will do likewise." Otto Novak, business agent of the Metal Workers' Union, said a large percentage of the members of his organization had avowed their intention of voting for Debs. A talk with many members of the International Association of Machinists, one of the strongest labor organizations in the city, revealed the fact that Debs will receive strong support. In many of the other organizations the same conditions prevail, it is declared.

To say the least the Democrats think it is real mean of Mr. Debs.—Chicago Record.

"We must all be Socialists in a sense. It seems to be coming inevitably in Europe, and something will happen in this country."—F. Marion Crawford, Author.

Branch No. 23, Milwaukee, meets second and fourth Wednesday of each month, at 124 Clark street. Henry Harbicht, Sec., 1974 7th Street.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

THE NATIONAL PLATFORM

Adopted at the Indianapolis Convention, March, 1900

THE CAMPAIGN FUND

C. Meier, Chicago	10.00
F. A. Schuler, Milwaukee	1.00
L. Rosenthal, New York	1.00
Jas. Hilarczyk	1.00
J. Goldstein	1.00
A. Vogel	1.00
L. Schwartz	1.00
Kawer	1.00
Galanty	1.00
S. Glickman	1.00
William	1.00
Chas. F. Meyer, St. Louis	1.00
Geo. W. Bine, Indianapolis	1.00
Edw. Pfleger, Milwaukee	1.00
H. H.	1.00
Lonis F. Kropp	1.00
Gwyther, Chicago	1.00
H. Topel, Bozeman	1.00
Branch S. Texas	1.00
Henry Holscher, Cincinnati	1.00
H. A. Crumley	1.00
Edward Dickinson, Shiloh	1.00
Abe Her, Monroe	1.00
Chris. Roeder, Monroe	1.00
P. H. Lyons, Jacksonville	1.00
Branch 9, Wisconsin	1.00
Jas. Filler, Brooklyn	1.00
Coming Nation collection, Banks	1.00
J. M. Frankfield, Freeport	1.00
W. H. Melton, Killeen	1.00
W. D. Altman, Elderton	1.00
E. U. Adams, Battle Creek	1.00
Dr. Graer, Chicago	1.00
Joe. Filler, Brooklyn	1.00
L. Fahn, Peotone	1.00
W. E. D. Meade	1.00
Thos. Pierce	1.00
Branch 2, Milwaukee	1.00
Charles E. Upton, Placerville	1.00
H. H. Chicago	1.00
Sam. Huch, Philadelphia	1.00
W. Salinsky	1.00
E. Schollman	1.00
Jno. Lindberg, Chicago	1.00
Wm. Anderson	1.00
Fred. Patsche	1.00
M. Josephson	1.00
B. McLean, Des Moines	1.00
Branch 2, New York	1.00
A. F. Gooch, Shelby	1.00

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness depend upon equal political and economic rights.

In our economic development an industrial revolution has taken place, the individual tool of former years having become the social tool of the present. The individual tool was owned by the worker who employed himself and was master of his product. The social tool, the machine, is owned by the capitalist and the worker is dependent upon him for employment. The capitalist thus becomes the master of the worker and is able to appropriate to himself a large share of the product of his labor.

Capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people; but the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system will necessitate the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare.

The present system of social production and private ownership is rapidly converting society into two antagonistic classes—i. e., the capitalist class and the propertyless class. The middle class, once the most powerful of this great nation, is disappearing in the mill of competition. The issue is now between the two classes first named. Our political liberty is now of little value to the masses unless used to acquire economic liberty.

Independent political action and the trade union movement are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its political, the other its economic wing, and both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system.

Therefore the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be:

First—The organization of the working class into a political party to conquer the public powers now controlled by capitalists.

Second—The abolition of wage-slavery by the establishment of a national system of co-operative industry, based upon the social or common ownership of the means of production and distribution, to be administered by society in the common interest of all its members, and the complete emancipation of the socially useful classes from the domination of capitalism.

The working class and all those in sympathy with their historic mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America.

The control of political power by the Social Democratic party will be tantamount to the abolition of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting the millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international Socialism, the brotherhood of man. As steps in that direction, we make the following demands:

First—Revision of our federal constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to complete

control of government by the people irrespective of sex.

Second—The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

Third—The public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones; all means of transportation, and communication; all water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

Fourth—The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal, and other mines, and all oil and gas wells.

Fifth—The reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

Sixth—The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

Seventh—Useful inventions to be free, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

Eighth—Labor legislation to be national, instead of local, and international when possible.

Ninth—National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.

Tenth—Equal civil and political rights; for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

Eleventh—The adoption of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

Twelfth—Abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

Prof. Goosse, Milwaukee	1.00
H. E. Stolz	1.00
Howard Tuttle	1.00
M. H.	1.00
Chas. M. Hack	1.00
R. L. Schmidt	1.00
F. Brokhusen	1.00
Max Gross	1.00
L. A. Arnold	1.00
H. C. Enbke	1.00
Max Samuel	1.00
G. E. Friend	1.00
Arthur Schilling	1.00
F. D. Wolar	1.00
A. Troder	1.00
F. Wachtler	1.00
Wm. Buehler	1.00
Frank T. Becker	1.00
W. Wadleigh	1.00
Henry Schonten	1.00
Peter Schenter	1.00
E. Zeiler	1.00
J. F. Fox, Butte	1.00
Branch 12, Illinois	1.00
A. Stockham, Wail	1.00
Henry C. Dier, Massachusetts	1.00
M. Block, Battle Creek	1.00
Hilmar Heur, Milwaukee	1.00
J. Underhill	1.00
R. A. Clarke	1.00
Thos. Kimpke	1.00
Jas. Armstrong	1.00
Paul Gerstkaum	1.00
Henry Bauer	1.00
Thos. Vahl	1.00
Wm. Seeger	1.00
H. W. Bistorsous	1.00
W. A. Clarke	1.00
John Morrison	1.00
Emil Fischer	1.00
Engene H. Rooney	1.00
A. A. Heller, New York	1.00
Jas. Addams, Chicago	1.00
Clara Lounsborg	1.00
Previously reported	1.00
Total	\$1,947.44

NATIONAL PAPER OF THE PARTY:
The Social Democratic Herald
126 Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.

HEADQUARTERS: 126 WASHINGTON ST., CHICAGO

FROM THE WORKERS

Edwards' Tour of the Indiana Gas Belt

Marion, Ind., Oct. 26.—One week of campaigning in Indiana, including in my itinerary La Porte, Kokomo, Elwood, Alexandria, Marion and Anderson, enables me to say that the Social Democratic Party is strictly in it in this pivotal state of capitalist politics. More than that, in many of these manufacturing towns of the gas belt our growing young party is making extraordinary strides and greatly embarrassing both the parties committed to the perpetuation of the capitalistic regime. All sorts and conditions of men are attracted to our meetings and the conviction that we present the real solution, and are, therefore, dealing honestly with the people, is permeating the mass. Of opposition, the kind we invite and welcome, that is, intellectual combat for principle, there is none. More and more it filters through the democratic mind that, after all, the Democratic party is not democratic, that the party has no issues that Mr. Bryan, if elected, would be impotent to stem the tide of economic imperialism at home, which is the cause of military imperialism abroad.

New adherents to our cause, coming FROM BOTH OLD PARTIES, are found every day. The public meeting and fearless discussion of the real issues of the time, has the effect of strengthening the half-formed resolution to break away from the Egyptian darkness of the politics of their masters and of bringing them into line for the only movement that stands for true democracy. You may expect daily to see the old party managers resort to all sorts of untruthful reports to mislead the voters and, if possible, switch the wage-earners in the mills and factories of Indiana to the support of Bryanism or McKinleyism. But they will fail. A Social Democrat in Indiana is a Socialist, as elsewhere. He knows why he arrived, which is more than the average Bryan-olator knows.

Many incidents of my daily and nightly experiences would have an interest for Herald readers, had I the time to jot them down, and this I hope to do soon. At Anderson our meeting was held in the Superior Court room. In another room of the same building Hon. J. E. McCullough of Indianapolis, a Democrat and ex-member of Congress, had a rally of the "faithless." Thirty minutes before time for the two meetings to open, the local secretary of the Democrats proposed to our Comrade Macomber a joint meeting to be addressed by Mr. McCullough and myself. It was also suggested, as a matter of "courtesy," that I speak first. When the proposition came to me I readily assented, and, not to be outdone in "courteous" treatment, proposed that he speak first. Comrade Macomber went in search of the Democratic secretary, while I distributed leaflets among an audience scarcely less numerically than that assembled in the "lower court," and waited, "eager for the fray." The secretary, however, could not be found, and I did not have the pleasure of converting Mr. McCullough to Socialism or showing him the fallacy and utter inadequacy of his party's program of reactionism. But the Anderson meeting was better without the Democratic orator than it could possibly have been with him. Converts were made and a good branch organized and when it was all over, many of those present at the other meeting said they had got into the wrong room.

A. S. Edwards.

Come in Bunches

I have struck upon a group of men in my factory where there will probably be twenty-five votes for Debs where a month ago I wasn't sure of hardly one—it's a little landslide all my own. The Debs-Herron speeches turned the trick. It's a-coming, my boys! But let's be patient and modest, nevertheless, and not expect too much.—Edward Wenning, Ohio.

The Tactics of Mayor Jones' Party

Ed. Herald:—Although the secretary of state has refused to recognize the Social Democratic party in the coming election, still the votes are here, and we may get a hearing next time, when it will be our turn to "don't recognize."—New Orleans Comrade.

The Conspiracy of Silence.

Editor Herald: I had a casual conversation the other day (in Milwaukee) with the chairman of the local Democratic campaign committee, Mr. W. G. Bruce, and he asked me about the Social Democratic campaign. Among other things I happened to mention the conspiracy of silence with regard to the Socialist canvas on the part of the capitalist press to which he responded, substantially, if not in these exact words:

"Yes, you know, I suppose, that the two national committees in Chicago have an understanding with regard to the Socialists." I tried to get a little further light but he was on his guard. He is a man who is in close touch with the national Democratic headquarters, and is undoubtedly posted.—From a Wisconsin Comrade.

"You can best judge how Social Democracy is growing from the following: Six months ago we put up the first Socialist ticket in the field in Burlington and cast 165 votes. We have polled our city and find we have about 1,000 Socialists. The city polls about 4,800 votes."—F. C. M., Iowa.

The outlook is good here in Saratoga county for a good vote for our ticket. Enclosed find renewal for your valuable paper. I was not aware the time was out till the paper did not come—so busy working hard to keep the "wolf" from the door.—J. H. Bullard, New York.

Prospects are very good here and we expect to give the old parties a great surprise on election day.—Jacob Hunger, Milwaukee.

The future is full of promise for Socialism in western Canada, but, alas! the harvest is great and the laborers but few.—Ernest Burns, British Columbia.

The movement is going well here. The Democrats are getting crazy over our progress, and no wonder. Our cigar maker candidate for Congress makes a strong opposition to their banker and coal operator candidate.—Jos. C. Wullner, Seventeenth Illinois District.

If the tramps only carried dinner pails instead of tomato cans, how prosperous the country would be.

Notes of the Movement

Michigan.—The Alpena trades council has declared for Social Democracy and endorsed Debs and Harriman.

Colorado.—Comrade Eugene Engley, of Cripple Creek, Col., has written to the Pueblo Courier declining to allow the use of his name on any but a straight Social Democratic ticket, and giving the usual reasons therefor. He was

nominated by our party for justice of the state supreme court, whereupon his name was placed on various "state labor" and "fusion party" tickets. He has no use for mongrel fusion tickets, and says that as a rule "manufactured goods are put on the market for sale."

Wisconsin.—The state officials attempted a sly game on us, but we have frustrated it. Because our party cast the required one per cent in certain localities, it was planned to give us an official column for the local candidates and to then put the presidential electors in an "individual nominations" column thus cutting our ticket in two and making it a dead certainty that many voters would get puzzled and miss putting in a full vote. Comrade Victor L. Berger, made a flying trip to Madison, armed with certain legal decisions and a well grounded threat of mandamus proceedings and finally brought the secretary of state to terms. We get a clear column with a voting square at the top only the name of the party does not



Of Dinner Pail Servitude

Four years more,
Whichever party'll win.
They call this the sum of man's
ambition,
To eat cold chuck from out a can
of tin.

Then vote right, boys,
And vote'er with a will!
We'll end this brutal slavery
Upon our lives we will!!

The capitalist class are forever referring to the "full dinner pail" of the work- ingmen, as if it were the height of their ambition—the sum of their aspirations. Capitalism looks upon workmen, as swine, as dumb driven cattle, who, if fairly well fed, are content, having no yearnings for mind-improvement, no ambition for culture, books, art, music and other things which make life beautiful and worth the living.

head it. New sets of sample ballots have been ordered printed all over the state and we feel better.—Comrade Tuttle, candidate for governor, has been having some fine meetings, together with Geo. Koop of Chicago. He has addressed noon-day crowds at the factories and met with gratifying receptions. He is about to make another flying tour of the state.

Kentucky.—The convention of the American Federation of Labor will be held at Louisville Dec. 6.

Iowa.—Charles L. Breckon, candidate for congress on the Social Democratic ticket in the Second district, was until a few months ago the managing editor of the Muscatine Daily Journal when his Socialistic principles got so strong that he was asked to recant in order to retain his position; this he refused to do, and giving up his desk, went back to his old work of setting type. Comrade Breckon is especially strong in the ranks of organized labor. He has been an active member of the

International Typographical Union for twenty-four years, is president of the Iowa State Allied Printing Trades and a member of the executive board of the State Federation of Labor and of the Muscatine local labor body.

Ohio.—Cincinnati comrades had some amusement out of the Burke Cochran meeting. They passed round a large quantity of literature, and while the speaking was going on a large number of those present sat reading Social Democratic leaflets.

Washington.—Comrade H. S. Gen- evra Lake held a big meeting October 18 at Haquiam to a crowded opera house. Comrade Fenelason, nominee for representative, also spoke. A loyal branch of 30 members, who cannot be sidetracked, joined in a vigorous three cheers for Debs. A similar meeting was held at Elma. The Republican rally across the way closed its doors for lack of hearers. Comrade Rasmausen presided. Our vote in this state will be a surprise.

Michigan.—The first issue of the new Social Democratic paper in Battle Creek, The Social Democrat, is out, and it is a creditable production. It is of eight pages, four columns to the page, and is filled with good, live, pulsating, Socialistic reading. —A hard campaign is being fought in Michigan and many meetings are being held. Comrade J. Stitt Wilson and Comrade Wise are moving from town to town and getting fine results. Other speakers are at it in every county of the peninsular state. Michigan will give a good account of herself on election day.—The Social Democrat of Battle Creek republished Eugene V. Debs' letter to Mayor Jones in its issue of Oct. 13. The letter is relished on all sides and the general opinion is that the "silver rule" mayor put his fingers in a hornets' nest.

Indiana.—For the past two weeks Comrades Kelly and Edwards have been stumping Indiana together and have had big meetings. Comrade Blenko writes of Comrade Edwards' Kokomo meetings that they were very effective. They were held in the open air, and although on each occasion a challenge for a discussion was made to the old parties, no one responded. The meetings were the first avowedly Socialistic ones held on the streets of Kokomo. Messrs. Kelly and Edwards had big meetings at Brazil, Oct. 22; Clinton, Oct. 23, and in the court house at Terre Haute, Oct. 24.—Stephen M. Reynolds, a prominent lawyer, of Terre Haute, and a recent convert, made his first speech for Social Democracy at Maxville, Oct. 23, with fine results.

California.—The old parties are getting uneasy over the strength of the Social Democrats. They are beginning to issue papers edited by alleged Socialists who reiterate their belief in Socialism and their conviction that true Socialistic interest demands the election of whichever capitalistic candidate they happen to be "plugging" for. Especially amusing is a sheet of this sort issued from Los Angeles with Bryanite funds. It declares Bryan to be a Socialist and lauds Silver Rule Jones to the skies. Next we will hear the claim that multi-millionaire Stevenson is a Socialist!

Illinois.—Comrade Stedman had some big meetings last week at Elgin, Jacksonville and Pittsfield.—Chicago comrades of the town of Lake district held a procession Sunday, followed by speaking from a wagon on the open prairie, with a big crowd.—There will be a mass meeting Sunday, Nov. 4, at

Koerbert's hall, Blue Island Avenue and 21st place, Chicago. Comrade Albert Stritzkowski (in German), Frank J. Hlavacek (in Bohemian) and John Collins (in English), will be the speakers.

Socialism is the ideal and hope of a new society founded on industrial peace and forethought, aiming at a new and higher life for all.—William Morris.

NEW BRANCHES

Colorado, one
Georgia, one
Illinois, five
Indiana, one
Kentucky, one
Louisiana, one
Massachusetts, two
New Jersey, one
Wisconsin, two
Total, fifteen.

WHERE DEBS WILL SPEAK

Rochester.....November 2
Toledo, Ohio (afternoon)..... " 3
Evansville..... " 4
Terre Haute..... " 5
Linton, Ind. (afternoon)..... " 5

Cook County Ticket

Illinois.—The Cook county ticket is as follows:
For states attorney—Thos. J. Morgan.
For recorder of deeds—Christ. J. Petersen.
For clerk Circuit court—Geo. D. Ballard.
For clerk Superior court—Victor Lindgren.
For coroner—Joshua Wanhope.
For member board of assessors—N. J. Nielsen and Nels Benson.
For member board of review—S. Hakenson.
For judges Superior court—Peter Sissman, Robert Wadell, C. G. Nelson and Grant Depew.
For judge of Probate court—M. Holinger.
For county surveyor—J. W. Saun-
For members drainage board—H. F. Lindgren, H. Philipps, Nicholas Brod, W. O'Brien and Chas. Fritz.
For president of county board—F. G. Strickland.
For county commissioners—City members—F. G. Strickland, Samuel Williams, And. Jasinski, J. Liss, O. E. Kronlof, Otto Becker, Wm. Redford, Chas. Stillhoff, Sol. Seigel and Geo. Arnold.
Country members—Peter Pitchner, Jas. Osterling, A. B. Gulberg, Anton Larson and Fritz Mienfeld.
Candidates for congress—First, H. W. Collins; second, Nic. Krump; third, H. C. Driesvoght; fourth, A. M. Simons; fifth, Jno. Collins; sixth, Jul. Bark; seventh, J. W. Bartels.
Candidates for members of board of equalization—First, H. De Boer; second, Alex. Akerholm; third, William Wall; fourth, K. Kosturski; fifth, Jul. Henriksson; sixth, J. A. Linder; seventh, F. T. Overberg.
Candidates for state senator—Fourth senatorial district—P. Horslev; sixth senatorial district, J. W. Stewart.
Candidates for state representatives—First, Jos. Trentz; third, R. H. Johnson; fourth, H. Glaser; sixth, O. Presto; ninth, Joseph Keidel; eleventh, L. Olsen; thirteenth, P. Knickrehm; fifteenth, W. Kamin; nineteenth, W. C. Horgan; twenty-first, Robt. Baur; twenty-third, Jno. Vagt.

Comrades throughout the country who have not had their letters answered with the usual promptness the past few weeks must make allowance for the crush of campaign work at headquarters. Even the extra force was unable to keep up with the demands.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

THIRD YEAR. No. 21.

CHICAGO, ILL., U. S. A., SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 1900.

Whole No. 123.

ENDS IN TRIUMPH!

The Social Democratic Candidate for President Closes his Remarkable Campaign

A Crush at Boston, New York, and Other Points, a Remarkable Wind-up—An Ovation at Terre Haute

Comrade Eugene V. Debs closed his tour last Monday evening by a monster meeting in his home city of Terre Haute. During his tour he visited eighteen states and made eighty speeches. The closing week of the trip witnessed great meetings in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Ohio and Indiana.

There was a packed house at Whitman, Mass., Comrade Debs speaking until nearly 10 o'clock, and then leaving for Brockton, Harriman filling out the balance of the evening. About a third of the audience insisted on accompanying Debs to Brockton, and the short trip across country was "noisy and enthusiastic."

At Brockton, the Social Democratic city, a monster audience was assembled. Comrade Debs spoke for an hour and the greatest of enthusiasm prevailed. Speeches were also made by Comrade F. O. McCartney and Job Harriman.

At Boston, Paine Memorial hall fairly swarmed with humanity. Meetings were held in both halls which were simultaneously packed and people crowded in the aisles, the staircases and on the street, the crowd being utterly regardless of the fire laws. Comrade Squire Putney introduced the speaker, and Comrade F. O. McCartney holding the crowd in one hall while the presidential candidate was speaking in the other. Speeches were also made by Comrade Gibbs, White, Chase and others spoke. It is estimated that nearly 5,000 people heard Comrade Debs.

At Rockland the opera house was packed, gallery, hall and stairways. Comrade McCartney presided and made a neat introductory speech. It was an intelligent, hard-headed Plymouth county audience, and while Debs was speaking the attention was marvelous.

Debs was in town on the evening of October 30, at New York, and Cooper Union was packed with an audience of 10,000, eager to see and hear the apostle of Socialism. The daily papers of Gotham which had any notice of the great demonstration were forced to admit that it was unparalleled in the history of the Socialist movement there.

Great crowds of people were on the streets unable to get in and at the close of the indoor meeting Comrade Debs spoke at two street meetings. He was carried from the hall amid the wild cheers of thousands of admirers and the pressure became so great that the interference of police became necessary to prevent the crowd from doing him or themselves bodily harm. It was with the utmost difficulty that the policemen rescued and escorted him to an elevated railway station when the speaking was over.

The meeting at Rockville, Conn., was of the usual sort, with people turned away.

The audience at Hartford, Conn., was a repetition of those at other places in the east, both in numbers and enthusiasm. It filled the biggest hall in the city to overflowing. When Comrade Debs arose to begin his speech he was greeted with continued applause. He spoke for two hours and at the close received the congratulations of many who had heard him for the first time that night.

Long before Comrade Debs made his appearance on the stage of Fitchburg hall at Rochester, the auditorium was packed to suffocation. Before the meeting there was a parade of the Social Democratic clubs in which the typographical union, the glassblowers, the united shoe workers, the garment makers, the iron molders and other labor bodies took part. The meeting was a big success.

The meeting at Toledo, Ohio, was one of the most satisfactory of the candidate's trip. For several hours before Comrade Debs appeared at the Memorial Hall he received at the hotel delegations from various organizations, including one of forty men from the Jones Acme Sucker Rod factory. The latter escorted him to the hall. On the stage were seated the ladies of the Social Democratic Club and the Golden Rule Club. Byron A. Case, Social Democratic candidate for congress, presided and in an admirable speech introduced Comrade Debs to an audience that packed the great hall. Then the people rose and gave him a reception exceeding in its sincerity and enthusiasm that accorded

any presidential candidate by a Toledo audience.

Evansville, Ind., Nov. 5.—With a record of popular triumphs unprecedented in the Socialist movement, Comrade Debs arrived on Sunday, Nov. 4, at Evansville, where the comrades had made complete preparations for a great meeting and were not disappointed. The Evansville demonstration was a repetition of the popular interest in the nominee and the principles he stood for at every place he had visited. Germania Hall was "packed with humanity," says the Evansville Journal, "when the labor leader appeared, and as he walked along the aisle from the entrance to the stage the audience cheered and applauded in the most demonstrative manner, many mounting seats and waving hats, handkerchiefs and wraps. Even after the speaker was seated the demonstration continued and he was compelled to bow his acknowledgments."

"The stage was beautifully decorated in the national colors and plants and flowers, and as the speaker entered at the stage door he was showered with flowers by a number of girls, who afterwards sang a chorus 'Of Course We Are Socialists.'"

Terre Haute, Ind., Nov. 5.—Comrade Debs closed the first great Socialist campaign in this his home city, Monday evening, November 5th, in an address delivered at the Casino, to a crowd estimated at 1,700 or 2,000. Comrade Debs arrived from Linton at 4:10 p. m., and a delegation of over a hundred miners from the latter place with a brass band accompanied him. The local branch members, and many sympathizers greeted the presidential candidate at the depot with a band and escorted him to his home, after which

the parade proceeded down the main thoroughfare and disbanded. The Linton delegation presented a neat appearance and excited much comment. A banner carried by one of them had inscribed on its folds the words: "We vote for Debs and the overthrow of the capitalist system." The parade was as large as any made by the Democrats and the Republicans. A feature of the meeting was the presentation of a silver smoking set to Comrade Debs by the German Lutheran church, who had voted it to the most popular presidential candidate. The vote was Debs 94, McKinley 62, and Bryan 60. Comrade Debs spoke over two hours and held the attention of the audience throughout the meeting which was frequently interrupted with applause. Comrade Debs' witty sallies at the "regenerated" democracy and logical thrusts at the party of centralized capitalism were easily grasped by those present who applauded long and frequent. The meeting was an epoch in the Socialist movement in this city and proved that the old adage: "A man is not a prophet," etc., has at least one exception. JAMES O'NEAL.

The Returns at Headquarters

There was a jolly crowd of the faithful at the Herald office and in the rooms of the national campaign committee on election night, discussing the returns as they came in, sharing in each other's hopes and fears, and singing and joking to enliven the moments. Comrades Jesse Cox, Seymour Stedman, A. S. Edwards, Elizabeth Thomas, Theodore Debs, Frederic Heath and others were present during the greater part of the evening. The Chicago returns were not as large as had been hoped for, and it looked as if an official standing would not be secured, but there were other advices of a more cheering nature, the chief of which was had from a telegram from Massachusetts announcing McCartney's re-election by an increased vote. This was greeted with an outburst of joy that shook the dingy old building. It was after midnight when the party broke up.

Well, who "threw his vote away," Mr. Bryanite? We didn't!

VICTORY AGAIN!!

McCartney and Cary Re-elected in Massachusetts With an Increased Vote

Wisconsin's Increase, 200 per cent.—Early Returns Indicate Gigantic Gains Everywhere—Official Standing in Many States

Massachusetts

Frederic O. McCartney was re-elected to the state legislature from the Plymouth district by an increased vote, receiving 826 and beating both the Republican and Democratic candidates. Comrade McCartney's vote in 1899 was 703.

Debs' vote in Rockland was 261; at Haverhill 1,200.

"McCartney's vote in Plymouth district is 826; Debs' 261. BILLINGS."

"McCartney and Carey re-elected. We estimate Debs' vote at 10,000 in state. MARGARET HAILE."

Wisconsin

At 10 o'clock Tuesday night I estimate the vote for Debs in Milwaukee county at 6,000.

VICTOR L. BERGER.

The Milwaukee Sentinel last Sunday, in a forecast from Republican headquarters, gave the Social Democrats 12,000 votes in the state. The official returns for the state in 1898 gave us 2,591.

Racine county, 400 (estimated). Rheinlander, 15; New Glarus, 6; Brodhead 12; Monticello, 3.

Calumet county, 75. First time. Pacific, 18; Democrats, 18; Woodruff, 20.

"Social Democratic vote in Two Rivers, Wis., is 63. Two years ago we had 17. The S. L. P. get 2."

"ARNOLD ZANDER."

Illinois

The official count will probably give Debs 7,500 votes in Cook county. Perry's vote for governor in Chicago will likely go to 5,000. First returns give Debs 5,022, not taking into account the vote in the Twelfth, Thirtieth and

Thirty-fourth wards, where the total should be increased by 1,000.

The vote in the Thirty-fourth ward is reported later at 606; a similar vote in the other wards and country districts, followed by the official count, promises to give the Social Democratic party a legal standing in Cook county.

It is impossible at this time to give any accurate figures for the state at large, owing to the absorption of election officials in the capitalist parties' struggle for advantage. Debs' vote in the state may reach 15,000 or more.

Hiteam, 154; New Burnside, 20; first vote, Spring Valley, 189; S. L. P., 12; Westville, 54; Coal City, 52; Oglesby, 55; Democrats, 88; Coal City, 52; Kewaunee, 47.

Michigan

Only meagre returns from the state are obtainable. A special dispatch to the Herald from the Social Democrat gives Debs 192 votes in the city at Battle Creek and about 500 in the county. St. Clair, 31; S. L. P., 9.

Iowa

Hiteam, 161; last year 32. "Debs' vote in Burlington is 204; Avery, 43; Charlton, 17. F. Cox." Des Moines, 200; Eldon, 19; Keystone, 12; Norway, 10; Blairtown, 4; Newhall, 3; Van Horne, 13.

Maine

Lewiston.—This city gave 28 votes to Eugene V. Debs.

Bangor.—Debs received 10 votes. These returns represent the beginning of the movement for Socialism in Maine, where it has not before been manifested at the polls.

New York

Comrade William Leaf telegraphs from New York: "New York state gives Debs 10,000 votes, probably more." A later despatch says the vote for Debs in the state will reach 12,000.

Kentucky

The Social Democratic vote in Campbell county (Newport) is 204. ADAM L. NAGEL.

Ashton, Neb., 18. First time. Delaware, O., 13; S. L. P., 2. E. Palatine, O., 7.

Where there was organization under the standard of the Social Democratic party there were votes to count. The better the organization the more votes we had. Cleveland and Milwaukee furnish a good illustration. The latter rolled up 5,000 votes, while Cleveland lags behind with less than one thousand. It was organization and the absence of discordant elements that did it.

An Indiana Trick.

In Indiana some one of the capitalist parties posted up this notice all over the gas belt:

To the Members of the Social Democracy.

Comrades:—We want you to support Wm. J. Bryan, as our nominee for President, comrade Debs, is not a candidate.

By order of The Social Democratic Party of Indiana.

George Koop Arrested

On the evening of Thursday before election Comrade George Koop was arrested while making a street speech in Milwaukee, but was immediately bailed out. The cause of arrest was his refusal to move further back from Grand avenue, the police claiming that the big crowd interfered with the pedestrians. His case has been postponed until after election. Since his arrest he has held nightly meetings on the Milwaukee streets without being molested.

With Brutal Frankness.

On the day after election the Twenty-fifth Ward Republican Club of Chicago placed a placard on its walls bearing this significant legend: "McKinley elected President of the United States and Emperor of the Philippines."

First Individual—Ho! ho! he! he! Well that's rich. Say young fellow what you pasting up them there Debs stickers for? Don't you know the campaign is over!

Second Individual (licking a sticker between each word)—Never you mind, old fellow. I'm opening the campaign of 1904!

CAMPAIGN AFTERMATH

A Day at Headquarters

One day may serve as a sample of all the days of this rousing campaign which has so stirred us all and given us new hope and heart.

First of all comes the postman with his budget of letters from Maine and Washington and all the states between. How they thrill with the awakening life of a great movement! What promise they give that the giant Labor is stirring at last!

Here are letters from miners and ministers, farmers and railroad men, lawyers and shoemakers. Here are contributions collected by our faithful workers, and heaps of orders for leaflets, speeches, stickers, buttons, and portraits of Eugene V. Debs. This correspondent is a little boy who wants a button because "Papa is a Socialist," and this one is a veteran of seventy, who can boast of half a century of Socialist work. He orders a bunch of leaflets, for although he is worn and feeble, he wishes to spend his last days in laboring for the dear old cause. Here is a word of sympathy from a subject of Queen Victoria, and here a stirring report of Comrade Debs' tremendous meetings. Not a letter but tells of the work that is being done everywhere and the rapid progress of Socialism.

But answering these letters is not so easy with the steady stream of visitors that continually enliven headquarters. First comes a reporter who has heard that Mark Hanna has supplied us with an unlimited quantity of money and wants to know if the report is true. He has ocular proof that it is false in the general aspect of our dingy little office and our simply-dressed workers. Next, welcome sight! come a couple of volunteers to help us address and mail our orders. Then the genial campaign secretary rushes in for a few minutes between a difficult case and a Socialist committee meeting, or on his way to the railway station when he is starting out on a stumping tour. The assistant secretaries eagerly seize the few precious minutes to ask his advice on puzzling matters and read him important letters. Then follow a stream of purchasers of literature and other campaign materials. Those who are unattached Socialists are advised to join the party at once, while to the half-way Socialists our principles are explained as scientifically as the worker's limited time will permit. A campaign speaker comes in full of hope and enthusiasm, to bring as glorious news from a neighboring state, or one of our organizers reports with justifiable pride that he has organized fifteen branches in five weeks.

Last of all, just before the office closes at night, a jolly party of young folks make it a rendezvous for starting on a sticking party. They set out to paint the town white with thousands of Debs stickers.

And so the campaign draws to a close, more is the pity! And this is what I want to ask you, comrades, why need it close at all? Why not keep up a campaign of Socialism all the year round?

Napoleon once said that a victory meant to march ten leagues, to defeat the enemy, and chase him ten leagues more. We have capitalism on the run. Let us give it no breathing space.

No laying down of our arms now that the first fight is won! E. H. T.

The Quintessence of Impudence

The closing days of the campaign just ended witnessed one of the most disgusting tricks yet played against the cause of Socialism in any campaign on record. It consisted of an open letter sent out by the democrats, urging Debs to withdraw and signed by Eltwed Pomeroy, Prof. Frank Parsons, B. O. Flower and a Dr. Galvin, men who have more or less dabbled in "reform" waters and who had the impudence to write themselves "friends of Debs" while asking him to be a traitor to the Social Democratic party and to his well-known principles.

Now we have them nicely unmasked, these fellows who have been parading as Socialists only to attempt to sidetrack the movement for Bryanism. At the first opportunity for exposure their masks fall off and they stand forth self-confessed workers for capitalism. They serve a purpose in the economy of capitalistically ruled society, that of obstructing as far as possible the movement for the abolition of wage slavery. During the closing days of the campaign these gentry gave Comrade Debs no peace, tearfully pleading with him to desert the cause of the workers. The following from the Evansville Journal written the day after Debs' arrival in that city, shows how persistently these importunate fellows were:

"During the day he was bombarded by telegrams from all parts of the country asking him if it be true that he had decided to withdraw from the presidential race. While in Philadelphia last week, Mr. Debs was presented by Prof. Parsons of the Public Ownership League of Boston with a lengthy petition asking him on behalf of the league to withdraw from the presidential race in favor of Mr. Bryan. Mr. Debs re-

fused most emphatically to withdraw on the ground that Mr. Bryan did not in any measure represent the principles of the Social Democratic Party, and that he could not conscientiously set aside the honor of himself and his party at a moment when socialism was becoming a factor in the politics of the nation."

A Snow-Storm of Stickers

That the stickers issued by the national campaign committee did their part in assuring the people that Debs was in the campaign, despite the studied silence of the press, may be seen from the following capitalistic testimony:

"The drollery of the charge that Bryan is the apostle of socialism or revolution," says the Springfield Republican, "is made somewhat apparent by the strenuous contest the Debs people are putting up against him in Chicago. The Chicago correspondent of the New York Evening Sun telegraphed yesterday this interesting information:

"A new and unexpected trouble for Jones and Johnson has developed. During the past 24 hours the city has been flooded with stickers and posters, urging workmen to vote for Debs. The Social Democrats had not made any active campaign in the city and the Bryan managers had not anticipated a vote for Debs that might affect the general result here. This sudden activity of the Debs followers has surprised and alarmed them. To thousands of workmen in Chicago the famous labor agitator is a hero and a martyr. Yesterday, small posters and smaller stickers, bearing the picture of Debs and urging all labor men to vote for him, were extensively posted throughout the city. No one seems to know where they came from or who posted them. No one supposed that Debs or his party had much money for campaign expenses. But over night a flood of the Debs stickers fell upon Chicago from somewhere. Today they are upon every blank wall, lamp post, letter box, bill board and elevated railway pillar. Many thousands of them were posted during the night, and it is evident that the friends of Mr. Debs are actively at work in his interest."

"If you want Socialism Debs is the real article. Debs wants this trust to grow so that in time the state may absorb them all and thus become the socialist commonwealth in which capital will be practically abolished. Bryan wants the trusts restrained in conformity with the competitive principles of the past. Debs is revolutionary. Bryan is old-fashioned."

Social Democratic Herald

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board: Chairman
FREDERICK HEATH
SEYMOUR STEINMAN
EUGENE V. DEBS
VICTOR L. BRIGGS
CORLISS S. BROWN

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, \$5.00. Six months, \$3.00. No papers sent to any one on credit. If, without having subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and no bill will follow. Foreign subscriptions \$1.00.

Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

A. S. EDWARDS, Editor
THEODORE DEBS, National Sec'y-Treas.
124 Washington St., Chicago.

123 is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 124 your subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, NOV. 10, 1900.

The Elections

At the time of going to press it is impossible to give an estimate of the Debs vote cast throughout the country, although such information as has been hurried to us by the comrades would indicate great gains everywhere and an official standing in a majority of the states. Our representatives in Massachusetts have been returned with an increased vote with many other strongholds of the party to hear from. The total vote of the country will probably not be known for a week or so, owing to the manner in which the first count is reported. At every point we will gain by the official count, as reports are coming into this office showing that the earlier returns are below the number of votes cast.

While the vote of the country will prove satisfactory and up to our more conservative predictions, a certain deplorable phase of the campaign will leave with all of us the feeling that the returns might have been greater had the canvass been conducted on frictionless lines. The enforced political alliance with a faction which, having failed of its intention to capture the movement in this country, had set itself the task of usurping the party name and of crippling our organization at all possible points, setting up a rival national committee and duplicating our campaign organization in all possible detail; this, we say, could have but one result, a joint campaign which was not harmonious, and in which, in fact, there seem to be evidences of perhaps only surface earnestness for a large vote on the part of the usurping individuals in certain quarters. At important points, such as Massachusetts, Illinois and New York this miserable condition of things brought confusion and factional feeling into the canvass, and, notably in Illinois, the vote is such as to suggest the possibility of a more than accidental discrepancy between the logical result of a vigorous campaign and the actual vote. That the vote is not correctly reported will probably account for most of this, however. Throughout the entire national campaign there was manifested a spirit on the part of a certain element which perhaps cannot be better characterized than by the term "tactics." The sending of the vice presidential candidate out of the campaign for the purpose of fighting De Leon's representative at the Paris congress, the employment of certain ostensible campaigners for that faction to quietly disrupt our organization at various points, their undisguised eagerness to secure as much as possible of the campaign collections at our largest meetings for the purpose of strengthening the establishment at Springfield, Mass.—none of these things tended to contribute very much to a successful issue of the campaign, so that in spite of it the vote secured is surprising. By reason of this conflict of interests, also, an element of pettiness was injected into the campaign in the matter of arranging meetings. The old, out of date, small sighted lines were in many cases adhered to and campaigning material was woefully wasted and badly played. Notably was this so in Chicago, where both Comrade Debs and Prof. Herron, to hear whom tremendous crowds were gathered, were kept from giving the addresses they had prepared in order that speakers whom the public took no interest in might occupy the time, and this also for "tactical" reasons.

The fine growth in our vote and the play of the larger forces on the political stage of action can have but one result. The Bryanized Democracy is a thing of shreds and sticks, a remnant too battered and routed to come together again. Bryan is a political "dead duck," killed more than anything else by his frenzied demagoguery in the closing days of the campaign. His promise to uproot all monopolies and special privileges, fostered and made inevitable by the capitalistic system, stamped him an insincere hanger after votes, and he will go down to oblivion. McKinley and the Republicans, the natural monarchs under the competitive system, occupied a logical and consistent attitude, and won easily under the law of the survival of the "fittest." Capitalism's own party is now more all-powerful than ever, and from hence-

forth the lines will be drawn clearly between socialism and capitalism, with no middle class party shield interposed between them. It is well! On with the battle. The promised land of plenty for the now famishing toilers is already in sight!

A Socialist's Duty

The Socialist campaign is not over; we took a fresh hold on Nov. 7, and prepared for a four years' campaign against capitalism. Now, before we turn over the page in history of the first great national campaign of our party, let us learn the lesson and gather the inspiration it has for us. The vote is quite satisfactory; all that we could expect and more than our enemy was willing before the election to concede.

Every Socialist should, convert at least one old party man in three months, and keep up such a record for the next four years. Of course every faithful Socialist should belong to the party which has made such a splendid record during the past two and a half years.

Those who do belong to our party as dues-paying members, should be able to report one new Socialist every quarter besides their own quarterly dues. Make this your duty, comrades, to gain four votes every year for the next presidential campaign. Many of your new converts will do the same, and there are also those who will gain for us dozens of votes every month. But let us be sure that every Socialist voter at the polls Nov. 6, 1900; secures one new vote every quarter, sixteen in four years. Comrades, you can easily figure out for yourselves how long it will take us to elect a Socialist president. Will you do your duty?

Panics will come during the next four years; capitalism forces them. The harvest of Socialist votes will be even greater than during the past. International capitalism can not long withstand the advances of international Socialism. If every present Socialist does his duty it is a matter of only a very few years. Again, comrades, will you do your duty?

Class Legislation

Comrade Lipscombe, the candidate for governor of Missouri writes The Herald to deny having uttered the sentence we quoted from the St. Louis Globe-Democrat to the effect that if he were elected governor he would do all in his power to "prevent class legislation." He says that what he did say was that he did not join in the "demagogic cry of No Class Legislation," but that his party, if elected, would "go about it to enact legislation that would be in the interests of the working class." In our report of the St. Louis meeting we used the quotation objected to, under the impression that it was a correct quotation. All legislation today is class legislation and therefore unethical. It is legislation in favor of the ruling classes, and passes over the rights of the great mass of workers with contempt. That Socialists will abolish this state of things so soon as they have the power goes without saying. In place of it they will legislate for all the people and with a nice discrimination as to their value to society. As the workers are and will still be the only truly worthy members of society, the legislation will be in their interest. It will not be legislation in the spirit of retaliation, but in the spirit of the most exact and ethical social justice.

In a presidential election the Social Democratic vote is never fully expressed at the polls, the less resolute Socialists being more or less stampeded by the sharpness of the contest between the two leading candidates. Old habits are strong with the American citizen, and as the contest between the two capitalistic parties grows fiercer his feelings are played upon as by a horse race. Which will win? The excitement increases and becomes more seductive, and finally, like the good deacon at a chicken fight, he loses his head. Certainly no one will pretend that the vote cast this election, however large it may be, will accurately measure the great existing interest in socialism.

On with the carnival of commercialism! On with the riotous revelry of rapacity! Four years more of tin can prosperity for the toilers and four years more of milk and honey for capital. Business will be stimulated, more private yachts and palaces and castles and liveried coaches will be built, "so that the workers may have work."

Bryan's attitude toward the close of the campaign, when he showed himself to be anything for votes, will deprive him of the sympathy that might be his because of the almost wanton way in which the smaller brood of demagogues traded him off.

The Democratic party has fulfilled its mission, and now leaves the scene of national political conflict. Its place will be occupied, and more worthily, by the true democratic party, the Social Democratic party of America.

The article on Old Age in this issue of The Herald is a classic. It gives in graceful and pathetic words the plight of the human toiler, who, robbed of his surplus all along life's pathway, finds himself at last a mere dweller on the

earth by permission, unhonored by society and denied the peace that should come with declining strength. Throughout the world the Socialists are contending for conditions that will make old age honorable and beautiful, no are they unkind of the aged for the time that must intervene before the co-operative commonwealth can be established, and as a shield against the rapacity of capitalism propose such measures as old age pensions and workmen's insurance.

It may sound conceited, but the truth is that the right was all on our side in the campaign just closed.

Teddy's capitalistic grin will now expand. Militarism triumphant and with it all the sordid ideals of commercialism!

I am still without a party.—Mayor Jones.

NOTES AND COMMENT

Capitalism has been singing its dinner pail refrain to American working men, as the spider once sang to the blue-tailed fly. The fool fly listened, was caught and barbecued for the cunning spider and its hungry companions. Capitalism sings:

"O my dear workingmen, please listen to my tale,
And smell the goodies I've stuffed into your dinner pail.
See, there's lasses on your dodger, and
gravy for your meat,
'Tis the climax of your ambition to eat,
eat, eat."

"I'm glad you do my bidding, your loyalty's immense;
Never mind the agitators, who doubt your common sense;
You have sense enough to know your happiness is complete,
When your trough is full of slop, and you can eat, eat, eat."

It may be well enough to think about the condition of the poor people in China, Cuba, Porto Rico, Hawaii, the Philippines and Sulu islands, but the vote on November 6 shows that some men thought of the wage workers of the United States. Let the work of emancipation begin at home.

The old parties are intensely concerned about the strength the Social Democratic party is developing. They have had a poor idea, in fact, little conception of the mind force Socialism has arrayed against capitalism. It is phenomenal.

We have read of men without a country, without a home, without a friend, but the man without a spine, a dish-rag creature, is vastly the most unfortunate. The chances are that that sort of fishworm voted some sort of a capitalistic ticket.

Do you want to see the dawn of a new era for toilers? Then come on with your broad swords and battle axes, and we will be pathfinders and hew out a way to highlands of vision and hail the coming of its rising sun.

Socialists are fortunate. They are fighting a good fight and things are coming their way, and the November vote has demonstrated that a new party has been born to work out the emancipation problem of labor.

Life is worth the living only as it affords opportunities to help our fellowmen. Socialism has that great mission in the earth and to support the Social Democratic party helps to fulfill that mission.

It requires no skeleton hand to write on the banquet hall: Capitalism, "Thou art weighed in the balance and found wanting." The votes of working men are writing the doom of capitalism.

Right wrongs no one. Wrong rights no grievance. In the march of the right there are no muffled drums, no trailing emblem of mourning. Socialism wrongs no man.

John D. Rockefeller, Carnegie says, "is the richest man in the world," which reminds us that once upon a time, long ago, a "rich man lifted up his eyes in hell."

Workingmen, and only workingmen, create capital; but they did not create capitalism. Capitalism is an evolution from a bad egg.

Although Debs' warning against a possible attempt of the old parties to make it appear that he had withdrawn at the last moment before election was extensively printed in the Social Democratic press, the game was attempted at some points, but probably with small success.

A Sunday raid on milkmen in a western city by the health authorities, developed the fact that many of the wagons carried two grades of milk, one for influential and valued customers, the other for the poor. Oh, the glories of being poor! Will Mr. Kipling please write a few verses on the Poor Man's Burden?

A Few Observations

Mister workingman, you have a great chance these days to think. You have always had a chance, but nowadays you are getting lots of concentrated "food for thought." It is being shot into you and starved into you. If you don't "get wise" on the matter of "capital and labor" pretty soon—or, in other words, if you don't become what Socialists call "class-conscious"—you will have to be "bored for the simples." When you reach this class-conscious stage it means simply that you realize that there are just two classes—owners and non-owners. In which class do you belong? You ought to make it in one guess, but you have two guesses! May be it will help you if we again shake out our old friends, the government statistics, which say that in 1850 the "producers of our wealth owned 62½ per cent of that wealth and the non-producers owned 37½ per cent; but in 1890 the non-producers were in possession of 83 per cent and the producers 17 per cent. We have had Republican and Democratic administrations in all those years, but the balance against the producers has steadily grown. It is the system that is wrong. Then how will you help things by voting for a "change"—from one old party to another? Is it necessary that a house should fall on you? Socialists want to change the system!

One of our "great dailies"—and when we surround the words "great dailies" with quotation marks it means that we regard the "great dailies" with a certain sprightly derision—one of these papers had a serio-comic editorial this week in answer to a subscriber who wanted to know what we wanted a standing army of 100,000 men for and who thought such an army would be a menace to liberty. I quote the funniest part of the editorial: "When those 14,000,000 of voters have no further use for the army, or when the army grows obnoxious, they will promptly vote it out of existence." The fun is that there are lots of people who believe that! Why, our 14,000,000 voters don't have anything to do with it. What they DO do is to vote always with the old parties, for fear of "throwing their votes away." Then the old-party legislators, who are mostly controlled by the class who own that 83 per cent, increase the army to suit the traders who "follow the flag." The majority of our voters want postal savings banks; why don't they vote such banks into existence, then? Why, because under the present system their voting don't amount to much, and also, because postal savings banks interfere with the "vested rights" of the "grafters" who own that 83 per cent. Socialists want the initiative and referendum, so the PEOPLE could vote for or against laws. Switzerland has been doing that for 200 years. But WE can't do it, because we never have done it, nor is it provided for in the constitution. Socialists want to change our constitution so it will be of some use to people now on earth. The Socialist is no "back number."

Mr. Bryan at Nashville, Mich., suggested some queries for Republicans. Here is one: "If some trusts are good and some are bad, can you tell the difference between a good one and a bad one?" I ain't a Republican, but I can tell you, Mr. Bryan; a good trust is one that all the people are in. A bad trust is one like the sugar trust or the New York ice trust. Here is another of his queries: "Do you know of any good monopoly in private hands?" One would naturally think Mr. Bryan is against monopolies in private hands, but he is in favor of private ownership, for he has put himself squarely on record as being against the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution and in favor of continuing the competitive industrial system. I voted for Bryan in 1896, but I would just like to have somebody tell me when the Democratic party has been anything but a negation in the last forty years. Address me in care of this office.

And Mr. Churchman, I invite you to carefully and prayerfully consider Rev. Geo. D. Herron's statement that "It is only the densest, ethical ignorance that talks about a 'Christian business' life; for business is now intrinsically evil, what ever good may come out of it. The facts and forces which now organize industry and so-called justice violate the best instincts of mankind." Strong words, Mr. Churchman, but you're going to "fall down" if you try to refute them. Things are "getting no better very fast." Did you vote to make them worse?

Yours for industrial health,
Jack Potts.

An Editorial Idiot

The Springfield (Mass.) Republican calls attention to the dishonest treatment accorded Eugene V. Debs by the capitalist newspapers and takes a shot at one in particular as follows:

One would think from the misrepresentations that are made of the audiences and the speeches of Eugene V. Debs that the Socialist candidate for president was really an alarming factor in the present campaign. Neither Republican nor Democratic newspapers treat him honestly. When he crowded Cooper union in New York, the other

night, and there was an overflow meeting of some 500, the affair was either spoken of contemptuously or ignored altogether by every paper in the city; he was described in one paper as "talking to the reds" and misreported besides. But the most foolish thing was reserved for the Hartford Times to say, as follows:

"Eugene Debs' speech at the Hartford Coliseum last night was a repetition of his previous addresses in this town and of other addresses that were made by so-called labor reformers before he was born. He would do away with machinery and have all manufacturing carried on 'by hand.' He is just a hundred years behind the times."

If this was honestly written, it displays an unhappy ignorance. The Socialist today does not repeat what labor reformers have said before he was born; he has new things to say, forward steps to propose. He does not desire to go back to hand labor and abolish machinery. On the contrary, his proposal is that every advantage in production that has been gained by machinery and every advantage in distribution which has followed shall be operated for the benefit of all the people. And Mr. Debs actually said this in Hartford; and going back in the history of labor struggles, he expressly declared that the Socialists would not destroy the machines, as British workingmen ignorantly did, 70 and 80 years ago. Nothing is gained in the long run by misunderstanding and misstating an antagonist's position.

"When the frost is on the pumpkin and the fodder's in the shock," and the last vote is counted—there's a rise in S. D. stock.

The Herald's contributors must bear with us if some of their articles bearing on the campaign did not appear before election. The editor's desk was almost covered with MSS. of this sort, and as they were of almost uniform excellence, the matter of making a choice was exceedingly difficult. In some instances the length of an article or the particular phase of the campaign of which it treated was the determining factor.

William E. Curtis wrote to the Chicago Record just before election that the result in Indiana would "depend on the floating vote—that is, the purchasable element in both parties." He says that for years Indiana has required more money than any other state except New York; that there are between 18,000 and 20,000 in the state who habitually demand pay for their votes, and that they are all personally known to the local leaders. The herculean job of cleaning out the Augean stables built up by capitalism will fall to the Socialists. Only by the crucial fire of social democracy can American manhood be redeemed from the debauch of capitalism.

Answers to Correspondents

X. X.—The Socialist congress of the German party in 1880, owing to the exemption law, was held by stealth in a ruined castle in Switzerland. It was called the congress of Schloss Weyden. To elude the vigilance of the authorities the delegates were directed to a certain near-by town, whence they were sent one by one to the castle some miles away. Dormitories were fitted up in it for the delegates to sleep in.

D. E. E.—We cannot recommend the magazine you refer to, and will not feel able to until it devotes itself to the movement throughout the world without reference to the tactics of a certain rule or ruin faction. Many of its articles are excellent, and under broader minded management it could be made a success.

C. T.—In the campaign, just passed the single taxers threw off all pretense and came out in their true light as reactionaries and upholders of the capitalistic regime. In Chicago, for instance, they formed single tax Bryan clubs with funds supplied by millionaire and multimillionaire Democrats, helping to obstruct the advance of the workers' demand for humane and just conditions. Give up the idea that they are revolutionists.

Editor Answers to Correspondents Column: Please give me a list of books dealing with the biological side of Socialism. I have Richie's "Darwinism and Politics," and think it answers most of the objections to Socialism on the ground of biology, but would like to read up more on the subject.

Yours fraternally, I. X. L.

Answer.—There is a close connection between socialism and sociology. In fact every student of socialism ought to study sociology. The biological side of socialism is, strictly speaking, anthropology, the science of mankind. We would recommend the study of the following books, reminding I. X. L., however, of the fact that they are not necessarily written by socialistically inclined authors:

Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family. Washington, 1877.
Fifty Years of American Science. North American Review, September, 1898.
Lester Ward, Dynamic Sociology. New York.
Walter Bagehot, Physics and Politics; an Application of Natural Selection and Heredity to Political Society.
Espinas, The Social Life of Animals.
Espinas, Les Origines de Technologie. Paris, 1897.
Thos. H. Huxley, Man's Place in Nature. London, 1863.
Geo. D. Romanes, Mental Evolution in Man. London, 1894.
Lester Ward, Sociology and Cosmology. Am. Jour. of Sociology, vol. 1, September, 1895.
D. S. Brinton, Races and Peoples. New York, 1890.
P. T. Ladd, Elements of Physiological Psychology.
Guillaume de Greef, Sociology.
Chas. Leturneau, Sociology Based on Ethnography. London, 1893.
Chas. Leturneau, L'Evolution du Mariage et de la Famille.
Morgan, Ancient Societies.
E. B. Taylor, Anthropology.
Otis T. Mason, Origin of Inventions.
Giddings, Principles of Sociology.
Benjamin Kidd, Social Evolution.
Lester Ward, Psychic Factors of Civilization. Boston, 1893.
Dr. D. Folkmar, Lecon d'Anthropologie Philosophique les Application a la Morale Positive.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

THE NATIONAL PLATFORM

Adopted at the Indianapolis Convention, March, 1900

ATTITUDE TOWARD TRADE UNIONS

In accordance with our declaration of principles we declare that the trades union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the wage-working class. We recommend to the members of the Social Democratic party the following general rules:

- First—Join the union of your respective trade.
- Second—Assist in building up and strengthening the trade union movement.
- Third—Support the union labels of all crafts.
- Fourth—Educate your fellow-unionists on the question of Socialism and the labor movement, on economic and political lines.
- Fifth—It shall be your duty to work for the unity of the labor movement, thereby recognizing the fact that the emancipation of the working class can only be achieved by the united efforts of this class.
- Sixth—Educate the members of the unions in the principles of Socialism and induce them, individually, to affiliate with the Social Democratic party.
- Seventh—Trades unions are by historical necessity organized on neutral grounds, as far as political affiliation is concerned. The trades union is the arena where all wage-workers may be brought together for joint action to resist the encroachments of capitalism on the economic field and to participate in the class struggle of the proletariat which will finally develop into the political alignment of the forces of labor in the struggle for proletarian emancipation.

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness depend upon equal political and economic rights.

In our economic development an industrial revolution has taken place, the individual tool of former years having become the social tool of the present. The individual tool was owned by the worker who employed himself and was master of his product. The social tool, the machine, is owned by the capitalist and the worker is dependent upon him for employment. The capitalist thus becomes the master of the worker and is able to appropriate to himself a large share of the product of his labor.

Capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people; but the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system will necessitate the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare.

The present system of social production and private ownership is rapidly converting society into two antagonistic classes—i. e., the capitalist class and the propertyless class. The middle class, once the most powerful of this great nation, is disappearing in the mill of competition. The issue is now between the two classes first named. Our political liberty is now of little value to the masses unless used to acquire economic liberty.

Independent political action and the trade union movement are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its political, the other its economic wing, and both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system.

Therefore the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be:

- First—The organization of the working class into a political party to conquer the public powers now controlled by capitalists.
- Second—The abolition of wage-slavery by the establishment of a national system of co-operative industry, based upon the social or common ownership of the means of production and distribution, to be administered by society in the common interest of all its members, and the complete emancipation of the socially useful classes from the domination of capitalism.

The working class and all those in sympathy with their historic mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America. The control of political power by the Social Democratic party will be tantamount to the abolition of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting the millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international Socialism, the brotherhood of man. As steps in that direction, we make the following demands:

- First—Revision of our federal constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to complete

control of government by the people irrespective of sex.

Second—The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

Third—The public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones; all means of transportation, and communication; all water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

Fourth—The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal, and other mines, and all oil and gas wells.

Fifth—The reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

Sixth—The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

Seventh—Useful inventions to be free, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

Eighth—Labor legislation to be national, instead of local, and international when possible.

Ninth—National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.

Tenth—Equal civil and political rights, for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

Eleventh—The adoption of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

Twelfth—Abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

National Organization

Section 1. This organization shall be known as the Social Democratic Party of America, and its headquarters shall be located at such place as the national conventions of the party may appoint, or as may be fixed by the National Executive Board subject to a referendum vote.

Sec. 2. The Social Democratic Party of America shall be organized as follows:

First—Local branches limited to five hundred members each.

Second—A National Executive Board of nine members, five of whom shall be chosen from territory convenient to the national headquarters, and shall be called "resident members," and the remaining four shall be chosen, so far as possible, from other parts of the country. All members of the Executive Board shall have equal rights and powers; but the resident members shall have power to act and a majority of said resident members shall constitute a quorum. The non-resident members shall not be required to be present at all meetings of the board, but shall be kept advised of all proceedings of the board. The Executive Board shall be elected by the national convention.

Third—The form of state organizations shall be left to the branches in the respective states.

NATIONAL PAPER OF THE PARTY:

The Social Democratic Herald

126 Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.

HEADQUARTERS: 126 WASHINGTON ST., CHICAGO

From a Bohemian Miner

Comrade F. Svoboda of Chicago furnishes The Herald with the following translation of portions of a letter written to the Spravednost by a miner of Vanderbilt, Pa.:

"Like some others, the organ of the United Mine Workers remains politically independent because in their opinion the only salvation of the working people lies in unionism. I agree with unionism because it is the bulwark of the working class. But our working class has had for over 100 years its political liberty, and in spite of it the conditions are from year to year worse. The Social Democracy of Europe at first fought for political rights alone, but now the unions are also waging war against capitalism. They are more class conscious because they had to fight hard for the little they have. In America the working class was spared the struggle for political rights and could devote itself more to the industrial matters and sought to better conditions for the workers and families. To this end it organized trade unions. In Europe the best workers were imprisoned for doing no more than this, and decayed in their cells, prosecuted by laws, or driven from place to place like savage animals. The workmen in America became endowed with all these rights of progress and civilization 100 years ago, and therefore some think that their salvation does not lie in political parties, but in unionism. So long as our unions had to deal and confer with individual capitalists the mission of the unions was not so difficult. The conditions are now changing rapidly, and it will not be long before the unions will have to bow to the heads of trusts. The strike is a good weapon, but it often cuts both ways. We are only now in the beginning of the formation of trusts, but their field is constantly and rapidly spreading. Capital with its added power, its greed and intrigues will in all possible ways cut off the right of the workers to revolt, until nothing remains BUT THE RIGHT TO VOTE. And this must be used before it is too late. The capitalists even now are trying to diminish the power of the ballot in the worker's hands, they are trying to do so in the southern states.

The forcible overthrow of present conditions is not our purpose. We do not desire that a man should simply work for a piece of metal called money, and work for some one who by any means at all accumulated the same. We want that every man should work because upon it depend prosperity, progress and the civilization of the people. That is our goal, to which we urge all workingmen. It is the road of the industrial and political field, with unionism and independent working class political organization. Therefore it is indispensable to organize in every branch of industry, and also politically, so we shall be prepared to repel an attack on us or to advance in a body to brush aside our capitalist adversaries from office and to place in their seats men of our own class, who know our needs and will serve our interests. For the same reason that the Social Democratic party acknowledges the necessity of trade unions, so the trade organizations will sooner or later have to support independent political action. The man who does not want to stand on the side of capitalism, corporations, combinations, trusts and the militarism of Democratic-Republican swindlers, is morally compelled to enlist in the ranks of the party of the workingman and vote the Social Democratic ticket at all times.

Voj Mulac.

"Man is something more than a mere machine for cutting cloth and digging potatoes."—J. F. M.

Notes of the Movement

Germany—Recently the Socialists have scored a number of successes, a fact that is beginning to cause the government grave dismay. Herr Ledebour the Socialist who was elected by an enormous majority in Herr Liebknecht's old Berlin district, is an extremist, and a very forcible speaker. Herr Pens, another Socialist, was victorious in the very heart of the rural Brandenburg district. In the Thuringian states and Wurtemberg a number of Socialists have been elected to the local legislatures. At Coburg the Socialists have won a seat in the diet. This is the first time they have been represented in that body.

Indiana.—Comrades O'Neal and Evinger of Terre Haute have been among the hardest workers in the campaign; always at it, day and night, they have done an incalculable amount of work in that district. The Federation of Labor has adopted the following resolution: "The emancipation of the working class can only be accomplished by the overthrow of the capitalist system and the establishment of the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution." Fifty Ft. Wayne boys organized a Social Democratic marching club and turned out one night with a drum corps shouting for Debs and Socialism.

Chicago—The local campaign practically closed with a notable flood of oratory on Friday night. Permission was had of the authorities to use State street for as many street meetings as there was a speaker at work about every quarter of a block. The crowds about them were large and enthusiastic. Our comrades in other cities who read dispatches about there being a police interference are assured that no comrade was jailed or rendered hors de combat with a broken head. The facts are as follows: About a week before the Democrats were given State street, and some Socialists injudiciously attempted to also speak. This was resented and remembered and the result was Friday night that an attempt was made to break up some of our speakers, as a retaliatory measure. The police showed their usual willingness to act as "peacemakers" and this gave the correspondents a foundation on which to build some lurid dispatches.

The story about insulting the flag was all gammon. The fact was that a party flag was torn down by the mob and destroyed. One comrade, James Maloney, received a knife wound, in the melee, and had to go to a hospital. Two tardy arrests were made by the police.

Missouri—Comrade Caleb Lipscomb closed a vigorous canvass of the state at Lamar with a fine audience and lots of enthusiasm. A big vote is predicted in this state.

Milwaukee—A local firm of photographers, Klein & Guttenstein, give up their show window to three large framed photographs of the presidential candidates, respectfully. McKinley was in the center with Bryan on his right and Debs on his left. The Debs photo was a fine one, and the entire exhibit, being on a prominent street attracted great attention. So that the voter might make no mistake in marking their ballots, small posters were issued by our party, giving the needed instructions in bold face type, and posted up all over the city. Photographic copies were also made of the secretary of state's instruction that a cross at the head of the Debs column would vote the whole column, and given to our challengers to

present to the election judges if occasion warranted. A vote of 4,500 is looked for in Milwaukee county.

NEW BRANCHES

Vermont, one.
Alabama, one.
Colorado, one.
Wisconsin, one.
Illinois, two.

The portrait of comrade Debs in the last issue of The Herald was from his most recent picture, which was taken by Klein & Guttenstein of Milwaukee. It is an excellent likeness.

Several branches which have become hopelessly delinquent have been taken from The Herald's mailing list.

The middle class radical of the Bryan stripe fights the results of a bad system. The Social Democrat fights the system that produces the results. See the difference?

Subscribers whose term of subscription has expired will please note the number of this issue. A prompt renewal will facilitate work at headquarters.

The Debs-Herron pamphlet is positively the finest propaganda literature ever gotten out in this country. They are 5 cents each, or \$2 by the hundred. They will be just as good after election as before.

Being a man of simple tastes, Mr. Debs is not disturbed by the report that the White House is not in good repair.

—St. Louis Globe-Democrat.
This is intended as a joke. If the Globe-Democrat knew how soon a Socialist president will enter the White House it would be seized with vertigo and the G. O. P. would have an attack of St. Vitus dance.

Socialists willing to assist in forming new branches of the Social Democratic party are requested to communicate with the secretary, Theodore Debs, 126 Washington street, Chicago.

What a campaign we made considering our drawbacks! Think of the money the old parties had to lavish, think of the literature and the speakers they furnished the people free of expense! Our speakers had to be given bread while they were in service, and our literature had to be paid for. But then, being paid for, it was used, without waste, which is more than can be said of old party leaflets.

THE CAMPAIGN FUND

Benj. F. Burns, Peoria.....	1.00
Picnic Eleventh Cong. Dist., Mass.....	1.25
Cash, Chicago.....	25.00
Margaret Hale, Roxbury.....	1.00
Branch 20, Mass.....	12.00
Gilbert Monet, Brooklyn.....	5.00
Fifth Plymouth Rep. Dist., Mass.....	5.00
Section Tannin, Mass.....	3.00
Chas. Wagner, Joint.....	25
Jan. Smith.....	25
Nick Ehl.....	25
Mrs. Weeks, Winnetka.....	25
Karl Schaebe, Holyoke.....	1.00
Henry Herman, Brooklyn.....	1.11
Rosenthal Bros., New York.....	1.00
Branch 10, New York.....	1.00
Miss Lillian Lewis, Malden.....	1.00
Raymond Hedman, Chicago.....	10.00
Sylvester Kaliber, Indianapolis.....	5.00
H. Hoppe, New York.....	1.00
Born Christensen, Warwick.....	1.00
Branch 15, Wis.....	1.00
Herman Lenzner, Ft. Wayne.....	50
Miss Elizabeth Thomas, Chicago.....	10.00
Mr. and Mrs. Doss, Crookston.....	250
Mrs. Albechle, Chicago.....	1.00
Henry Schumacher, New York.....	50
H. O. Talmberg.....	1.20
Julius Bykowski, Brooklyn.....	1.00
Horseshoe Joe, Chicago.....	1.00
N. Vesper, Woodruff.....	1.00
J. M. Orshulski, Olympia.....	1.00
Cooper Union Meeting, New York.....	50.00
R. Asker, Albernarle.....	1.00
A. Freeman, Seattle.....	1.00
Previously reported.....	1,947.44
	58,113.25

IF YOU SYMPATHIZE WITH TRADE UNIONS

You will encourage the sale OF UNION LABEL GOODS

If you want Union Label Shoes demand the above Union Stamp. No shoe is Union made unless it bears the Union Stamp. Visit your shoe dealer and take no excuses. Send for latest list of factories. Subscribe for "The Union Boot and Shoe Worker," 50 cts per year.

Boot and Shoe Workers Union.
630 Atlantic Ave., Boston, Mass.

GERMAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LITERATURE

SOCIALISTIC LETTERS
Being the chapters of Merrie England done into German and suited to American conditions
BY VICTOR L. BERGER
200 pages..... Price 15 cents

THE MISSION OF THE WORKING CLASS
A German adaptation of the pamphlet by C. H. Vail.
BY JACOB WINNEN
12 pages. Price 5c., in larger amounts, 3c.

TWO GREAT SPEECHES

Should be Read by Socialists Everywhere and Put into the Homes of Non-Socialists

Delivered at Central Music Hall, Chicago, Saturday, September 29, 1900, by

EUGENE V. DEBS
AND
PROF. GEO. D. HERRON

A Splendid Campaign Document

Sixteen Page Pamphlet. Price, Five Cents
One Hundred, \$2.00
Address, 126 Washington St., Chicago

YOU ARE CORDIALLY INVITED TO ATTEND THE

SUNDAY EVENING LECTURES

Kaiser's Hall, 298 4th St., Milwaukee

Under the auspices of Branch No. 1, Social Democratic Party

November 11, Frederic Heath—"Capitalism's Greatest Victim, Woman."

November 18, Victor L. Berger—"Municipal Ownership."

November 25, Thos. C. P. Myers—"Production and Exchange."

December 2, Dr. S. Knopf—"Class Consciousness."

December 9, S. Richerson—"War from a Socialist Standpoint."

December 16, Louis Wieman—"Trades Unions and Politics."

December 23, Leon S. Hein—"Socialism as I Understand it."

DISCUSSION AFTER LECTURE

Admission Free Lecture begins at 8 o'clock

A PRIMER OF SOCIALISM

A 32-page pamphlet which contains in addition to the "Primer of Socialism," by G. O. Clemens, "Socializing a State," by the late Laurence Gronlund, and "Economic Terms and Phrases," by A. P. Hazel.

One of the strongest pamphlets for propaganda yet issued. A splendid vote-maker, and thousands should be circulated before election.

PER COPY, 5 CENTS—PER 100, \$1.50

Address, Debs Publishing Co.
Terre Haute, Indiana.

The Herald will be sent to any address in the United States 26 weeks for 20 cents.

The Book You Need

PRINCIPLES OF

Scientific Socialism

By Rev. Charles H. Vail

Author "Modern Socialism" and "National Ownership of Railways."

CONTENTS:

The Industrial Revolution. The Analysis of Value. The Origin of Surplus Value.

The Advantages of Socialism: Production, Distribution, Elimination of Useless Vocations, Prevention of Waste, Elevation of Woman, Proper Care and Training of Children, Efficient Directors, Solution of the Monetary Question, Abolition of Taxation, Simplification of Government, Benefits to Capitalists, Benefits to Laborers.

The Evidence of the Moral Strength of Socialism: Its Spirit and Aim; Abolition of Business Dishonesty; Restriction of Divorce; Prevention of Prostitution; Elimination of Crime; Prevention of Intemperance, Insanity, etc.

Poverty—Its Cause and Cure. Wage Slavery vs. Chattel Slavery. Rent and Interest. The Law of Wages. The Law of Progress. Industrial Depression and Commercial Crisis. The Problem of Labor-Saving Machinery.

Popular Economic Errors: That Value is Determined by Capitalist Cost of Production; that the Interests of Laborers and Capitalists are identical; that Labor is Better Off Today Than Ever Before; that Cheap Prices are Beneficial to Labor; that Foreign Markets are Beneficial to Labor; that Luxury is Beneficial to Labor; that Land Nationalization Would Solve the Social Question; that Socialism Would Chief Cause of Economic Want; that Socialism Would Thwart Inventions and Improvements; that Socialism Would Destroy Individuality. Conclusion and Index.

12mo, 228 Pages; Paper, 35c; Cloth, \$1.00.

SEND ORDERS TO
THEODORE DEBS, 126 Washington St., CHICAGO

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LIBRARY

Karl Marx, Capital, Cloth.....	\$2.00
F. W. Sprague—Socialism, from Genesis to Revolution, Cloth.....	1.00
Gronlund—The Cooperative Commonwealth, Paper.....	25
August Bebel—Woman: Past, Present and Future, Paper.....	25
Blatchford—Merrie England, that Katherine is in Edward Bellamy—Looking Backward.....	25
Edward Bellamy—Equality, Cloth.....	1.25
Lasaguerre—History of the Commune of 1871.....	1.25
Charles Vail—Modern Socialism.....	1.00
Asplund—Heterodox Economics and Orthodox Profits.....	1.00
Henry D. Lloyd—Wealth Against Commonwealth.....	1.00
Voiner—The Ruins of Empires.....	1.00
Thomas Paine—The Rights of Man.....	25
Henry George—Social Problems.....	25
Osborne Ward—The Ancient Lowly.....	25
Adams—President John Smith.....	1.00
Richard T. Ely—Socialism and Social Reform.....	1.00
Buchner—Man in the Past, Present and Future.....	1.00
Chas. H. Vail—Principles of Scientific Socialism.....	1.00
Herron—Between Jesus and Caesar.....	1.00
Fabian Essays.....	1.00
Rogers—Six Centuries of Work and Wages.....	1.00
Donnelly—Caesar's Column.....	1.00

PAMPHLETS

L. Lassalle—What is Capital..... 25
H. M. Hyndman—Socialism and Slavery..... 25
F. Lassalle—The Workingman's Program..... 25
Chas. H. Vail—The Industrial Revolution..... 25

THEODORE DEBS, Secretary Treasurer,
126 Washington Street, Chicago.

Now Ready!..... 136 Pages!

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

RED BOOK

EDITED BY FREDERIC HEATH

Printed on Plate Paper..... Handsomely Illustrated

This is an annual publication for Social Democrats who will find it indispensable for reference purposes. The first issue is of especial value because of the historical character of its contents. Among the features are:

A HISTORY OF SOCIALISM IN AMERICA
Covering 76 pages, with portraits of Robert Owen, Etienne Cabet, Wilhelm Weitling, etc., etc.

ALBERT EINSTEIN
The first American agitator, with portrait.

A TRIP TO GIRARD
By Wayfarer, with view of Appeal to Reason 1900.

KARL MARX ON THE SINGLE TAX
Compiled from government reports by Isador Ladoff.

SHORTER VIEWS
Labor Conflicts in 1890. Gronlund, Grant Allen. Chronology for 1890. Directory of Social Democrats. Socialist Controversies of 1890. "The Golden Rule." Prof. Harro's Own Social Democratic Platform, Etc.

BIOGRAPHIES OF WELL KNOWN SOCIAL DEMOCRATS. Twenty in all.

ELECTION STATISTICS
Covering the Socialist movement down to the present year. A valuable reference.

A SOCIALIST PORTRAIT GALLERY
Comprising seventeen likenesses of leading workers in the movement, distributed through the book.

Sent postpaid on receipt of price, 15 CENTS.

DEBS PUBLISHING CO.

TERRE HAUTE, IND.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

THIRD YEAR. No. 22.

CHICAGO, ILL., U.S.A., SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 1900.

Whole No. 124.

THE VOTES COMING IN

Show that the Socialist Movement Has Taken a Distinct Advance in a Presidential Election Year

Partial Returns from Twenty-Six States—The Party is Robbed of Many Votes in State of Illinois

The returns from the various states are coming in very slow, and are so scattered that it is impossible at this time to venture with any degree of accuracy a statement as to what the total vote is. Sufficient is known, however, to justify a prediction that the vote for Debs will largely exceed the vote of 1898 in the state elections and be three times as great as the presidential vote of 1896. In such a contest as the country passed through this year the result must be highly gratifying to Social Democrats. It was the first national campaign of the party. The fund at the disposal of the national campaign committee amounted to no larger a sum than was expended by both the old parties in a single Chicago precinct. Yet we come out of the battle as the third party in the country and in several states become a legal party under the election laws.

As soon as practicable the Herald will tabulate the vote in all the states. In the meantime we give below the returns so far received:

Alabama

Adger—Debs, 9; McKinley, 4. New Decatur, 126.

California

Stockton—80 for Debs; Maloney, 8; San Francisco, 1,965. Estimated vote in the state, 10,000. Socialist vote for governor in 1898, 5,143.

Colorado

Leadville, 30.

Connecticut

Debs' vote at Bristol, 29; New Haven, 435; Hartford, 339; Waterbury, 173; Bridgeport, 103; Vernon, 479.

Georgia

Eleven votes cast for Debs' electors at Columbus; Atlanta, 66.

Iowa

The vote for Debs at Dubuque is 75; the comrades, however, claim that not less than 200 were polled and are considering ways and means to secure a recount.

Van Horne, 33.

Illinois

Chicago—The official count of the ballots cast in Chicago and Cook county began Friday morning of last week and will continue until the job is completed. Comrade Philip Brown represents the Social Democratic party.

The recount so far has shown a much larger vote for Debs than the first returns indicated. In the first ward the earlier returns gave Debs 23 votes. This is increased by the official count to 42. Many wards in the city will be found to have given much larger votes than they were credited with in the police returns, and the prospect strongly favors the gaining of a legal status by the party in the city and county.

Later returns from Chicago from three additional wards maintain the increase discovered in the first ward. The Second ward gave Debs 34 votes; Third, 38; Fourth, 65. The total for four wards is within a few votes of doubling the police count.

Winnetka gave 7 votes for the national ticket; 3 for university trustees.

Chicago Heights—The Bloom township vote was as follows: Second precinct, 28; Third precinct, 7; total, 35. S. L. P. vote, 1.

Carlinville, Macoupin county—The Social Democratic national ticket received 152 votes.

Galesburg, 109; Nashville, 39; Bloomington, 95; Pana, 40.

Bureau County—The official returns give Debs 226 votes in this county; 187 in Spring Valley.

Kewanee—The returns give Debs 47 votes. The election as it went in the whole county is what we expected. The democratic mob that assaulted us in Chicago is not fit for office.

Olof Engman.

Danville—The Socialist vote here was 95; for Debs, 91; for Maloney, 4.

Elgin—The vote of Elgin for Debs is 32. Good cheer prevails.

Fond du Lac Township, Tazewell County—Ten votes for presidential electors of the S. D. P.

Warren County—For Debs, 42 votes. Decatur, 20.

McLean county, 95; Jacksonville, 57; Lincoln, 23.

Indiana

Franklin—Six votes were cast here for the Social Democratic ticket, the first of the kind ever cast in the county.

Cardonia—The first vote cast for Socialism at this place was 32 for Eugene V. Debs and the Social Democratic ticket.

Sullivan, 19; Terre Haute, 350; Diamond, 39; Cardonia, 32; La Porte, 34; Fort Wayne, 184; Evansville, 330. Muncie, 200; Columbus, 17.

Kansas

Abilene—Debs, 66; Clemens, 50; Anthony, 13.

Massachusetts

State vote for Debs will certainly reach 10,000. Fifteen cities reported give him 4,204. Will more likely reach 12,000. Vote in Merrimac valley (Haverhill district) has fallen off considerably, while that of Plymouth county has increased remarkably. MacCartney is re-elected with a plurality of 218; Carey's plurality is 51. MacCartney's plurality last year was 102 in a total vote of 1,100. This year with a total of 1,800, his plurality has more than doubled. This was not done without good hard work. The campaign was opened by Prof. Herron, prosecuted by Comrade MacCartney, punctuated by Eugene V. Debs and closed by Dr. Gibbs.

Margaret Haile.

Carey's majority in the fall of 1899, 361.

Following is the vote for the national ticket in the Massachusetts towns from which the Herald has received returns: Arlington, 138; Avon, 46; Bridgewater, 39; Easton, 23; East-Bridgewater, 54; Halifax, 6; Hanover, 34; Hanson, 11; Holbrook, 79; Kingston, 4; Plymouth, 53; Plympton, 6; Randolph, 24; Rockland, 216; Stoughton, 23; West Bridgewater, 23; Whitman, 206; Wareham, 12; Natick, 74; New Bedford, 139; Elmwood, 85; Holliston, 25; Milford, 45; New Bedford, 139; Dartmouth, 4; Brockton, 1,246; Kingston, 4; Lakeville, 1; Stoughton, 23; Lynn, 345; Lawrence, 255; Beverly, 102; Chelsea, 147.

Maine

Madison gave Debs 69 votes, a gain of 17.

Anson cast 24, a gain of 5.

Skowhegan, 138; gain, 28.

Mercer, 14; gain, 2.

Stark, 12.

New Portland, 7; gain, 7.

Maryland

The city of Baltimore gives Debs 597 votes, a gain over 1899 of 286. Maloney received 198, a loss for the S. L. P. of 69. Clear gain to Socialism, 217.

Michigan

At St. Joseph the vote for Debs stood in the First ward, 3; Second, 9; Third, 11; Fourth, 8; total, 31.

Alpena County—Debs' electors received 88 votes. Six months ago it would have been hard to find six Socialists.

Sawyer, 2; Ann Arbor, 25; Saginaw, 400.

Minnesota

Northcote, 8; Hallock, 11; Crookston, 112.

Missouri

St. Louis—The vote in the city for the national ticket was 3,024. Maloney (S. L. P.) received 725.

Liberal—The home town of Caleb Lipscomb, candidate for governor, cast 49 votes for Debs.

Pleasant Hill—This place gave 25 votes for Debs. Three for the S. L. P. ticket.

Stone county gave 12 votes for Debs. Barton County—In this county the national ticket received 90 votes, an increase of 85 over 1896.

Poplar Bluff comrades report 106 votes for representative; this gives them the legal 3 per cent.

Milan—Our vote in this county is only 17, but that is 17 more votes for Socialism than we had four years ago. R. D. Morrison.

Sedalia—The vote in Pettis county for Debs is 103. Lipscomb for governor has 74.

Nebraska

Ashton, 18; Grand Island, 21.

New Hampshire

Exeter gave 62 votes for the Social Democratic electors. Sumner F. Clafin, candidate for governor, received the same number. The vote exceeds estimate before election.

Nashua, 191; Rockingham, 150; Strafford, 14; Belnap, 11; Canal, 8; Merrimack, 10; Hillsborough, 298; Chishim, 9; Sullivan, 19; Grafton, 24; Coos, 12.

New Jersey

Plainfield—The vote for Debs at this place was 57; S. L. P., 4. Trenton, 210; Elizabeth, 312; Hoboken, 135; Jersey City, 802; Essex county (Newark), 1,100.

New York

Rochester, 998; Sea Cliff, 110; Oneida, 65; New Rochelle, 43; Peekskill, 63; Utica, 70; Johnstown, 69; Troy, 56; Salina, 26; Port Chester, 35; Ticonderoga, 31; Corfu, 25; Catskill, 23; Brooklyn, 2,942; Watertown, 129.

Oregon

Shelburn, 27 (McKinley, 28). Returns from Baker county give Debs 49 votes.

Ohio

Debs' vote in Cleveland, 952. Delaware, 13.

The Debs vote in Zanesville and Muskegon county is 60.

Pennsylvania

Philadelphia, 1,400; Erie, 300; Cambria, 25; Clearfield, 120; Jefferson, 26; Lawrence, 201; Lebanon, 13; Lehigh, 12; Pike, 9; Potter, 46; Washington, 15; Wayne, 25; Westmoreland, 102; York, 115; Erie, 300; Allegheny, 240; Warren, 8; Taylor, 52.

Vote of the state is estimated at 4,000. Cokeville, 50.

Texas

I think this county (Kerr) will poll from 75 to 100 votes. D. C. Crider. Big Springs, 17.

Virginia

Norfolk, 22; Norfolk District, 103.

Washington

Hoquiam, 42; Lynden, 49.

Wisconsin

The Social Democrats at Pacific, a township of farmers, tied the democrats with Socialist votes and lacked only four of tying with the republicans. Number of votes cast is not reported.

Brodhead gave 15 votes for the national ticket. Chicon, 75; Sheboygan, 795; Eau Claire, 63.

The Campaign of Misrepresentation

The following from the Springfield Republican shows how a miserable feature of the campaign looked to at least one capitalist newspaper:

"One would think from the misrepresentations that are made of the audiences and the speeches of Eugene V. Debs, that the Socialist candidate for president was really an alarming factor in the present campaign. Neither Republican nor Democratic newspapers TREAT HIM HONESTLY. When he crowded Cooper Union in New York, the other night, and there was an overflow meeting of some 500, the affair was either spoken of contemptuously or ignored altogether by every paper in the city; he was described in one paper as 'talking to the Reds' and misrepresented besides. But the most foolish thing was reserved for the Hartford Times to say, as follows:

"Eugene Debs' speech at the Hartford Coliseum last night was a repetition of his previous addresses in this town and of other addresses that were made by so-called labor reformers before he was born. He would do away with machinery and have all manufacturing carried on by hand. He is just a hundred years behind the times."

If this was honestly written, it displays an unhappy ignorance. The Socialist today does not repeat what labor reformers have said before he was born; he has new things to say, forward steps to propose. He does not desire to go back to hand labor and abolish machinery. On the contrary, his proposal is that every advantage in production that has been gained by machinery and every advantage in distribution which has followed, shall be operated for the benefit of all the people. And Mr. Debs actually said this at Hartford; and going back in the history of labor struggles, he expressly declared that the Socialists would not destroy the machines, as British workmen ignorantly did 70 or 80 years ago. Nothing is gained in the long run by misunderstanding and misstating an antagonist's position.

In the Sixteenth assembly district the vote for Socialism was more than 1,000. A Tammany hall man said after election that the democrats and republicans would unite, if necessary, to prevent a Socialist victory in the district. The election has served to make it more clear than ever before that the real battle is between capitalism and Socialism. The sooner they unite the better.

PASSION FOR SOCIALISM

Many Thoughts from Many Minds on Various Aspects of a World-Wide Movement for Freedom

Collected and Edited by Frederick Irons Bamford, of Oakland, California, for the Social Democratic Herald

"A man who has once become a Socialist knows but one more object in life—to devote himself to the noble work of liberating the working people. And then comes the second part of his duty—to show to those whom he has converted by what the old system is to be replaced. This is the new enthusiasm of humanity."—Quoted in *The Coming Religion*.

"Blessed is even now our privilege. We have our choice, to live as individualists, and on our death-bed look back in despair on a dreary, hateful life of play-acting, or, as Socialists, fill our existences with those serious moods that make the grand tone of life, and in the hour of death stand on the mountaintop, as it were, and see with entranced eyes the rays of the sun that will soon illuminate the dark valleys below."—Gronlund.

"The issue between Socialism and Individualism is, I believe, the leading issue of this age-weary modern world. The men to come will envy us, as sharers in a battle greater than the anti-slavery struggle; greater than any phase in the eternal battle of the race for liberty since the convulsion of the Protestant reformation set man free in the sphere of religion, as Socialism promises to set him free in the sphere of economics."—Prof. Vida Scudder.

"In spite of our criticisms and its own errors and uncertainties, Socialism has spread so rapidly, it means that within its very nature lies a great moral force, which we may indeed refuse to acknowledge, but cannot suppress. The morality it teaches is by far superior to that of its adversaries."—Prof. Francesco S. Nitti—University of Naples—Catholic Socialism.

"A twofold ideal has been before me since my youth—a free and united Germany and the emancipation of the working people, that is, the destruction of class rule, which is synonymous with the freeing of humanity. For this double ideal I have fought with my best powers, and for this double ideal I shall fight as long as there is breath in my body. Das will die Pflicht! (That will duty!)"—Wilhelm Liebknecht.

Come, then, since all things call us, the living and the dead And o'er the weltering tangle a glimmering light is shed;

Come, then, let us cast off fooling, and put by ease and rest For the Cause alone is worthy till the good days bring the best.

Come, join in the only battle wherein no man can fail, Where whoso fadeth and dieth, yet his deed shall still prevail.

Ah! come, cast off all fooling, for this, at least we know: That the Dawn and the Day is coming, and forth the Banners go.

—William Morris—Chants for Socialists.

"The object of the state is to bring man to positive expansion and progressive development; in other words, to bring the destiny of man—that is, the culture of which the human race is capable—into actual existence; it is the training and development of the human race to freedom. This is the true moral nature of the state, gentlemen, its true and high mission.

"But the working class, gentlemen, the lower classes of the community in general, through the helpless condition in which its members find themselves placed as individuals, have always acquired the deep instinct, that this is and must be the duty of the state, to help the individual by means of the union of all to such a development as he would be incapable of attaining as an individual."—Ferdinand Lasalle.

"Socialism is a contemporary manifestation of social grievance which has through untold generations been borne by the sweating millions of labor, that have endured patiently and died in silent misery, leaving no record of their awful burden of sorrow. It is the cause of wretched multitudes of men and women and children that has at last found utterance and organization, the protest of workers that still suffer from excessive hour of monotonous drudgery in mine and factory in many lands, who live in economic insecurity and degrada-

tion, surrounded by the superabundant wealth which their toil has created. *** From time immemorial the working classes have been sunk in drudgery and ignorance, bearing the burden of society without sharing its happiness."—Prof. Thomas Kirkup.

"The ethical ideals of Socialism have attracted to it generous souls and have enlisted in its ranks its best adherents. It is these ethical ideals which have inspired the rank and file of the Socialistic army with fiery zeal and religious devotion. It may be said, indeed, that nothing in the present day is so likely to awaken the conscience of the ordinary man or woman, or to increase the sense of individual responsibility, as a thorough course in Socialism. The study of Socialism has proved the turning point in thousands of lives, and converted self-seeking men and women into self-sacrificing toilers for the masses. The impartial observer can scarcely claim that the Bible produces so marked an effect upon the daily habitual life of the average man and woman, who profess to guide their conduct by it, as Socialism does upon its adherents. The strength of Socialism in this respect is more like that of early Christianity as described in the New Testament."—Prof. Richard T. Ely.

"Very commonly we hear men say, 'Yes, it is a pity that things are so bad; but it is no fault of ours, and nothing we can do will mend them.'

"Now, John, this is a cowardly and dishonest excuse. It is the old plea of Cain, 'Am I my brother's keeper?' No one can shirk his responsibility. We are none of us guiltless when wrong is done. We are all responsible, in some degree, for every crime and sin; and for every grief and shame for which or by which our fellow-creatures suffer.

"Do your duty, John. Do not lie to your soul any more. Long have you known that injustice and misery are rife amongst the people. If you have not acted upon the knowledge, it is not because you knew it to be useless so to act, but because you were lazy and preferred your ease, or because you were selfish and feared to lose your own advantage, or because you were heartless and did not really feel any pang at sight of the sufferings of others.

"These common sights of the common streets, John, are very terrible to me. To a man of a nervous temperament, at once thoughtful and imaginative, those sights must be terrible. The prostitute under the lamps, the baby beggar in the gutter, the broken pauper in his livery of shame, the weary worker stifling in his filthy slums, the wage slave toiling at his task, the sweater's victim, 'sewing at once, with a double thread, a shroud as well as the shirt'—these things are dreadful, ghastly, shameful facts which long since scared themselves upon my heart.

"All this sin, all this wretchedness, all this pain, in spite of the smiling fields and the laughing waters, under the awful and unsullied sky. And no remedy!

"These things I saw, and I knew that I was responsible as a man. Then I tried to find out the causes of the wrong and the remedy therefor. It has taken me some years, John. But I think I understand it now, and I want you to understand it (Socialism), and to help in your turn to teach the truth to others."—Blatchford.

"The true end of Socialism, then is in the first place ethical. It is not the subordination of man to the machine of state, but the use of the state for ethical, that is to say human, ends. Politics, it seems necessary to repeat, are rightfully subordinate to ethics. They exist for the sake of human life, and in the modern world human life is richer and wider than state life."—L. T. Hobhouse (Socialist), Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

"The Socialist demands the greatest possible organization of the material basis of life that he may leave the greatest possible freedom to the life of the spirit, and maintains that the absence of freedom and variation in the one direction follows from the absence of organization in the other."—Sidney Ball (Socialist), St. John's College, Oxford.

At two recent meetings Branch 14 of Fitchburg, Mass., admitted eighteen new members.

Social Democratic Herald

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board
FREDERIC HEATH, Chairman
SEYMOUR STEPMAN, Secretary
EUGENE V. DEBS, Treasurer
VICTOR L. BERGER
CORINNE S. BROWN

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, \$5.00. Six months, \$3.00. No papers sent to any one on credit. If, without having subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and no bill will follow. Foreign subscriptions \$1.00.

Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

A. S. EDWARDS, Editor
THEODORE DEBS, National Sec'y-Treas.
126 Washington St., Chicago.

124 is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 125 your subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, NOV. 17, 1900.

All non-attached Socialists who voted the Social Democratic ticket November 6 are requested to send their names and addresses without delay to Theodore Debs, national secretary, at the headquarters of the party, 126 Washington street, Chicago.

The Chicago Vote

The election commissioners of Cook county, Illinois, are now engaged on the official count of the vote of this city and county. The first three days revealed a state of affairs that discredits the entire work of the judges and clerks of election. That the vote of the Social Democratic party was juggled with in the interest of one or both of the old parties there is no doubt whatever. The commissioners cannot go behind the tally sheets as returned by the precinct judges, and the prospect at this time is for endless litigation between the parties whose hirelings have sought to disfranchise the voters of all the minor parties. Before it is ended it may be necessary for Social Democrats to demand a recount and assume the burden of expense incident thereto. That our party has been robbed, mainly in the interest of the "regenerated" Democracy, no doubt remains.

Scores of complaints have come to the Herald office from persons in all parts of the city who voted in precincts from which no returns were made. There is little doubt, notwithstanding these discrepancies, that Debs' total vote in the city and county will run from 6,000 to 8,000. This claim is justified by the returns so far made on the recount. The following shows Debs' vote according to the police returns and the official count from six wards:

	Police Count.	Official Count.
First Ward.....	23	42
Second ".....	16	34
Third ".....	9	38
Fourth ".....	46	95
Fifth ".....	72	106
Sixth ".....	68	101
Total.....	234	386
Gain.....	152	

Our Great Encouragement

The true source of encouragement that comes to every Social Democrat, in contemplating the results of the election, is in the sense of duty well done. "It is better to have loved and lost than never to have loved at all," may be changed to read: It is better to have served the cause of freedom and met with failure than to have remained indifferent to its claims and its needs. But in the lexicon of our youthful party, as in that of every true Social Democrat, there is no such word as failure. Others, ignorant of the imperishable truths of Socialism and unacquainted with our aims and purposes, may affect to see failure written in the figures which will stand, in their estimation, as the sum total of our achievement in the campaign of 1900; but the active and observant propagandist in our movement has been close to the public heart and conscience, has measured the undercurrent of thought and knows better than before the potency of all the industrial and intellectual factors that make for the ultimate realization of his highest hopes. The opportunity was given him to learn how much of Socialism is "in the air" and how much of it is penetrating the minds of the people, soon to manifest itself in the concrete at the ballot box. Wherever this opportunity has been improved there is no cause for gloom, no reason to fear that the early triumph looked for before a vote was counted will fail of accomplishment.

The campaign has given our cause a distinct and irresistible advance; we have gained ground from which there will be no retreat; we have carried our principles right into the forefront in the political arena and in the realm of intellect have compelled attention to the inevitability of the Socialist solution of all the "great issues" which have their origin in the capitalist system of production and distribution.

The future is ours as certainly as that capitalism approaches the climax of its mission. The forces that work with us and for Socialism are not to be measured solely by the counting of heads or ballots. Inherent in the capitalist system

tem itself, energizing and directing all human activities, are the elemental rights and wrongs which co-operate with us and compel all alike, consciously or unconsciously to ourselves, to see through the mirage of competitive strife the outlines of the co-operative commonwealth. Let all who have served serve on.

The Appeal of Bryan's Aids

No incident of the campaign reflects greater credit upon our candidate for president than his silent rebuke of those who, when his canvass was nearly ended, addressed to him an urgent appeal to "withdraw in favor of Mr. Bryan." That appeal was wholly discreditable to the men who wrote it. Mr. Debs was nominated last March. For eight months his candidacy as the nominee of the Social Democratic party was known. The writers of the request that he stultify himself by abandoning his party on the eve of election knew this, and had they been his friends and "believers in Socialism" they would, if only to prove their sincerity, have addressed their "friendly" appeal to him immediately after his nomination. As it was, restraining themselves until the campaign was nearly closed, they laid themselves open to the charge of resorting to a paltry political trick, not in the interest of Socialism, but in that of a declared anti-Socialist and a believer in competitive warfare. More than that, the "appeal" carried with it the assumption that Mr. Debs' candidacy was something to be trifled with by "believers in the co-operative commonwealth" to get votes for an insidious enemy of Socialism and that Mr. Debs himself was a demagogue. The "appeal" was thoroughly Democratic in conception and language. Bryan and his place-hunting followers were quite as capable of judging whether a vote for him was "a vote in aid of the Co-operative Commonwealth" as were Pomeroy & Co., and the Bryanites never dreamed of such a thing. That some of them have talked Socialism (without understanding it) is quite true. But that was done with the same motive and for the same purpose that has always and everywhere actuated the Democratic party in its onslaughts and slaughter of new political movements. The "Socialists" who merely mouth Socialism but do not vote for it, may as well understand that Democratic trickery and trading will not prevail against the Social Democratic party.

How "plausibly" they appealed to voters to support Bryan because he was a "Socialist," knowing that the statement was wholly false! They voted. And where are they now? Who lost his vote? The Socialist who voted for Socialism or the poor duped slave who wanted to "save his vote" by (as the returns show) throwing it away? That appeal, too, was based upon a false assumption that a vote for Bryan was a vote for "public ownership of industry," and the men who wrote it were well aware that Mr. Bryan and the Democratic party stood absolutely opposed to that principle. The appeal was dishonest. But they voted for "part of what they wanted" and didn't get it. Let us hope that time will cure them of their small vanities. Social Democrats will go on voting for all they want.

Capitalists are capitalists, but there are divisions and sub-divisions of them if you wish to engage in the idle sport of analyzing their varied outward appearance. There is the strenuous capitalist, for instance, whom Teddy Roosevelt is enamored of, the capitalist that exploits rough shod. But the strenuous capitalist is a sort of bell-wether for the rest, and through his strenuousness they are saved the necessity of being themselves strenuous, and can travel, play golf and loll about country clubs and be professional gentlemen. So long as the workers do the work and yield up the increase to the spinning process of profit, interest and rent they are satisfied to furnish the article called respectability. And for fear Teddy's "strenuous life" might prove too seductive to this class, their interests are now conserved and guarded by a book just issued by a member of the upper leisure class, one Hobart Chatfield-Taylor. He calls it "The Idle Born," and of course it means the idle born in the upper class, and has nothing to do with those idly born into poverty. I venture to hope that the days of the idly born are numbered and that before many more years they may be all set to work at useful production, and we are sure that they as well as the rest of the world will be the better for it.

The Social Democratic party headquarters is still at 126 Washington street, Chicago, and no combination seems able to drive us out. The other night the theatre in the building was burned out, and with only a brick wall between the fire and the office we came out unscathed. Even fire and flood can not prevail against us. Address communications about organization to Theodore Debs, national secretary, 126 Washington street.

Next week's Herald will contain the list of nominations for the new executive board and a date fixed upon for the election.

Subscribe for "The Herald"

NOTES AND COMMENT

Prosperity! Now we have it in black and white. In a special bulletin just issued the United States department of labor presents a table showing the yearly fluctuation in the rate of wages paid in this country from 1891 to 1900. The average of the wages paid in 1891 is taken as a basis for comparison and is considered as representing 100. Thus the wages for 1892 are placed at 100.30, an increase of one-third of one per cent. The following year the number was 99.32, or a falling off of about 1 per cent. In 1895 it was down to 97.88. In 1897 there was a slight increase, only to be followed by a decrease the year following. In 1899 the number rose to 101.54, an increase of 2 1/2 per cent. This year there was an increase over the number for 1891 of 3.43 per cent. And this is the great prosperity they are yelling about!

There have been times when people were starving in New York and out in Kansas corn was being burned for fuel. Every day there are people dying because of poverty, while all about them are others who have a superabundance. This is civilization under the capitalist system. Down in Mexico they are burning rosewood and mahogany for fuel, while in this part of the land those woods are considered too expensive to put into the furniture used by the people. It's a bad system.

The vote cast for the candidates of the democratic party in the Arlington (Mass.) district ran about 175 for each, except that cast for state representative. The Social Democrats had nominated for that office Comrade Gillespie. He had two opponents, representing the old parties. Only thirty-seven democrats voted for the candidate of their party, the rest supporting the republican to beat Gillespie, who polled 302 votes. In a square battle Gillespie would have been elected.

Comrade F. O. McCartney has challenged A. H. Washburn, the anti-Socialist of Massachusetts, to a joint debate on Socialism to take place as soon after election as possible. By-the-by, it may not be generally known that McCartney has the honor to have made the first Japanese convert to Socialism. This was when they were fellow students at a New England institution. Since that time great gains have been made in the spread of Socialism in Japan.

A bright, new star in the galaxy of Social Democratic publications is the Utah Socialist, issued from Salt Lake City. It is published weekly at \$1 a year, subscriptions to be sent to P. O. Box 816. The growth of the party press is an evidence of a sure foundation for our coming victories. Already the Socialist papers are supplanting those of the old populist party.

The Hearstian American has been showing its hand in great style since the election. The strike of the building trades was a blunder. Pullman was the friend of the laboring man, the platform it supported in three colors and a thousand shrieks was no good, and the only thing left for the working class to do is to "save." The American is a huge and howling fraud.

We have just received a copy of Dr. Herron's address delivered in September under the auspices of the comrades at Rockland, Mass. It was his first speech under the auspices of our party. It is neatly printed on excellent paper and can be had for 5 cents by writing Comrade C. W. White, Roxbury, Mass.

Ignorance is not bliss, though a hog may grunt approvingly as it wallows in the mud.

What Debs Sees

Capitalism Approaches Its Last Convulsions and Will Be Swept Out of Existence.

The St. Louis Chronicle of Nov. 7 printed the following telegram from Comrade Debs:

"Editor Chronicle: From all indications the republican party continues in power four years more. During this period capitalism will reach the climax of its development, and before the next McKinley administration closes the most disastrous panic the country has ever known will paralyze industry in every department of activity.

"Overproduction, based upon underconsumption, will glut the markets and make the crisis inevitable. McKinley and prosperity will be swept over the precipice of commercial and industrial ruin, and the republican party cannot shirk the responsibility for it.

"This will be one of the last convulsions of capitalism before the social revolution sweeps it out of existence.

"The personal friends of Mr. Bryan should congratulate him upon his defeat. Had he been elected his administration would have been overwhelmed with disappointment and disaster. The next four years will witness the development of Socialism to continental power and proportions.

"Eugene V. Debs.

"Terre Haute, Ind., Nov. 7."

ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDIES BY FOLKMAR

A New Book of Great Interest to the Student of Sociology—Critical Observations

By Isador Ladoff

Lesson in Anthropological Philosophy, Its Application to Positive Morality: Daniel Folkmar, Doctor of Social Sciences, Professor of Anthropology at the University of Rennes, formerly lecturer at University of Chicago. Paris, Librairie C. Reinwald, Schleicher freres, editeurs, 15 Rue des Saints-Peres, 15, 1900, tous droits reserves.

Every builder needs building material, and it is certainly a useful occupation to make bricks, shape stones, prepare mortar, etc. But the work of the architect in combining the bricks, stones, etc., into the shape of a noble edifice is of a higher degree of usefulness than mere brick making, stone cutting, etc.

In the dominion of science there are hosts of useful workers who diligently engage themselves in collecting and stating facts, observing phenomena, experimenting—in short, in preparing the raw materials, the bricks, stones and mortar, of the noble edifice of science. These minute pieces of detail work are usually scattered chaotically in booklets which are destined to oblivion and in different periodicals. But now and then a scientist with an architectonic intellect arises who collects, shifts and combines this raw material into a grand artistic whole and creates an epoch in science.

Dr. D. Folkmar's book belongs to that class of architectonic structural work, the facts, the observations—in short, the raw material, does not represent anything new. But their combination and the light in which they are put in the "Lessons" is new and original. The idea to combine all the branches of science about men into one general science is undoubtedly a great and fruitful one. Men of science are as a rule too apt to short-sightedness, to exaggerations of the universal importance of some small branch of science, while minds able to grasp a general, broad and deep, truly philosophic conception of life are rare. It would be beyond the scope of this letter to enter into detailed philosophic methods of the fruitfulness of broad generalizations and philosophic methods of thought in social sciences. Suffice it to note here the lamentable divorce between economics and general sociology. What would we think, for instance, about an astronomer who would refuse to recognize mathematics? What would be our opinion of an osteologist who would insist that the skeleton is all there is to be studied in the human body and refuse to recognize as a science anatomy and physiology? Economics form the skeleton of the organized human society, while sociology is to the science of economics what mathematics is to astronomy. Meanwhile we must meet many a sociologist who considers it beyond his dignity to study economics and so-called economists for whom sociology is a terra incognita. It is just as preposterous to maintain that society is founded solely on economic principles as to ignore the economic element in human society altogether. Sociology or philosophical anthropology (it was always my conception of sociology that it ought to cover the whole field of knowledge about mankind) needs a Darwin, and I sincerely hope that Dr. D. Folkmar will prove to be this Darwin.

The table of contents of the book will show the scope of the subjects treated by the author. "The necessity of a positive system of morality. The new anthropology as a basis. Classifications of sciences and arts. Contributions of non-anthropological sciences. Division of anthropology. Classifications of human activities. Method and materials. Criticism of anthropological and social sciences. The soul. The individual. The primary activities. The secondary activities. Syntheses and hypotheses. Applied anthropology. System of positive morality." As the reader will readily conclude from the mere table of contents, the book comprises a wide range of ideas and facts related to each other as ideas and facts of human life and strife. The central thought of the book is the unification of all sciences about mankind in one great mother science—anthropological philosophy. The cardinal principle of the work of Dr. D. Folkmar is the application of the results in the entire philosophical system to practical life. In other words, the author insists on the moral aspect of sciences about men. He does not recognize the principle of science for science's sake, but considers the aim and purpose of social sciences to serve humanity by improving the material condition, a moral and mental elevation of the masses. Examining the final purpose of individual life, he considers it only as a means of attaining the higher purposes of the race and universe.

Dr. D. Folkmar is a materialist in philosophy, and recognizes only a national basis for conduct. He coined a

new term for the science of human conduct—the science of praeology. The author's conception of social science is quite original and new. It is a conception leading to Socialism, if not Socialistic in itself. Socialism, if not Socialistic in itself, is nothing else but the art of sociology, as we said elsewhere, the application of the results of social science to the practical needs of human life. The ethical or moral element on which the author insists is likewise favorable to the Socialistic trend of mind. Socialism demands justice first and above all. The capitalistic system is criticised and condemned by Socialistic thinkers chiefly on account of its crying injustice and immorality. We hope that the valuable book of Dr. D. Folkmar will soon appear in English, and in this way be put within the reach of the English-reading public.

As to critical remarks, I must limit myself to two points. It seems to me that the book would only gain if the material could be better digested. There are quite a few unnecessary repetitions in the book. Another that struck me was the too literal, I am almost tempted to say vulgar, conception of the so-called principle of the survival of the fittest, as it appears in some places in the book. The so-called principle of the survival of the fittest is the stumbling block for many, while others attribute to it a meaning which is not only not Darwinian, but directly anti-Darwinian. Darwin meant to say, in a somewhat unguarded manner, that living organisms depend for their existence on the environment. Even animals, however, are able to a limited extent to modify their environment favorably for their existence. The adaptation to the environment does not always mean a step forward. There are quite a number of cases on record where adaptation meant degeneration. Applying the principle of survival to human society, we have to keep in mind that if anything distinguishes man from animals, it is his ability to change his environment to suit his progress. The survival of the fittest in human society means, therefore, in many cases degeneration. Jesus Christ was not the fittest for his time in the vulgar sense of the word, but Judas was. Can there be any question as to which represents the highest type of humanity? The so-called races are exterminated by the higher Christian, civilized nations in the name of Christianity, civilization and Darwinism. Christianity and civilization are empty sounds in the lips of practical politicians, and Darwin would repudiate the construction of his generalization in a sense so deeply unethical and grossly unphilosophical. Even if we admit for a moment, for the sake of argument, that brutal force and cunning, as displayed by the first colonists of the United States, for instance, were justified when applied to the extinction of the Indian, because he was of a lower race, who is to judge impartially, who would decide the question about which is the lower and which is the higher type? The Indian certainly does not consider himself lower in any way than the pale-faced intruder. But the colonist was judge and executor, and he did what other animals do—killed the weaker. There is enough of zoology in human society. But why justify it by insulting great human geniuses like Darwin by attributing to them mean and unscientific views? What we have to care about and work for is to change our social institutions in such a way as to make men more human and less zoological, so to speak.

Capitalist Slave Labor

Since all people in common depend upon the sources and tools of production, there can be no individual liberty save these sources and tools belong to the people in common. There can be no social peace and sanity, no full liberty of the human soul, so long as some people own that upon which all people depend. All that can be said against slavery can also be said against the private ownership of economic sources and tools; for the private ownership of the common sources and machinery of life is nothing less than a substantial ownership of human beings. No man is free so long as he is dependent upon some other man for the chance to earn his livelihood. If a man owns my bread, or owns that which I must have in order to get my bread, he owns my moral being, unless I choose to revolt and starve. Private ownership of the earth and its productive machinery means private ownership of the people who live on the earth. He who sells his labor power for wages sells himself; for his labor power is his life. The wages system is merely an advance in the slave system, but it is no fit system for free men; and there can be no true freedom for all men until there is not another hiring left under the sun. The labor of the world is still essentially slave-labor. There is not a wage earner on the earth, tonight, who is not in some degree debauched in soul, even in spite of himself, by his dependence upon the private buyer of his labor. So long as some men own that upon which all men depend, the owners and the dependents are alike corrupted, enslaved and robbed. Yet our whole industrial system rests upon this power of private capital to legally appropriate the fruits of the labor of society.—Herron.

OUTLINE OF THE CLAIMS OF SOCIALISM

Would Widen the Principle of Combination to Take in All Industries and All the People

By Frederick O. McCarty

The Social Democratic Party, viewed from the ethical standpoint, is the political expression of the attempt to realize in the realm of industry the principle of human brotherhood. Socialism would replace the method of competition by the method of co-operation, and substitute the principle of private ownership in the means of production and distribution by the principle of collective ownership.

Viewed from a scientific standpoint, Socialism is the result of careful and profound study of the growth of industrial and social institutions and methods. These studies were made primarily by such men as Marx, La Salle and Engels and have been verified as to their results by leading minds of both England and America. Progress is the law of all life. Men were first savages, little above the brutes. They lived in a state of continual warfare. The victors devoured the vanquished. Slavery was the next era in which the conquered served the conquerors. Feudalism replaced slavery, the serfs being granted more liberties than the slaves, though they were tied to the soil. Feudalism was replaced by capitalism, and capitalism will be succeeded by Socialism. Capitalism was introduced by the invention of machinery and the consequent perfecting of the factory system. Under the capitalistic system the few own the tools of production and the many are dependent upon them for the right to work. The workers applying their energies to the machines which were invented by society, or to the land which should be the common heritage of all men, receive only a portion of the values which they produce, in the shape of wages. Wages tend downward to the point where the workers receive the bare means of subsistence. This downward trend in wages brought about by the invention of machinery, the perfecting of the factory system and the maturing of the trust system. The machine and the trust are both labor-saving devices. They displace laborers. The displaced laborers compete with those who are employed and wages go down. On the other hand, the class which owns the tools of production, land and machinery, appropriates to itself all the values created by labor above the cost of the subsistence of the toilers. This value is appropriated by means of rent, profit and interest. The first period of capitalism was marked by the competition of the small capitalists among themselves. The stronger or more cunning survived. Now in the second and last period of capitalism the strong ones, having found the method of competition to be wasteful and unscientific, not based on common sense nor utility, have combined. The principle of combination is an advance on the method of competition. It means the increase in capital which can build great machines, wonderful in their power of producing commodities. The trust system means centralization, the organization of labor, and economy in the expenditure of labor power.

But the trust system also means that a few men finally own all the wealth of this nation. The concentration of wealth in the hands of the few, means the destruction of democracy and the rule of plutocracy. It means a far-reaching and unendurable tyranny. It means that all of the institutions of the nation will come under the control of the wealthy few. It means, on the other hand, that the millions of the people will sink into poverty, increased dependence, ignorance, vice, crime, despair and death.

We cannot as a nation return to competition, nor can the nation endure the trust system under private ownership. We cannot as a nation go backward to the first period, we cannot stay where we are, we must therefore go forward. Socialism would maintain the principle of combination used by the trusts, but would widen its application until it takes in all industries and embraces all the people. We advocate, therefore, a universal trust system in which every man, woman and child in the nation shall have equal ownership. The invention of machinery will reduce the hours of labor, but it will not reduce the income of the laborer, for the increased productive power of the machine will balance the reduction in the hours of work.

The True Road to Leisure

Free Society, an anarchist paper says: "The great error of Socialists as well as of bourgeois political economy, lies in assuming that man is always to spend his life in the cellar. It forgets that man is man and merely regards him in one of his relations, that of an economic factor."

The great error of the anarchists is that they see the wonderful productivity of modern society, a productivity the

fruits of which are monopolized or legally hogged by a possessing class by reason of its ownership of the forces of production, and they imagine that with the absence of all social regulation, this same productivity would keep giving man a chance to cultivate the finer graces of life. Being extreme individualists the anarchists overlook the fact that the abundance produced today is produced by associated labor and under certain social restraints which could never be entirely abolished even under socialism. For the very nature of associated machine production itself indicates why it must demand certain yieldings of personal freedom and social irresponsibility from the individual. Our wonderful productivity has not come about by chance or by design. It has come through an industrial evolution or unfoldment leading up to the present associated labor. To abandon this association would be to throw over entirely the present great productivity. The anarchist looks at the bird and the wild beast and knowing there is a natural plenty on the earth wonders why man, too, cannot be free from all care and be sure of his food and shelter. He might, but through civilization and culture his natural wants have been multiplied a thousand fold. These satisfactions he does not want to forego. He likes his books, his opera, his factories, his automobiles and his railroads. To make every man a law unto himself would bring a chaos, no matter how much the anarchist might dream that it would not. And if every man was a law unto himself present day production would cease, for the individual could not build the mighty and ponderous machines of production, much less individually own them. And if such were possible, he would have to devote all of his waking hours to work.

Social Democrats want freedom too, but they are not foolish enough to think that it can be had by an anarchist's fiat, or by setting aside our present organization of machinery.

Free society, cites William Morris' story of "News From Nowhere" as a picture of the future society. "News From Nowhere," beautiful and inspiring as it is, pictures a medieval like society, in which machine production has no apparent place. This was due largely to Morris' passion as an artist for hand wrought things and his Ruskin-like feeling against "machine made art" as expressed in even the most insignificant of household articles. Only an anarchist dreamer would take "News From Nowhere" literally.

All great civilizations have been based on slavery, that is, the favored ones have had leisure to become cultured by reason of the enforced and abject toil of the many. Wage slavery, the latest form, came as the successor to chattel slavery. Now, the Socialists want to abolish wage slavery and to substitute the slavery of the machine in its place. To do this, so that all can benefit from it, the machines must be owned by the people collectively and managed and operated with an avoidance of the wastes and interferences of the competitive warfare due to conflicting private interests. So long as the forces of production are privately owned and the more the machines assume the drudgery of production the greater the hardship of the workers, who are thus crowded from the factories. Even an anarchist ought to be able to see this. With the burden of toil placed upon organized machinery, man could be, truly, something more than a mere economic factor.

The Patient Donkey

The laboring man may be likened unto a donkey. He is patient, much enduring, and a bearer of burdens.

Let us notice this donkey as he goes on his way with drooping head and slow and wearied step. There is a heavy burden on his back. It is composed of capitalists. They are of large stomachs and much fatness.

It seems as if he can hardly go. He staggers under his heavy load and sometimes he does halt and causes a great commotion. But he is always persuaded to begin his journey anew.

He draws the attention of the democratic and republican politicians. They pass lengthy resolutions of sympathy, and express their undying love for him. They gather around him and amid a great deal of confusion and discussion endeavor to arrange his burden so that it will ride easier. Some say it is placed too high and others say too low. Some say too far this way or too far that. The republicans say that the capitalists ought to sit close together. The democrats, being opposed to trusts, say they should sit far apart.

Still the donkey staggers on the same as before.

A group of Socialists meet him and are filled with compassion. They say, "Let us take these fellows off his back." The republicans and democrats begin to clamor and shriek: "Do you want to ruin him? Don't you know he can't live without somebody to ride on his back?"

But the Socialists proceed to kick the capitalists off, and the donkey gallops lightly away with the most cheerful countenance he has ever exhibited.

West Va.

P. R. Garrett.

Jeffersonian Democracy

A comrade writes to express the opinion that this "fetich of 'Jeffersonian democracy'" that people are so prone to prate about ought to be vigorously met by the Social Democrats, as it misleads a good many people who would otherwise take their places with the actual democrats. Right you are, comrade. Jeffersonian democracy is a sham and should be exposed on all possible occasions. That sort of democracy would leave the exploitation of labor, the monster crime of the ages, just where it is today. The character of some of the men who howl for Jeffersonian democracy throws a flood of light on the subject and should in itself be sufficient warning to the laboring class. Jefferson believed that all that was necessary to bring happiness and abundance to the people was to leave them free to fight each other under the system of competition—the dog-eat-dog system. Jefferson was wise in his generation, but today, in the light of later developments, he is a musty back number. His admirers regard the following quotation from his first inaugural address as embodying the essence of Jeffersonian democracy:

"A wise and frugal government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government; and this is necessary to close the circle of our felicity."

Careful examination of the above will show how pitifully inadequate it is.

How much clearer is this subjoined quotation from John Adams:

"When the working poor are paid in return for their labor only as much money as will buy them the necessities of life their condition is identical with that of the slave who receives those necessities first hand; the former we call could be arranged, and the result was the difference is imaginary only."

And yet we hear nothing about Adams' democracy. If we are to worship the gropings of the past, let us give Adams a little credit, also.

A Capitalistic Spellbinder

Conscious capitalism is in a perpetual hornet's nest of criticism and inspection these days and to meet the situation has put forth a horde of sophistry-mouthers in the hope of checking the advance of the universal interest and sympathy in the labor cause. Thus one Frederick P. Bagley recently appeared before a Woman's club in a western city and delivered himself of this piece of wisdom:

"The cold, hard facts of a natural development of the competitive system are here to be met by society with cool, clear thinking, in order to solve the problems that have arisen. There is a striking similarity between organized capital and organized labor—the question which naturally arises is this: Are their aims similar? The trusts of capital are working for themselves, not humanity, but are the labor trusts trying to better conditions for mankind or themselves? The policy of the labor unions themselves has been not of forcing in, but of keeping out, others, thus seeking to benefit the labor market, not for toiling humanity, but for the few who are their members."

But Mr. Bagley didn't have things all his own way. There was at least one woman present who could not be fooled. She said:

"Capital is organized to increase the wealth of those having more than plenty; the workingman organizes because his is a fight for bread—for life. For instance, the striking miners were compelled to strike."

Good for the woman! C. G. C.

The Father of Trusts

Charles R. Flint of New York, who is said to be the "father of the trusts," whatever that may mean, spoke at a manufacturers' dinner the other day on the use and abuse of trusts. And right glibly he rattled on about the woes of the rich and the blessings of the poor. For instance just listen to this:

"The wage-earners are today enjoying a higher standard of living and a larger measure of well-being than ever before in the history of the world. The railroad managers have rails and rolling stock; the miner has mines; the manufacturer has bricks, mortar and machinery, and most of them have debts, and many are mortgaged to the banks for savings; but the wage-earners in the United States have on deposit in cash in the savings banks, subject to call, \$2,500,000,000."

Of course it doesn't matter as to the truth of this last statement, so long as it serves its purpose. Mr. Flint doesn't care. But listen further:

"One of the unfavorable features of our industrial situation is that the men of great constructive ability are passing away, and instead of there being a lack of opportunity, it will be difficult to find men to assume the arduous responsibilities of industrial leadership who have the knowledge, the judgment, the ability, and the integrity of Carnegie and Huntington, of Rockefeller and Field, of Armour and Vanderbilt—the thinkers, the doers, the organizers—men whose creations are the great landmarks in our industrial history."

Aren't it a pity!

The Lines are Drawn

Close students of the trend of events in this country in recent years, those who have not allowed their vision to be distracted by the little things of everyday life, but who have been able to look at the social and industrial situation in the mass, so to speak, have seen for some time that the inevitable issue of the near future in politics would be Socialism. The Democratic party has long ceased to have an historical mission and is doomed to disappear. The field will be left to the Socialists on the one hand and to the ultra-capitalist (Republican) party on the other hand. Just as the rapid disappearance of the middle class has left the possessors of wealth and those who are dispossessed standing squarely face to face, just so the Democratic party will cease to be a shield between the army of Social Democracy and the army of Capitalism.

And it will be Social Democracy that will drive the Democratic party from the field. It will thus clear the field for the battle royal with capitalism. That this is so can be easily seen from fairly recent events. In two cities in Massachusetts the Republicans and Democrats (yes, and the Prohibitionists) united to fight Socialism. In several places in the west they have done the same thing, where they thought our party was in danger of winning in a three-cornered fight. And we are not at all distressed by this. On the contrary, the more of it the better. The sooner we can force capitalism to draw together for a defensive fight, the sooner the big battle for the relief and the salvation of humanity can be fought. It is an unpleasant duty and it will call for heroes. But we do not shrink from it.

I know that some of you are indulging in the popular saying that Socialism might answer for a society of angels, but not for a society of human beings such as we are; that we must wait till we have a better brand of human beings before we can have Socialism. All of which is very much like the saying that it is not safe to cure a man of his disease until he gets well; or like saying that we will not come in out of the rain until we first get dry; or like refusing to abolish the devil in order that we may preserve the job of saving the people from him. It is a strange superstition that makes men regard what they know to be elementally good as dangerous in practice, and what they know to be elementally wrong as practically safe. Socialism strikes at the root of the chief cause of our unangelic conduct, and proposes to abolish that slavery and competition and capitalism which sends all its forces in the direction of making men brutal and dishonest.—Herron.

LOCAL BRANCHES

Notices of Branch Meetings Inserted for 25 Cents per Month

CALIFORNIA

Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evenings, commencing at 8. Admission free. Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening. Social Dem. or. 1 card free to each member, 5 cents per month. Apply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk street.

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock at Woodmen's Hall, 1234 Spring St. J. Franc, 700 Dayton Ave., Secretary.

Branch No. 2, San Francisco (German). Holds business meetings first Sunday each month, at 1 o'clock p. m., at 117 Turk street. Agitation meeting on third Sunday evening, same place, to which public is invited. August P. Mayer, secretary, 1460 Polk street.

COLORADO

Branch No. 1, Denver, meets every Sunday at 8:00 p. m., at 1715 California Ave., Chas. M. Davis, Secretary, 1623 17th Street.

Branch No. 3, Goldfield, meets every Sunday at 7:30 p. m., at City Hall. Chas. Lee Camp, Secretary.

CONNECTICUT

The Connecticut State Committee meets the last day of each month at 8 p. m., at P. Schaffer's, 1033 Main St., Hartford. Louis Schaff, Sec., 25 Spring St., Meriden, Conn.

Branch No. 3, New Haven, meets every Wednesday evening, at 8 p. m., at Aurora Hall, C. Wolmer, Sec.

Branch No. 4, Rockville, Conn., meets first and third Thursdays at Torr Hall meeting room, Village street. Secretary, Richard Niederwieser, Box 760.

ILLINOIS

Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Groer's office, 51 Dearborn St.

Branch No. 1, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening. Thomas Kirwin, Secretary, 204 Westworth Ave.

Branch No. 2 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets first and third Mondays at 8 p. m., at Nagle's Hall, 455 Blue Island Ave. Ferdinand Svoboda, Secretary, 604 West 18th Street.

Branch No. 3 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets second and fourth Mondays at 8 p. m., in Dander's place, 180 W. 18th place. Joseph Dander, Secretary.

Branch No. 4, Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays of each month at Piazak's Hall, cor. Centre av. and 19th St. Joe Cerny, Sec., 530 W. 18th St.

Branch No. 5, Chicago. Meets at Adelphi Bank, 100 W. 18th St., every other Saturday in the month. A. Giesler, Sec., 726 W. 20th street.

Branch No. 6 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays, at 8 p. m., at 503 Lino Street. J. A. Ambros, Secretary, 4940 Wood Street.

Branch No. 8, Chicago, meets at 1145 W. 63rd st., first and third Sundays at 8 p. m. Gus Larson, Secretary, 6243 Center avenue.

INDIANA

Branch No. 2, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichwein's Hall, corner Market and Noble sts. Address all communications to the Sec. of State Executive Board, Thos. A. Catton, 617 Arbor ave.

IOWA

Branch No. 2, Hitterman, meets every fourth Friday in the month at Opera House. James Barker, chairman, Wm. Truman, secretary, Box 151.

KENTUCKY

Branch No. 4, Bellmore, meets 1st and 3rd Sunday, at 8 p. m., and 2nd and 4th Wednesday at 8 p. m., at 91 Fairfield ave. We will aim to make it interesting for all. Henry Listerman, Sec., 122 Poole ave.

MASSACHUSETTS

Branch No. 2, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at Springfield Turner Hall. Carl Schwabe, Organizer, 24 Jackson St.

Branch No. 3, Lynn permanent headquarters, 71 Monroe St. Business meetings every Monday night at 7:30. Open house. Public invited. Harry Gotsimer, Sec., 25 Essex St.

Branch No. 9, Brockton, meets Friday nights at 8 p. m. for business at Rialto Hall (Park's Block, corner Main and Center Sts. Every comrade is expected to attend one meeting a month. Mrs. Annie Besworth, Secretary, 51 Prospect St.

Branch No. 22, Roxbury, Mass., meets at 24 Warren st., 2d and 4th Fridays of every month. Public invited

Answers to Correspondents

Editor Herald: Prof. Herron's utterances in the campaign just closed were wonderfully powerful. They help to establish the movement on the higher ground and will make our advance irresistible. We can all take new hope, all be inspired. Before such logic the fabrications and mythical morality of the prevailing rulers must fall to decay and obloquy. All hail to the Social Democratic party! Keep it on the true path. Temporarily with neither Pomeroy or Parsons capitalists, nor with the fellows who seek to capture the movement to re-inaugurate the hierarchical propaganda that has disgraced and obstructed Socialism in America in the past. Three cheers for the new Socialism! —B.

Your letter voices the right and the conquering spirit, but do not let us weaken our cause by speaking of "new" Socialism. Socialism or Social Democracy has not changed, although the auspices under which it is presented have become more wholesome.

"We live in the most favored land beneath the bending sky. We have all the raw materials and the most marvelous machinery; millions of eager workers seeking employment. Nothing is so easily produced as wealth; and no man should suffer for the need of it; and in a rational economic system poverty will be a horror of the past; the penitentiaries will be depopulated, and the shadow of the gallows will no longer fall upon the land. Co-operative industry carried forward in the interest of all the people, that is the foundation of the new social order; economic freedom for every human being on earth; no man compelled to depend on the arbitrary will of another for the right or opportunity to supply his material wants. There will still be competition among men; but it will not be for bread, it will be to excel in good works."—Debs.

Let dead hearts tarry and trade and marry, And trembling nurse their dreams of mirth, While we the living our lives are giving To bring the bright new world to birth. —Wm. Morris—Chants for Socialists.

The centralization of the wealth of the people in the hands of the few has been the poison of history, and has brought the decline or destruction of every nation; every civilization, every religion that has come to its end or decline. The pages of history are blood-red with the retribution that comes to the whole people through the centralization of wealth in the hands of a few; for centralized wealth is not prosperity but disease, congestion, and destruction.—Herron.

MICHIGAN

Branch No. 1, Battle Creek, Mich., meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of each month at 3 p. m., at 10 W. Main Street, in the International Congress Hall. All are cordially invited. L. C. Rogers, Secretary.

MINNESOTA

Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Gesswein on Main St. A. Kingsbury, Secretary.

MISSOURI

Branch No. 7, Kansas City, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m., at 1200 Union Ave. G. J. Stora, Secretary, 1220 W. 9th St.

MONTANA

Branch No. 1, Butte, meets every Thursday, at 8:30 p. m., Engleware's Hall, Owens Block. G. Frankel, Sec. 71 E. Park Street.

Branch No. 2 meets first and third Sundays of each month at G. W. Wood's home, Chisholm, Mont.

NEW JERSEY

Branch No. 1, Secretary, Michael W. Schor, 87 Livingston st.

Branch No. 5, Camden, N. J., meets every 3d Sunday of the month. For particulars address Paul Eberding, 1234 10th Street, Camden, N. J.

Branch No. 3 (German) Newark, meets every third Saturday, at International Hall, 7 Bedford St. Hans Hartwig, Secretary, 7 Bedford St.

Branch No. 5 (German), Paterson, N. J., meets first and third Mondays at 8 p. m., at Helver Hall, 34-56 Van Hooken St. Karl Linder, Secretary, 248 Edmund St.

NEW YORK

The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York, meets every second Tuesday at 412 Grand street, Windsor Hall. James Ailman, Secretary, 32 Suffolk st., care of "Forward."

East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every first and third Thursday at 113 Clinton St. A. Guyer, Secretary, 163 Suffolk St.

Branch No. 5, Brooklyn, New York, meets every Saturday at 8 p. m., at 56 Moorhead. Visitors welcome. Comrades desiring to organize should communicate with Secretary Sol. Pressman, 190 Boerum St.

Branch No. 8, Buffalo, N. Y.—Persons desiring to join the branch will call or communicate with Tom Fritton, 119 Congress street.

Branch No. 10, New York, meets every Friday, at 8 p. m., 309 E. Broadway. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Organizer, Joseph Williams, 56 Henry st.

OHIO

Branch No. 4, Cincinnati, meets at Richelieu Hall southeast corner 9th and Plum Sts., every Sunday at 3 p. m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Jos. Jasin, Secretary, 1410 Central Avenue.

OREGON

Branch No. 1, Portland, meets every Monday night at Washington Hotel, Cor. 3d and Grand sts. Every body invited. T. C. Wendland, chairman; Mrs. N. E. Fortsch, secretary.

PENNSYLVANIA

Branch No. 1, Philadelphia, meets every Monday, at 8 p. m., at 422 B. and 3rd streets, until further notice.

Branch No. 4, Coudersport, meets every second and last Wednesday of each month in E. of L. Hall (Chas. Knispel, Chairman; L. B. Morse, Secretary, Ben. Codington, Treasurer).

Branch No. 5, Philadelphia, meets first Friday of each month—Executive meets every Sunday morning at 8 a. m., P. C. Cooch Room, at 422 B. Third St. Organizer, M. Gillis, 1007 S. Third St.

Branch No. 10, Williamsport, meets every Sunday afternoon at 3 p. m., in Social Hall, No. 26 East 31 St. G. B. Smith, chairman; Jno. Lyon, secretary, 743 Second St. Public invited.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee Central Committee, S. D. P., meets second and fourth Monday of each month at Brewers' Hall, southeast corner Fourth and Chestnut sts.

Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets at Keller's Hall, Fourth Street, between State and Prairie, every second and fourth Thursday evening.

Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Friday in Gussak's Hall, corner Green Bay and Concordia Ave.

Branch No. 3, Sheboygan, meets every second Thursday of the month at Emil Henschel's place, 107 Wisconsin ave. Secretary, Eugene F. Aicheberger, 170 N. 11th street.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday each month at Miller's Hall, corner 2d and Brown Sts. George Moersbach, Secretary, 351 5th St.

Branch No. 5, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at R. Sigel's Hall, 107 1/2 corner Orchard St. and 9th Ave. O. Wild Secretary.

Branch No. 12, Milwaukee, meets every second and third Thursday of each month at Volkmann's Hall, corner 2d and Brown Sts. Secretary, Rudolph Loschman, 1125 2nd St.

Branch No. 23, Milwaukee, meets second and fourth Wednesday of each month at 124 Clark street. Henry Warble, Sec., 1074 7th Street.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

THE NATIONAL PLATFORM

Adopted at the Indianapolis Convention, March, 1900

ATTITUDE TOWARD TRADE UNIONS

In accordance with our declaration of principles we declare that the trades union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the wage-working class. We recommend to the members of the Social Democratic party the following general rules:

- First—Join the union of your respective trade.
- Second—Assist in building up and strengthening the trade union movement.
- Third—Support the union labels of all crafts.
- Fourth—Educate your fellow-unionists on the question of Socialism and the labor movement, on economic and political lines.
- Fifth—It shall be your duty to work for the unity of the labor movement, thereby recognizing the fact that the emancipation of the working class can only be achieved by the united efforts of this class.
- Sixth—Educate the members of the unions in the principles of Socialism and induce them, individually, to affiliate with the Social Democratic party.
- Seventh—Trades unions are by historical necessity organized on neutral grounds, as far as political affiliation is concerned. The trades union is the arena where all wage-workers may be brought together for joint action to resist the encroachments of capitalism on the economic field and to participate in the class struggle of the proletariat which will finally develop into the political alignment of the forces of labor in the struggle for proletarian emancipation.

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness depend upon equal political and economic rights.

In our economic development an industrial revolution has taken place, the individual tool of former years having become the social tool of the present. The individual tool was owned by the worker who employed himself and was master of his product. The social tool, the machine, is owned by the capitalist and the worker is dependent upon him for employment. The capitalist thus becomes the master of the worker and is able to appropriate to himself a large share of the product of his labor.

Capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people; but the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system will necessitate the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare.

The present system of social production and private ownership is rapidly converting society into two antagonistic classes—i. e., the capitalist class and the propertyless class. The middle class, once the most powerful of this great nation, is disappearing in the mill of competition. The issue is now between the two classes first named. Our political liberty is now of little value to the masses unless used to acquire economic liberty.

Independent political action and the trade union movement are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its political, the other its economic wing, and both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system.

Therefore the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be:

- First—The organization of the working class into a political party to conquer the public powers now controlled by capitalists.
- Second—The abolition of wage-slavery by the establishment of a national system of co-operative industry, based upon the social or common ownership of the means of production and distribution, to be administered by society in the common interest of all its members, and the complete emancipation of the socially useful classes from the domination of capitalism.
- The working class and all those in sympathy with their historic mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America.
- The control of political power by the Social Democratic party will be tantamount to the abolition of all class rule.
- The solidarity of labor connecting the millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international Socialism, the brotherhood of man.
- As steps in that direction, we make the following demands:
- First—Revision of our federal constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to complete

control of government by the people irrespective of sex.

Second—The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

Third—The public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones; all means of transportation, and communication; all water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

Fourth—The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal, and other mines, and all oil and gas wells.

Fifth—The reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

Sixth—The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

Seventh—Useful inventions to be free, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

Eighth—Labor legislation to be national, instead of local, and international when possible.

Ninth—National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.

Tenth—Equal civil and political rights, for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

Eleventh—The adoption of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

Twelfth—Abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

National Organization

Section 1. This organization shall be known as the Social Democratic Party of America, and its headquarters shall be located at such place as the national conventions of the party may appoint, or as may be fixed by the National Executive Board subject to a referendum vote.

Sec. 2. The Social Democratic Party of America shall be organized as follows:

- First—Local branches limited to five hundred members each.
- Second—A National Executive Board of nine members, five of whom shall be chosen from territory convenient to the national headquarters, and shall be called "resident members," and the remaining four shall be chosen, so far as possible, from other parts of the country. All members of the Executive Board shall have equal rights and powers; but the resident members shall have power to act and a majority of said resident members shall constitute a quorum. The non-resident members shall not be required to be present at all meetings of the board, but shall be kept advised of all proceedings of the board. The Executive Board shall be elected by the national convention.
- Third—The form of state organizations shall be left to the branches in the respective states.

NATIONAL PAPER OF THE PARTY:

The Social Democratic Herald
126 Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.

HEADQUARTERS: 126 WASHINGTON ST., CHICAGO

NEW BRANCHES

Illinois, two.
Mississippi, one.

THE CAMPAIGN FUND

Custom Journeymen Tailors Union, St. Louis.	\$ 10.00
Geo. H. Hines, St. Newark.	1.00
F. Bauman, Chicago.	1.00
H. R. Miller, Chicago.	.25
C. G. Levan, Manchester.	2.00
Frederic M. Miller, Manchester.	1.00
Previously reported.	218.45
	\$2,128.90

FROM THE WORKERS

The Vote in Massachusetts

In all probability the Social Democratic party in Massachusetts becomes an official party this year. The candidate for governor will poll, I estimate, 12,000 votes, and 11,000 is the necessary 3 per cent this year. Whether this is to prove a misfortune or a blessing remains to be seen. Were we in Massachusetts a united, harmonious, thoroughly organized body, able to hold our own and anxious to keep the party high above the level of American ward politics, we could calmly face the dangers ahead. But I know a politician now, who knows nothing about Socialism beyond the way to pronounce the name, who declares that he is going to run on the Social Democratic ticket next year, and as he is backed by one of the largest corporations in the state I presume he can do it if he wants to.

Comrade MacCartney was re-elected by a largely increased plurality. Last year his plurality was 102 in a total vote of 1,100. This year the total vote was 1,800 and his plurality 218. But the Rockland comrades worked hard for it. We were somewhat disappointed over our failure to elect Comrade Gillespie of Whitman, but the boys have nothing to reproach themselves with. They worked like beavers. Gillespie carried two towns in the district, but in the third the Democrats voted for the Republican and Gillespie lost by 140 votes. Though we failed to elect, the result has demonstrated that the fourth and fifth Plymouth districts can be relied upon as strongholds for Socialism.

The vote for Debs will certainly reach 10,000, probably 11,000. With Boston and 50 towns still to hear from it amounts to over 8,000. There are many interesting things about this vote. For instance, Plymouth county, with 27,600 voters, gives 2,090 of it; Essex county, with 77,300 voters; gives 2,600; Worcester county, with 51,000 voters, gives 914; Norfolk county gives 684, and Suffolk, that is Boston, will probably give 2,000. Again, in many places the candidate for governor runs ahead of Debs. Almost invariably, in those places where we have only loyal branches or which have been reached by loyal branches the vote for Debs is equal to or a little ahead of that for governor. Your clean cut, straight Socialist will always vote a straight Socialist ticket, so I take it the above fact proves that a great many among the anti's and the unionists, while they voted the state ticket all right, were not class-conscious enough to resist the temptation of casting their votes for Bryan. Here is the way some of them stand:

Lyons	358	445
Worcester	283	305
Cambridge	114	146
Haverhill	1,281	1,720
Lawrence	219	318
Brockton	1,249	1,180
Rockland	216	109
Whitman	206	104
Fitchburg	250	202

Among the cities Boston has made the greatest gain, having jumped from 664 for governor last year to 1,600 this year. A good deal of this increase is,

no doubt, because the people have at last learned our name.

While the total vote in the state has increased about 50 per cent, it has fallen off in certain districts. Great gains have been made, however, in all those places where the campaign has been carried on by the organizing committee of the loyal branches, in the same earnest, systematic and business-like way in which the whole campaign was carried on last year, and which has been proved to be the right way to reach the people of this part of the country at least.

Boston. MARGARET HAILE.

Trade Union Ingrates

To the shame of Terre Haute, Eugene Debs only received about 350 votes in this county, which has over fifty trades unions, many of which owe their existence entirely to his efforts. Pardon me while I give you a little ancient history of the trades union movement of this county.

When Eugene Debs was elected secretary of the then all but defunct B. of L. F., there were, I believe, three trades unions in this city—the typos, cigar-makers and the Sons of Vulcan, now the A. A. of L., S. & T. W. He not only built up the organization which he represented, but assisted in organizing various crafts in his home city. In 1890 he and a few others saw the necessity of a central body, and the Central Labor Union was organized with ten charter organizations. This body now has thirty-two affiliated organizations, and has the best quarters of any central body in the west. It occupies three floors of one of the principal business blocks, has a good library and reading room, which is open all the time, and is generally considered one of the most progressive labor organizations in the country. No little credit for this state of affairs is due to Comrade Debs. His time has always been at the disposal of the unions of his home, and the writer has frequently accompanied him through rain and snow to assist unions in trouble with his always timely advice, which was the result of his large experience in such matters. Next to him there is a little handful of workers who have made sacrifices for the cause of their brother toilers, and who have in this campaign devoted all their time and means to build up a Socialist movement in this county, and yet less than 400 of the workers of this county voted for the man who has been their champion in season and out of season for over twenty years. It is enough to make an old warhorse in the labor movement "lay down," but I am glad to say that the 400 who had the courage of their convictions are made of the kind of stuff that does not know how to run, and intend to stay right in the field until the battle is won. At least two of us have had offers to move to more promising fields, but we have decided to stay with the ship in Vigo county until we see the triumph of Socialism. While we expected better results, we take the matter philosophically, and the campaign for 1904 is already on. Ed. H. Evinger.

A Trader Expelled

At a meeting of the Denver Branch of the Social Democratic party, held Friday, Nov. 2, it was unanimously voted to strike from our membership list the name of Chas. M. Davis, congressional candidate for First district, on charges of violating the constitution of the organization by accepting nominations from other non-Socialist parties. The secretary was also instructed to publish the notice of the expulsion of C. M. Davis in the Denver daily papers and in the Social Democratic Herald.

Alfred Hick,

Vigo County Vote

The official count gives Debs 331 votes in Vigo county; 27 votes were given to the S. L. P., 20 of which I am confident were intended for our ticket, as there are not over five or six De Leontines in this county, who are located at Fontanett, a small mining camp, where a section of the S. L. P. existed some years ago. These votes intended for us will make the vote 350 at the lowest. The average vote cast at the last election was 220, making a gain of 130 votes. The union(?) men in this county cannot be found.

Fraternally, JAS. ONEAL.

Attention, Virginia

The Socialists of Norfolk, Portsmouth and vicinity will, beginning with Monday night, the 12th of this month, hold meetings on the same night of each and every week. All Socialists of this vicinity are cordially invited to attend these meetings and bring their friends. The hall is on Main street, over Vickory's book store.

C. W. Breedlove,

419 Clay avenue, Norfolk, Va.

Montana Socialists

All those who voted for our party are requested to send their names to G. Frankel, state organizer, Butte, Mont., 71 East Park street.

Subscribers whose term of subscription has expired will please note the number of this issue. A prompt renewal will facilitate work at headquarters.

We have received a copy of a new song written by Thomas H. West, entitled: "Stick to Your Union," and which was adopted as the official song of the American Federation of Labor. The music is spirited and the words voice the solidarity of labor.

The Debs-Herron pamphlet is positively the finest propaganda literature ever gotten out in this country. They are 5 cents each, or \$2 by the hundred. They will be just as good after election as before.

About 4 o'clock one of the judges left his office, saying he had no more blanks to swear in unregistered citizens with. So we lost a number of votes.—J. P. Malcor, Spring Valley.

Socialists willing to assist in forming new branches of the Social Democratic party are requested to communicate with the secretary, Theodore Debs, 126 Washington street, Chicago.

We are about to start a class in sociology, and you will hear from this county in the near future.—A. L. Roecker, Chilton, Wis.

Among the five-cent books, Debs' great speech on "Liberty," his address on "Prison Labor," and Hyndman's Socialism and Slavery, can be used effectively in propaganda. This office.

Get your friend that you are trying to convert to read The Co-Operative Commonwealth, by Lawrence Grovland. You can have it for fifty cents by sending to this office.

The existing system is unspeakably cruel; the life currents of old age and childhood are the tributaries of the bottomless reservoir of private profit. The face of capitalist society is blotched with the effects of its diseased organism.—Debs.

IF YOU SYMPATHIZE WITH TRADE UNIONS
You will encourage the sale OF UNION LABEL GOODS

If you want Union Label Shoes demand the above Union Stamp. No shoe is Union made unless it bears the Union Stamp. Visit your shoe dealer and take no excuses. Send for latest list of factories. Subscribe for "The Union Boot and Shoe Worker," 50 cts per year.

Boot and Shoe Workers Union,
620 Atlantic Ave., Boston, Mass.

GERMAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LITERATURE

SOCIALISTIC LETTERS

Being the chapters of Merrie England done into German and suited to American conditions BY VICTOR L. BERGER
200 pages Price 15 cents

THE MISSION

OF THE WORKING CLASS
A German adaptation of the pamphlet by C. H. Vail.
BY JACOB WINNEN
12 pages Price 6c., in larger amounts, 5c.

TWO GREAT SPEECHES

Should be Read by Socialists Everywhere and Put into the Homes of Non-Socialists

Delivered at Central Music Hall, Chicago, Saturday, September 29, 1900, by

EUGENE V. DEBS
AND
PROF. GEO. D. HERRON
A Splendid Campaign Document

Sixteen Page Pamphlet. Price, Five Cents One Hundred, \$2.00
Address, 126 Washington St., Chicago

YOU ARE CORDIALLY INVITED TO ATTEND THE

SUNDAY EVENING LECTURES

Kaiser's Hall, 298 4th St., Milwaukee

Under the auspices of Branch No. 1, Social Democratic Party

- November 11, Frederic Heath—"Capitalism's Greatest Victim, Woman."
- November 18, Victor L. Berger—"Municipal Ownership."
- November 25, Thos. C. P. Myers—"Production and Exchange."
- December 2, Dr. S. Knopfsagel—"Class Consciousness."
- December 9, S. Richardson—"War from a Socialist Standpoint."
- December 16, Louis Wieman—"Trades Unions and Politics."
- December 23, Leon S. Hein—"Socialism as I Understand it."

DISCUSSION AFTER LECTURE

Admission Free Lecture begins at 8 o'clock

A PRIMER OF SOCIALISM

A 32-page pamphlet which contains in addition to the "Primer of Socialism," by G. C. Clemens, "Socializing the State," by the late Laurence Gronlund, and "Economic Terms and Phrases," by A. P. Hazel.

One of the strongest pamphlets for propaganda yet issued. A splendid vote-monger, and thousands should be circulated before election.

PER COPY, 5 CENTS—PER 100, \$1.50

Address, Debs Publishing Co., Terre Haute, Indiana.

The Herald will be sent to any address in the United States 26 weeks for 20 cents.

The Book You Need

PRINCIPLES OF Scientific Socialism

By Rev. Charles H. Vail

Author "Modern Socialism" and "National Ownership of Railways."

CONTENTS:

- The Industrial Revolution, The Analysis of Value, The Origin of Surplus Value.
- The Advantages of Socialism: Production, Distribution, Elimination of Coercive Vocations, Prevention of Waste, Elevation of Woman, Proper Care and Training of Children, Efficient Direction, Solution of the Monetary Question, Abolition of Taxation, Simplification of Government, Benefits to Capitalists, Benefits to Laborers.
- The Evidence of the Moral Strength of Socialism: Its Spirit and Aim; Abolition of Business Dishonesty; Restriction of Divorce; Prevention of Prostitution; Elimination of Crime; Prevention of Intemperance, Insanity, etc.
- Poverty—Its Cause and Cure. Wage Slavery vs. Chattel Slavery. Rent and Interest. The Law of Wages. The Law of Progress. Industrial Dependence and Commercial Crises. The Problem of Labor-Saving Machinery.
- Popular Economic Errors: That Value is Determined by Capitalist Cost of Production; that the Interests of Laborers and Capitalists are identical; that Labor is Better Off To-day Than Ever Before; that Cheap Prices are Beneficial to Labor; that Foreign Markets are Beneficial to Labor; that Luxury is Beneficial to Labor; that Land, Private and Public, Would Solve the Social Question; that Extravagance is the Chief Cause of Economic Want; that Socialism Would Destroy Individuality, Civilization and Index.

12mo, 236 Pages; Paper, 50c; Cloth, \$1.00.

SEND ORDERS TO
THEODORE DEBS, 126 Washington St., CHICAGO

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LIBRARY

Karl Marx, Capital, Cloth.	\$2.00
F. W. S. Socialism, from Grundrisse to Socialism, Cloth.	1.00
Gronlund—The Co-operative Commonwealth, Paper.	.25
August Bebel—Woman, Past, Present and Future, Paper.	.25
Edward Bellamy—Looking Backward, Paper.	.25
Edward Bellamy—Equality, Cloth.	.50
Linnaeus—History of the Communist Manifesto, Paper.	.25
Charles Vail—Modern Socialism, Paper.	.25
Asplund—Heterodox Economics and Orthodox Profit, Paper.	.25
Henry D. Lloyd—Wealth Against Commonwealth, Paper.	.25
Voltaire—The Rights of Man, Paper.	.25
Thomas Paine—The Rights of Man, Paper.	.25
Henry George—Social Problems, Paper.	.25
Osborne Ward—The Ancient Law, Paper.	.25
Adams—President John Smith, Paper.	.25
Richard T. Ely—Socialism and Social Reform, Paper.	.25
Hughes—Man in the Past, Present and Future, Paper.	.25
Chas. H. Vail—Principles of Socialism, Paper.	.25
Herron—Between Jesus and Caesar, Paper.	.25
Fahian—Elysia, Paper.	.25
Rogers—Six Centuries of Work and Wages, Paper.	.25
Donnelly—Cesar's Column, Paper.	.25

PAMPHLETS

P. Lorrain—What Is Capital, Paper.	.25
H. M. Hyndman—Socialism and Slavery, Paper.	.25
F. Lorrain—The Workman's Program, Paper.	.25
Chas. H. Vail—The Industrial Revolution, Paper.	.25

THEODORE DEBS, Secretary Treasurer,
126 Washington Street, Chicago.

New Ready! 125 P. 100

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRACY RED BOOK

EDITED BY FREDERIC HEATH

Printed on Plate Paper Handsomely Illustrated

This is an annual publication for Social Democrats who will find it indispensable for reference purposes. This first issue is of especial value because of the historical character of its contents. Among the features are:

- A HISTORY OF SOCIALISM IN AMERICA
Covering 76 pages, with portraits of Robert Owen, Etienne Cabet, Wilhelm Weitling, etc., etc.
- ALBERT BRISQANE
The first American agitator, with portrait.
- A TRIP TO GIRARD
By Wayfarer, with view of Appeal to Reason office.
- KARL MARX ON THE SINGLE TAX
- MACHINE vs. HAND LABOR
Compiled from government reports by Louis L. Dow.
- SHORTER PIECES
Labor Conflicts in 1899, Gronlund, Grant Allen, Chronology for 1899, Directory of Social Democrats, Socialist Controversies in 1899, The "Golden Rule" Map, Prof. Barrow's Case, Social Democratic Platform, Etc.
- BIOGRAPHIES OF WELL-KNOWN SOCIAL DEMOCRATS. Twenty in all.
- ELECTION STATISTICS
Covering the Socialist movement down to the present year. A valuable reference.
- A SOCIALIST PORTRAIT GALLERY
Comprising seventeen likenesses of leading workers in the movement, distributed through the book.

Sent postpaid on receipt of price, 15 CENTS.

DEBS PUBLISHING CO.

TERRE HAUTE, IND.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

THIRD YEAR. No. 23.

CHICAGO, ILL., U. S. A., SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 24, 1900.

Whole No. 125.

DEMOCRATS AGAIN GIVE THEIR VOTE TO CAPITALISM

A Democratic Candidate Urges His Friends to Vote for a Republican to Beat MacCartney for the Massachusetts Legislature

THE LATEST ELECTION RETURNS

Notes From Massachusetts

It will be several weeks before the official count in many states is completed. In the meantime the returns so far received enable us to give approximately what the national vote will be. The estimate given herewith is based upon authentic returns from several of the states casting the largest vote, together with reports from many localities in other states. With the understanding that the table is subject to revision, and that more complete returns may in a few states show either small losses or great gains, The Herald gives the following as the nearly correct Social Democratic vote of 1900:

Alabama	500
Arkansas	300
California	10,000
Colorado	3,000
Connecticut	1,500
Florida	500
Georgia	300
Iowa	2,500
Indiana	3,000
Illinois	9,600
Idaho	1,000
Kansas	3,500
Kentucky	1,200
Louisiana	500
Maine	800
Montana	1,500
Maryland	1,000
Missouri	4,000
Massachusetts	12,000
Michigan	3,000
Minnesota	3,500
North Carolina	500
North Dakota	750
Nebraska	1,000
New Hampshire	950
New Jersey	4,000
New York	14,000
Ohio	5,000
Oklahoma	1,000
Oregon	1,500
Pennsylvania	3,500
South Dakota	1,000
Texas	5,000
Tennessee	1,000
Utah	750
Virginia	1,000
Vermont	300
Washington	2,000
Wisconsin	12,500

118,050

Debs' Vote in Chicago

The official count of the vote in Chicago is not completed when we go to press. Below is given the vote in the wards from which official returns have been received:

1st ward	42	19th ward	123
2d ward	34	20th ward	117
3d ward	38	21st ward	123
4th ward	65	22d ward	167
5th ward	100	23d ward	107
6th ward	101	24th ward	107
7th ward	145	25th ward	107
8th ward	230	26th ward	107
9th ward	309	27th ward	107
10th ward	438	28th ward	107
11th ward	110	29th ward	107
12th ward	147	30th ward	107
13th ward	174	31st ward	107
14th ward	549	32d ward	107
15th ward	522	33d ward	107
16th ward	237	34th ward	107
17th ward	98	35th ward	107
18th ward	84		
Estimated total vote			6,000

Massachusetts

Although we failed to elect Comrade Gillespie of Whitman to the legislature from the Fifth Plymouth district as we had expected, we do not feel very much disappointed after all, when we come to examine the figures and understand the circumstances. Later returns show that he fell short only 112 votes, instead of 140, as at first reported. His total vote was 842, just four less than the number which gave MacCartney a plurality of 218 in his district, and 53 less than Carey. His vote is 91 more than that which elected Carey two years ago; 168 more than that which elected Scates at the same time, and 140 more than that which elected MacCartney last year. He carried two of the three towns in his district easily, but lost in the third, Center Abington, as he did last year, although his vote in that town was quadrupled by the earnest, wisely directed work of the boys. Then why was he defeated? Well, the greatly in-

creased total vote of a presidential year had something to do with it. The total vote, polled for representatives in his district was 1,905; in MacCartney's, 1,781, and in Carey's, 1,739. Then, too, Gillespie had practically only one antagonist: THE DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE HIMSELF STOOD AT THE FOOT OF THE STAIRS ALL DAY UNTIL THE POLLS CLOSED, URGING HIS FRIENDS AS THEY CAME IN TO VOTE FOR THE REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE IN ORDER TO DEFEAT THE SOCIALISTS. The result was that he, the democrat, received only 109 votes out of the 1,905. You see, it is becoming harder all the time to elect Socialists. The capitalist parties are wide awake to the fact that Socialists are hard to beat, and they govern themselves accordingly.

But perhaps a better idea of our real strength in the Fifth Plymouth district can be gathered from a glance at some other districts where good work was put in and hopes were high. The second column gives the number received by the man who was elected.

In Brockton:
Real.....476 Highest vote.. 847
Laird.....448 Highest vote.. 1,232
Bosworth...561 Highest vote.. 889

In Haverhill:
Scates.....707 Highest vote.. 1,255

In Newburyport:
Porter.....236 Highest vote.. 907
Johnson...276 Highest vote.. 631
Binley.....130 Highest vote.. 265

In Boston:
McCarthy...719 Highest vote.. 1,509
Dolf.....185 Highest vote.. 1,825
Ramin.....163 Highest vote.. 1,792

Carey's vote was 895, and his opponent's 844. MacCartney's was 840, and his nearest opponent's 628.

It is plain, therefore, that, although Comrade Gillespie was not landed this time, the Whitman-Abington district is entitled to rank as one of the staunchest strongholds of Socialism in this state. I see that the capitalist parties have taken note of the fact already. A recent lecturer in Boston "deplored the spread of Socialism as shown in such places as Haverhill, Rockland and Whitman." Whitman is in it, all right!

The record of Comrade McCarthy in Brighton (ward 25 of Boston) of 719 votes is remarkable, and shows that there is at least one corner of this conservative old city that is awake and keeping up with the procession. Brighton ought to have special attention during the coming year, and get the best that is going.

The Tenth Worcester district also did remarkably well, for a first time, as we expected it would. Eight months ago there was not a branch in the district. Now there are three, and a fourth in process. It is a double district, large and scattered, and therefore difficult to work up—yet with all these drawbacks, one of the candidates polled some 350 votes, I have not the figures by me. At any rate, such a good start has been made that the boys will work on throughout the coming year with an enlightened enthusiasm and, having a better knowledge of the field, will work with better effect.

The organizing committee met last Sunday in Boston. Several other comrades from out of town, who are not members of the committee, showed their interest in its work by attending the meeting. The organizer reported having spoken at forty-two meetings since the middle of September—that is, EVERY EVENING for six weeks—and that six new branches have been organized and several others under way. The secretary reported that during the campaign speakers had been sent to seventy-nine different meetings, under the auspices of loyal branches, and three under the auspices of Springfield branches. An encouraging and very welcome feature is that the loyal branches in Connecticut are co-operating with those in Massachusetts. The secretary also reported having written and sent upwards of 200 letters and telegrams on business of the committee, in regard to

organizing, speakers, etc., during the campaign.

Ten thousand votes for Debs out of 400,000 cast for presidential candidates is all that Massachusetts gave. There are S. D. branches in some sixty odd cities and towns, out of the 353 in the state. We have as yet only scratched the surface of Massachusetts. The organizing committee realizes this fact, and has under consideration a comprehensive and business-like plan for getting at the large proportion of it that has not yet been touched. Such a plan in general outline, was evolved at the meeting on Sunday, and careful consideration is now being given to its details. By next meeting we hope to have the plan perfected, and to be in a position to call upon all the loyal branches in the state to aid us in carrying it out. Even though we do become an official party, the work of education and organization must go on throughout the whole year just the same—and more so. Nay, there is infinitely more need for education, and for intelligent and wisely directed effort now than ever before. The harvest is ripening fast—is ready for the sickle. Faint not, nor fail in courage, comrades. The task is great, but so is our united strength. "Give and it shall be given to you." The more you do, the more you are able to do. "It's the storm that makes the sailor, and the battle the soldier," and both that make the Socialist.

Margaret Haile.

Nebraska

Douglas county, Nebraska, gives the legislative ticket the following: Bauer, 405; Ryan, 327; Davis, 323; Huber, 323; Schaffer, 323; Condon, 312; Bowen, 310; Shell, 309; Waters, 295, representatives. Albrecht, 334; Keller, 315; Bogan, 285, senate. I will send the head of the ticket as soon as I get it. That will be about Monday. Respectfully yours, T. A. Edwards, 2415 Charles street, Omaha, Neb.

Ohio

The deputy state supervisors of elections in Hamilton county (Cincinnati) announce the following vote for presidential electors of the Social Democratic party: D. T. Hackett, 1,132; Julius Zorn, 1,130.

Warren, 50; the county, 95; Ash-tabula, 27.

Missouri

The official returns for Kansas City give Debs 435 votes. The Socialist vote in 1898 was 95.

Jasper county, 326; Carterville, 30.

Kentucky

Campbell county, 279.

Wisconsin

Fond du Lac, 20.

Racine county, 117.

Oklahoma

Perry, 75.

Kansas

Mathena, 162.

Colorado

Teller county, 104.

Washington

Yakima county, 65.

Maryland

Alleghany county, 105.

Indiana

Marion county, 180; Lawrenceburg, 26; Aurora, 9.

New Jersey

Essex county, 1,200—gain of 350; Cumberland county, 66; Fort Lee, 176.

Pennsylvania

Lycoming county, 211.

South Dakota

Brown county, 21.

Minnesota

Minneapolis, 562.

California

Highland, 15.

West Virginia

Wheeling, 110; Marshall county, 23.

To All Socialists

Comrades: We are about to enter upon a municipal campaign in Brockton which will be your fight as well as ours. The eyes of the world are upon Massachusetts today; our loss is your loss, and our gain is a gain for "Socialism."

Our magnificent showing in the state campaign just passed has drained our treasury completely, and funds are absolutely necessary. All comrades who are in a position to help us, are requested to donate to our fund, at once, what you can. All donations must be forwarded to

T. C. SULLIVAN, Fin. Sec.,
14 Williams street,
Brockton, Mass.
[All friendly papers please copy]

Brockton Election Fund

Members of Nat. Ex. Bd., 126 Washington Street, Chicago\$5.00

THE CLAMOR FOR PEACE IN CAPITALIST SOCIETY

The Necessity of a Struggle Between Man and Man Has Practically Disappeared and With it the Moral Justification for Strife

PHILISTINE MORALITY OF CAPITALISM

By Isador Ladoff

Let us imagine a grain of dust whirling through endless space and inhabited by ridiculously small living atoms. If these tiny creatures would realize the colossal dance they participate in, they might lose their senses out of mere terror. Their fragile dwelling rushing through emptiness is kept together only by the mutual attraction of its parts on one side and of similar grains of dust, in company with which it is rapidly moving toward an unknown goal on the other side.

This grain of dust called the earth, together with its inhabitants, is rotating around its own axis and at the same time moves around the sun with the astounding rapidity of 600,000 miles in twenty-four hours. Finally the entire system of the visible starry world is rushing into space with the hardly imaginable rapidity of sixty million miles in a year. We move every single second two miles without any moment of rest, the earth is eternally moving on and on, as if in search of some unreachable but irresistible attraction. The earth can never get at the bottom of the awful abyss called space, and millions of years of constant motion does not make a difference of a hair's breadth in the position of the earth from the point of view of eternity. These infinitesimal living atoms—human beings clinging tenaciously to the rotating grain of dust—the earth. O how small and insignificant are they from the point of view of eternity! Significant as the human race is from this point of view, it is a giant in one respect, being attributed with the divine gift of reason. Human reason is capable of grasping the whole world, to measure the distances between stars and to determine the velocity of their motion.

Ought not these reasoning beings realize their role in nature and bend all their energies in the direction of mutual helpfulness, good will and fellow-feeling?

Ought not they devote the small space of time allotted to them as a gift of life in the most rational manner to acts of fraternal love, peace and co-operation? Ought not the consciousness of the stern and unchangeable laws of the inanimate world weld them together in emulation, in spiritual achievements, noble aspirations, scientific research and fine arts for the general benefit of the race?

Ought not Justice, Freedom and Peace be the dearest treasures of humanity?

The past and present of the human race once represented, however, the very opposite picture of struggle, strife and war between men and man; tribe and tribe, cast and cast, class and class. All the ingenuity of men is bent towards the invention of new methods and tools of annihilation and murder. Arrows are dipped in poison, swords sharpened, fire and iron put into the service of death, armies drilled and organized, national, race and class hatreds cultivated artificially. Even science and fine arts are turned into subservience to the moloch of war and strife.

The most sacred feelings are profaned in the interests of cold-blooded murder on a grand scale called war. Civilization, culture, Christianity are often claimed as demanding bloodshed. The grain of cosmic dust called the earth is soaked with the blood of the living atoms called national human beings. Nations boasting to represent the highest type of humanity are constantly engaged in the so-called art of war. We kill off the so-called lower races in order to civilize them, to Christianize them, to raise the level of their culture. We kill off the lower races just because we love them so dearly and want them to be just as good (if not any better than) we are ourselves. We feel deeply our obligation towards our younger brothers in humanity and if we trash the life out of them in our unselfish effort to raise them to our level of culture and civilization it is of course not our fault. The fittest always survive and we are fortunately the fittest.

Let us, however, for a moment pause

and reflect in the endeavor to find the clue to the fatal incongruity between the ideals of peace and fraternity so deeply woven into human nature and the sordid zoological self-destruction practiced by the human race from time immemorial till the twentieth century—the age we so childishly boast about.

The strongest instinct in human nature is the instinct of self-preservation. We want to live and all the efforts of our body and mind are devoted to the creation of conditions favorable to the preservation of our life. These conditions are modifications of our environment. Our environment consists of the sub-human and human world. On the lowest stages of civilization the work of creating an artificial environment out of the elements found in nature was quite frequently a very hard task. The primitive tools and undeveloped skill of the primeval man were unequal to that task, and it was quite natural that killing off a fellow-being was considered as quite legitimate when done for the purpose of preserving one's life. This was the epoch of cannibalism, pure and simple. The strong was considered as the fittest, as in our time; but in a more narrow sense. With the advance of civilization this double struggle with the sub-human and human environment was changing gradually in intensity. The more perfected tools and skill enable men to master nature with great ease. As far as the conquest of natural forces is concerned, the creation of the artificial environment—necessary for the existence of men—is almost a solved problem. The necessity for a struggle between man and man has practically disappeared and with it the moral justification of such a strife. The ideals of eternal peace and brotherhood, as all human ideals, are the outgrowth of actual material conditions. They are, however, always the advance agents of a higher stage of culture and civilization. The ideals of a preceding age form the fabric of actual conditions of the following age.

Our present social status represents a chaotic conglomeration of archaic and germs of future institutions. The archaic institutions, institutions which outlived their utility, prevail. Chief among these archaic institutions is the economic basis of society, the basis of a struggle between man and man in contrast to the future co-operation of men against nature. As long as the principle of so-called competition and, consequently, exploitation, the mercantile ideas about profit and gain—the industrial individualism and subjugation of the producer to the drones of society will prevail—eternal peace has of necessity to remain a beautiful dream. Indeed, it is futile to expect the cessation of war in a society founded on struggle and strife. To talk about abolition of war in our present mercantile and capitalistic society means to indulge in cant. The realization of the beautiful dream of eternal peace is left (as many other beautiful dreams) to a higher stage of culture and civilization, when men will leave behind them forever the inheritance of barbaric ages—the so-called struggle for existence between men and men; when commodities will be manufactured, not for profit and speculation, but for use and enjoyment; when man's power will not be degraded into a purchasable commodity; when the soil and all its bounty will be considered the legitimate inheritance of all human beings, irrespective of race, class or sex distinctions; when reason and the best instincts of human nature will be the sole guides of conduct.

Eternal peace is possible only in a society founded on the principle of brotherly co-operation. Philistine morality, preaching and exhortation, are as little likely to bring about eternal peace as conjuring. Without a revolution of economic conditions we may clamor till doomsday; peace, peace, but there will be no peace.

California—The vote in San Bernardino county for Debs is 235. Richardson, for congress, 353.

Social Democratic Herald

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board
FREDERIC HEATH Chairman
SKYMOOR STEWART Secretary
EUGENE V. DEBS VICTOR L. BEGER
CORINNE S. BROWN

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, 50 cents. Six months, 25 cents. No papers sent to any one on credit. If, without having subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and no bill will follow. Foreign subscriptions \$1.00.

Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

A. S. EDWARDS, Editor
THEODORE DEBS, National Sec'y-Treas.
126 Washington St., Chicago.

125 is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 125 your subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, NOV. 24, 1900.

National Lecture Fund

The following resolution has been received from Branch 32 at Webb City, Mo.:

"Resolved, That the Social Democratic Herald be requested to start a national lecture fund for the purpose of keeping good lecturers in the field for the next four years and request all those favorable to Socialism to contribute one dollar each for that purpose."

Comrade Roney, secretary of the branch, writes that the resolution was passed unanimously. The suggestion is a good one and the Herald will gladly assist in every way possible to carry it out. It is well, however, to direct attention to the fact that, aside from recording of the uncompromising Socialist vote in the late election, the best work done during the campaign was that of organizing new branches. An energetic continuation of this work is of the highest importance to the future of Socialism in the country. In order that it may be successfully done a national fund for organization is necessary. The Herald, therefore, suggests that as the needs of the movement extend to both education and organization, any fund that may be raised would better be applied to maintaining both organizers and lecturers in the field. We welcome suggestions from the comrades on this important matter and in the meantime acknowledgment of contributions for the purpose in view will be made in The Herald.

Mendicant Clerks

The daily newspapers of Chicago were careful not to say anything previous to election that would disturb the serenity of the voters in their belief in prosperity. No sooner had the election passed, however, than daily revelations were made of the fact that thousands of wage earners in the city were in the coils of money-lending sharks, and that for these thousands at least prosperity meant they had been forced to borrow money to live and that for the use of it they were paying exorbitant rates of interest.

It now appears that large numbers of clerks in some of the leading business houses of the city are not paid sufficient by their employers to enable them to get along without calling upon money lenders for help. Over a year ago the firm of Hibbard, Spencer, Bartlett & Co. found it necessary to warn the employees against borrowing money, and the other day John V. Farwell & Co. notified each employee that "any legitimate case of need should be laid before the manager, who will give it attention." The first-named firm also set aside "a fund for the purpose of meeting the immediate needs of the employees."

Here is a strange condition of affairs. The people employed by two of the most distinctively representative business concerns of the city are, by the indirect admission of the managers, not paid enough to enable them to maintain the standard of living and respectability which their particular avocation requires and are compelled to become the victims of conscienceless money sharks. If times are so wonderfully prosperous, why should those employed as clerks in first-class houses be in danger of immediate need? If their compensation was equal to their deserving and their hard work, if it comported with the claims made by the class which profits most from prosperity, there should be no hardship among them. But we are assured only a few days after the election in which "prosperity" and a "full dinner pail" were the principal catch phrases, that "thousands of young men" are next to mendicants—while the profits of the employers go on accumulating.

A member of one of the firms gave the following as the experience of one of his "young men" with the money lender:

"We had one case where a young man borrowed \$33 and gave his notes. He secured actually on the loan, \$22. For the use of the money he paid \$3.50 a month, which payments were kept up long after the notes were matured, or any part of it remained unpaid. In this instance, he paid all but \$11 of his indebtedness at maturity, but still, for four months afterward, he kept on paying \$3.50 for the use of the remaining \$11. I personally settled that up for the young man."

debtedness at maturity, but still, for four months afterward, he kept on paying \$3.50 for the use of the remaining \$11. I personally settled that up for the young man."

Trades Union Traitors

"O for a tongue to curse the slave,
Whose treason, like a deadly blight,
Comes o'er the councils of the brave
And blasts them in their hour of might."

The curse of labor has been the treason of self-constituted or chosen leaders—who for pelf lead astray men who repose confidence in their integrity.

The history of organized labor has been blotched on almost its every page by the duplicity of its leaders, who, watching their opportunities, and on the alert for bribes, put themselves in communication with labor's enemies to betray a cause which, with loud professions of loyalty, they held to be dear to them. In the entire vocabulary of invection the right word has not been coined to express deserved detestation of such abnormal scoundrels. Their methods involve every shade of hypocrisy. In league with capitalism and potential in the councils of labor, they are in a position to exert an influence which capitalism is quick to acknowledge and remunerate, and while labor realizes that its plans are frustrated and that demoralization has usurped the place of order, and defeat is the penalty for misplaced confidence in men whom it trusted but to be betrayed, the victims of treason, resolve, like courageous men, to repair their fortifications, renounce and denounce their false and bribed leaders, enlist in the war for the right, bury their dead and fight their battles over again.

It is the old, old story. Capitalism fully comprehends the value of a traitor to the cause of labor. This policy is—divide and conquer. To accomplish this they transform labor leaders into traitors, as the British transformed Benedict Arnold, by the omnipotent power of money, and once hypnotized and under the spell of capitalistic intrigue, the one ambition of the traitorous labor leader is to deliver his "cattle" dehorned and powerless into the hands of those who want their votes that the fetters of wage slavery may be the more securely riveted upon them.

Never, perhaps, in the history of labor, has an opportunity been offered to wage war more resplendent with hope for better conditions than was offered by the recent election, and never were the enemies of labor more active to blast such hopes. But alone, capitalism, however powerful it may be, is not sufficiently potential to arrest the advancing force of labor. To call out troops with shotguns, and the issuing of injunctions with prisons looming up in the distance, no longer frighten working men. On the contrary, they seem to arouse exasperation and make labor more courageous and defiant. As a result labor leaders must be purchased and transformed into traitors. This done, the miscreants begin their nefarious work of demoralization. The springs where labor slaked its thirst are poisoned; aspirations for high attainments are checked and hopes are blasted; hypocrisy and dissimulation confuse the minds of working men, until they are persuaded to vote for their enemies and accomplish their own ruin. This sort of treason to labor is now rampant throughout the country, while the traitors, pocketing the price of their treachery, witness the degradation of their victims with serene satisfaction.

But, however much such scoundrelism may be deplored, it is not without its compensations.

Labor, now the battle is over, will proceed to reconstruct its forces. It will choose new leaders. Its principles, giving it a firm and indestructible foundation, it will rebuild its citadels and forts and making new resolves for future campaigns, will fight on until capitalism disappears to be remembered only as a fossil monstrosity that once afflicted the earth.

The vacancy in Berlin, due to the death of Liebknecht, has resulted in the victory of the Socialist candidate, Ledebour, who received 53,896 votes out of a total of 65,832. This is remarkable, as it was feared that there might be an increase in the opposition, but the bourgeois parties received 27,905 votes in 1898, and only 11,618 this time. The constituency is a large one, and there has been no change since 1871. In any fair system of redistribution the Socialists would increase largely, but as it is, there is a probability of their electing 100 members next time.

It would be a difficult undertaking to keep tab on the fellows who are out with plans for new political parties. One of the latest reported is from George Fred Williams, who is to form a new "silver" party with Bryan as leader. Will "Socialists" who voted for Bryan—and threw away their votes—stand for that?

The cashier of the Newport (Ky.) bank who has just started out for a much-needed vacation made a clean sweep of everything, taking along with him a sum greater than the capital, surplus and reserve of the institution combined.

LESSONS IN ECONOMY FOR MEN WHO WORK

The Triumph of the Working Class
in the Struggle to Live is the
Abolition of the Dependence
of All Classes

SURPLUS VALUE AND MARKETS

Production Can Only be Sustained by
Consumption and Consumption is
Limited by Wages

By Charles H. Vail

Socialism is the only economic salvation for humanity. It means a nobler and truer civilization. It thus represents the real interests of every person. But it does not stand for the economic interests of either division of the proprietary class, for their CLASS INTERESTS signify those measures which make for the perpetuity of their class. Socialism means the destruction of all classes. But the initiative must be taken by the proletariat, the workers; it is the mission of this class to inaugurate the new order. All advance has been made by class struggles, a class below overthrowing a class above. But the triumph of the working class is necessarily the abolition of all dependence, for it can only emancipate itself by socializing the means of production and distribution. There are thousands, however, of the other classes who are realizing the hopeless struggle and are joining the cause of progress.

The Socialist party, then, as representing the interests of the working class, calls their attention to the fact that the surplus product, which the capitalists are trying to sell abroad, is wealth which they have produced and which has been exploited from them through the wage system. Every dollar's worth of goods shipped abroad represents surplus value which has been appropriated from the product of the workers. How long will laborers rejoice at the opportunity of capitalists to sell foreign nations the things they themselves need?

The cry for foreign markets is the cry of a vicious system. Foreign markets only add to the profits of the profit seekers. Think of the absurdity of workmen pointing to the long list of exports and rejoicing because the products of their own toil, which have been fleeced from them, are being sold abroad to enrich the coffers of the capitalist class.

I protest, in behalf of the thousands of unfed, half-clothed and homeless workmen, against such a policy. What Socialists want is that these goods produced by labor should go to labor. IF EVERY MAN RECEIVED THE FULL PRODUCT OF HIS TOIL THERE WOULD BE NO NEED OF FOREIGN MARKETS.

Socialism would secure to the laboring class this wealth and so do away with the need for foreign markets, and it would also do away with the crises and industrial depressions which result from the accumulation of a surplus in the hands of the capitalist class.

As production is carried on for profit, it ceases as soon as profits are threatened. Production can only be sustained by consumption and consumption is limited by wages. The wages paid will not buy the product created, consequently a glut takes place and depression results. We are then confronted by a condition of overproduction, or rather under-consumption (for there can be no such thing as the former as long as men are in need). If laborers received the full product of their labor they would quickly dispose of the surplus. Until society is reorganized on a co-operative basis we shall experience the same fortunes that have befallen us for the last century—periods of so-called prosperity, followed by periods of depression and business stagnation.

The competitive system leads to disaster, not by a straight road, to be sure, but by a wave-like path—comparative prosperity alternating with industrial depression. These crises are of periodical occurrence. Industry runs in what is called the vicious circle of from seven to ten years. Beginning with the crisis of 1815, nine such catastrophes have afflicted this country; they are worldwide and nearly contemporaneous in all the great nations. The causes are inherent in the present system—the anarchy of private enterprise and the exploitation of labor.

It must be evident to every student of the economic question that the better times we now enjoy will be followed by harder times that we have yet experienced.

"Splendid Bayonet Work"

Every Sunday 20,000 parsons preach that "God hath made of one flesh all the nations of the earth." Then nearly every member of that army of whited incongruities proceeds to stimulate the worst and most brutal instincts of their hearers against every nation except

that to which they belong. The morning placards announce "Splendid bayonet work," and the artisan sees and puffs his pipe, and the smug clerk sees it and jogs on, and the parson reads it over his breakfast, and the dainty miss hears of it and feels proud, and they are all pleased. And the workman and the clerk and the parson and the miss, because they may be completely dressed, and walk through paved streets and past plate-glass windows, consider themselves civilized; while the fact of their being pleased at "splendid bayonet work" proves them to be in their hearts the blackest and most vicious savages. —London Clarion.

MacCartney's Great Victory

The election was one of the most exciting for many years. The vote was unusually large even for a presidential year. The principal interest here was over the election of a representative to the next general court from the Fourth Plymouth district, which includes the towns of Rockland, Hanover and Hanson. The fight was conceded between J. B. White, the Republican candidate, and Frederic O. MacCartney, the candidate of the Social Democrats, who was elected here last year. Mr. MacCartney was re-elected again yesterday and carried the district by 218 plurality. His plurality last year was 102, and he shows a gain this year of 116 votes. His total vote in the district was 832. White received 612, while Perry, the Democratic candidate, polled over 300.

The result is a surprise, for while it was conceded that MacCartney would win out, it was expected that the vote would be very close. In Hanover MacCartney got 136 votes as against 93 last year, and in Hanson he got 102 votes, to 68 for White. White was severely knifed all over the district and especially so in his own town, Hanson. In Rockland MacCartney received 594 votes, as against 585 last year.

It was a notable victory for the Social Democrats, and they celebrated last evening in grand style. About 200 of them paraded the streets with brooms over their shoulders and headed by a drum corps. Colored fire was burned along the line of march, and there was lots of cheering and enthusiasm. The excitement kept up pretty near all night and it was well towards morning before the cheering died away. The Social Democrats and their friends were served free all night with hot coffee, sandwiches, pie and tonic at William Lawless' lunch room, and about 400 were dined. —Brockton (Mass.) Enterprise.

Revolution

The word "revolution," which we Socialists are so often forced to use, has a terrible sound in most people's ears, even when we have explained to them that it does not necessarily mean a change accompanied by riot and all kinds of violence, and cannot mean a change made mechanically and in the teeth of opinion by a group of men who have somehow managed to seize on the executive power for the moment. Even when we explain that we use the word revolution in its etymological sense, and mean by it a change in the basis of society, people are scared at the idea of such a vast change, and beg that you will speak of "reform," and not revolution.

As, however, we Socialists do not at all mean by our word revolution what these worthy people mean by their word reform, I can't help thinking that it would be a mistake to use it, whatever projects we might conceal beneath its harmless envelope. So we will stick to our word, which means a change of the basis of society; it may frighten people, but it will at least warn them that there is something to be frightened about, which will be no less dangerous for being ignored; and also it may encourage some people, and will mean to them not fear, but a hope.

Fear and hope—those are the names of the two great passions which rule the race of man, and with which revolutionists have to deal; to give hope to the many oppressed and fear to the few oppressors, that is our business. It is not revenge we want for poor people, but happiness; indeed, what revenge can be taken for all the thousands of years of suffering of the poor?—William Morris.

"Evolution by Atrophy"

Editor The Herald: In your list of books treating of sociology you have not mentioned one of the newest and most valuable books on this subject recently translated into English and published by Appleton & Co., New York. It is "Evolution by Atrophy," by Jean Demoor, Jean Massart and Emile Vandervelde, the last one being the young and talented millionaire leader of the Belgian Socialists. It might be well to mention this book in addition to the list you give. C. BOTKER.

In the issue of The Herald for Nov. 3 a contribution to the campaign fund was acknowledged from the "Eleventh congressional district of Massachusetts," and in the following week's paper from "Picnic Eleventh congressional district, Massachusetts." Both of these contributions should have been credited to the "Picnic." The total amount sent was \$18.33.

A SOCIALIST

Respectfully Inscribed to Eugene V. Debs

A Socialist, once scorned of men,
Revealed by caustic tongue and pen;
A prophet of true brotherhood,
Oit by his own misunderstanding,
Yet will he gleam a guiding star,
When time, the gates of truth unbar
And light the way, as yet untried,
To make the toiler satisfied.

A Socialist, whose only plan
Is to uplift his fellow man,
And set his feet to tread the road
Of life, unburdened by the load
Which other men, with selfish drift
On his bent back contrive to shift,
Uncaring end or consequence,
Much though their mouthings make
pretense.

A Socialist, a dreamer, yet
Above the realm of vain regret
That haunts the sordid selfish kind
Who seek for wealth, yet never find
Enough of it, or its increase,
To buy their souls a moment's peace.
No greed of gold has touched his heart;
Of life unfettered by the pain
Of soulless strife and greed of gain.

J. W. BRYCE.

A Socialist, yes, more than that,
An earnest Social Democrat,
Who's manhood never has been sold
For wealth, or fame, or yellow gold,
His soul chimes with a grander theme,
Than ever stirred a poet's dream
Of life unfettered by the pain
Of soulless strife and greed of gain.

ON WITH THE BATTLE

As the din and confusion of the battlefield subsides, amid the shouts of the ostensibly victorious, we can occasionally catch an echo of results that promise so much to suffering humanity. A general summary of the situation as it appears to us in this week of words may be epitomized as follows:

First, as to our friends, the enemy, the republican party is right up against it. It has the offices, it is true, but what is more, and most serious, too, it has the responsibility of the immediate future, and therein lurks a score of texts pregnant with thought for the advanced economist and dazlingly tempting to his pen.

Next come our friends in mourning, the nondescript Croker-Hill-Olney-Bryan-anti-trust crowd, with its now defunct satellites, the fusion populists and the silver reps, and anti-expansion muggwumps, all of whom, with flags of distress flying, show such unmistakable signs of acute suffering that the instinct of humanity suggests a pause at the mere mention. Nevertheless, I feel it incumbent to say that not only has the pie-counter combination gone down to irretrievable defeat, but that it has passed into that state of innocuous desuetude that leaves a fair field with no favors to give or take to the earnest, uncompromising Socialist. They lost not only the pie-counter incentive, to fusion, the offices, but their organization as well. We have gained an organization. Their forces have dwindled away—absorbed by more powerful organizations. Ours has increased a thousand per centum in numbers and efficiency, and we come out of the fight invigorated and strengthened and ready as a strong man to run a race.

And now, close the ranks, comrades! Only the weak, the vacillating, the undeveloped, have fallen out, and we are not only stronger for this weeding out, but, by reason of the noble accessions of the earnest, the true and the devoted that have joined our ranks. Had our vote been way up in the phenomenal there is every reason to fear that our movement would have been seriously handicapped, if not overwhelmed, with a slump of the pie-counter crowd seeking shelter. As it is, the two old parties will absorb that element, and the issue from now on is a clear-cut one of corporate versus collective ownership and administration of natural resources and public utilities.

Our banners in Kansas are still flying. Our men were holding street meetings just as persistently the day after election as before, and we shall never falter until it is ushered in the co-operative commonwealth. F. E. MILLER.
Abilene, Kan.

Answers to Correspondents

T. H., Washington.—Harriman at no time accepted the nomination of the Social Democratic party; he did accept that of the faction claiming to be the Social Democratic party. The claim was based on the fact that a section of the old S. L. P. and a few bolters from the S. D. P., who defied the decision of the majority, appropriated the name without any honorable title to it.

A. G., Rockville, Conn.—"How old must a man be to be eligible as a candidate for president?"
Forty-five years.

The vote of the city of Brockton, Mass., for president was as follows: Debs, 1,246; Bryan, 2,038; McKinley, 3,655.

Comrades at El Paso, Texas, are convinced that the vote there for Debs was 500; but the official returns give us only 113. The same condition prevailed throughout the country.

THROUGH WITH POPULISM

Dr. Henry B. Fay of Minnesota, General Organizer for the People's Party, Comes out Straight for Social Democracy

Minneapolis, Minn., Nov. 6, 1900.

Hon. Jo A. Parker, Louisville, Ky.,
Chairman People's Party National Committee.

My Dear Sir:

I herewith tender you my resignation as division organizer for the People's party of the Sixth Grand Division, forwarding herewith my records for Minnesota to National Committeeman C. J. Arntzen, Wegdahl, Minn. Immediately, in the Jordan, shall I wash from myself all old party and Populist "tactics" and their patchwork of "reform." With faithful stubbornness up to the present moment (7 p. m.) of the closing of the polls have I fought to save the People's party. Only very gradually has the uselessness of such a fight been forced upon me. Not until the last of July this year, in conversation with Father Haire, Aberdeen, S. D., did I finally, completely and clearly see that Socialism is already here, so far as production is concerned; that civilization does not do a la Bryan, backwards; that because the lowest stratum of society has been degraded by "laissez faire" is no reason for keeping it degraded by legally continuing to rob it of five-sixths of what it produces; that the highest grade of wealth producers, equally with the lowest, needs for itself the full product of its labor in continually decreasing hours of work and growing material comforts, so that all may attain an increasing, not decreasing, standard of living; that the only logical position for the destruction of all old compromising parties, consists now in emancipation of all wage slaves from the thralldom of private capital, even at Lincoln, living before the present complete development of industrial capitalism, saw similar justice in freeing black chattel slaves.

I send you my resignation before the results of the election are declared, so as to emphasize that one's choice should be made from principle, not by the number of votes given any party. Had I been free, and not an officer of the party, I should have immediately, on my return from South Dakota, disentangled myself from the entanglements of a "midroad party," unconsciously muddled between capitalism and labor.

To stand "in-the-middle-of-the-road" with usurpers on one side and usurped on the other, is to be despised by both classes, whom no amount of philanthropy or misapplied "Christianity" can unite, because their interests are diametrically opposed. But as an officer of the party on the eve of election, it was proper that I should then agree with such Populists as Capt. J. R. Lowe (who did not yet seem fully to realize how political without industrial freedom is mockery) and make no public declaration of this kind, until after election. I even wrote on my ballot the names of Barker and Donnelly electors.

Finally, let me urge you to remember that (1 Kings, 1: 1), "When King David was old, they covered him with clothes, but he got no heat," so now, my dear Mr. Parker, I can see innumerable old clothes, patched reforms, young virgin political parties, being brought forward in useless, expensive conventions from all parts of this Israel, these next four years, to vainly try to put new life into the already dead competitive system.

The competitive system is rusty with rent, interest, profit.

It is a self-destructive system, breeding an unnecessary class of 8 per cent that owns practically all the wealth, and leaves the valuable producing class of 60 per cent of our people mere wage slaves. I have seen new light. There is no "paramount issue" but that of city and farm labor against private capital.

Henceforth I shall contribute my humble share towards the social revolution and the final, not long distant, victory of the Socialist Party.

Very respectfully,

HENRY B. FAY, M. D.

Labor and the Modern Trust

The modern trust development has for the first time in the history of the world placed in our hands the opportunity of freeing ourselves from all forms of class rule and oppression. Through its development it is concentrating the wealth in the hands of a class that is growing smaller every day, and at the same time decreasing the wealth of the working class while its ranks are increasing in numbers and discontent, so that we are gradually getting the numbers that are necessary to accomplish our ends, while at the same time the motive (discontent) is developing with the development of capitalism, and it is only a question of time until that motive becomes strong enough to accomplish the end sought for.

Do not be misled by middle-class appeals for legislation against trusts. Society cannot act like a crawfish and go backward at will. No. The law of prog-

ress is on and on, and not back. There is not an instance in history where human society has reached a certain stage in social development and then gone back to the stage that preceded it. We can no more go back to the stage of society that existed prior to the trusts than a frog can go back into the tadpole out of which it developed.

All that is necessary is for the working class to inaugurate a flank movement by placing clear-cut Socialist representatives in the municipal, state and national governments and proceed in a peaceable manner to return to the people the tools of production, abolish all class distinctions, and inaugurate a collective administration of these social utilities for the common good and welfare of every man, woman and child.

Fellow workmen, this is the only way we can emancipate ourselves. There is no half-way measure. We must either stand for our class or stand for the capitalist class. By doing this we can strip the trusts of their capitalistic garment (private ownership), and by making all the resources and tools of wealth production common property everybody can have employment and receive the full product of his labor. No one will have the power then to rob you of four-fifths of the product of your toil as is the case now. This is the historical mission that our class is destined to accomplish, and the very development of capitalism will force us to take this step whether we want to or not.

—James Oncal.

KARL KAUTSKY ON PROFIT

Industrial Capital Hatches its Profits by Exploiting the Propertyless Wage Workers

Whence does the capitalist class derive its income? The gains of merchants and usurers' capital consisted originally of the portions which they withheld from the property of those who needed them, either to satisfy a craving for luxuries, or for aid in distress. It is otherwise with industrial capital.

The capitalist class performs no manner of productive work. This is done by the wage worker. But the wage worker does not produce for himself; he cannot. All the things, which together are today indispensable for production—land and capital—are the private property of a comparatively small number of people. The proletarian, the person who has none of these, must either starve or sell the only thing left to him, his labor power, to the person who will buy it. That person is the capitalist. When the capitalist buys the labor power of a proletarian, and thereby turns the latter into a wage worker, he does so only because the wage worker will produce more than he is paid for. If he produces only as much as he is paid for—and worse yet, if he produces less—the capitalist would have no use for him, and would not buy his labor power, would not have him for a wage worker.

The proletarian, the wage worker, employed by the capitalist, is the wealth producer. Out of the heap of wealth brought into life by the wage worker himself, the capitalist takes a part, not more than one-quarter, if as much, and returns that to the wage worker in payment for his labor power, as his wages. The rest of the wealth produced by the wage worker, the remaining three-quarters, if not more, is the surplus, that is to say, the quantity of wealth produced by the worker over and above what was necessary to enable him to restore the forces he expended in production. That surplus the capitalist keeps to himself; he calls it profits; it constitutes his income. Industrial capital, accordingly, hatches its profits by exploiting the propertyless wage workers.

It so happens, however, that in proportion as the capitalist system of production develops, the industrial form of capital overshadows all others, and forces them into its service; and, furthermore, that this evolution cannot go on without the capitalists returning to the wage workers, in some manner or another—by the employment of an increase of personal-service men, such as lackeys, waiters, etc.; by institutions styled "benevolent," and so forth—a part of the surplus which they withheld from him. As a result of all these causes, the surplus produced by the proletarians becomes evermore the only source from which the whole capitalist class draws its income.

As the small industrialist and small farmer are disappearing and their influence upon modern society is felt ever less, so also are disappearing the old forms of merchants, and usurers' capital, both of which made their gains by exploiting the non-capitalist classes. Already there are nations without artisans and small farmers. England is an instance in point. But no one can conceive of a single modern state without large production. Whoever desires to understand the modern forms of capital must, today, proceed from the industrial form that capital has assumed. The real and most prominent of the sources from which all capitalist gains flow is to be found in the surplus which capitalist industry hatches out.

The proletarian produces the surplus which industrial capital appropriates. This surplus is on a steady increase through the increased burden of toil thrown upon the workers, through the introduction of labor-saving machines, through the cheapening of labor power, etc., etc. Side by side with the development of the capitalist system of production grows the number of the exploiting proletarians, and, as an inevitable consequence of this, the quantity of the surplus that flows into the hands of the capitalist class becomes ever larger and larger.

Unfortunately, however, "life's unalloyed enjoyment is not the lot of mortal man." However hateful the operation may be to him, the capitalist is compelled to "divide." The landlord and the state or government both come in for their shares; and the capitalist class is compelled to divide with them the surplus that it scoops in.

Socialism in Winnetka

Winnetka, a village seventeen miles north of Chicago, is one of the loveliest of Chicago's suburbs. And it is one of the most progressive; consequently it grows steadily more socialistic. The growth of this idea has been so natural and logical that the majority of the villagers are quite unconscious that they are committing themselves to anything heterodox. However, a rose by any other name will smell as sweet; as we go blithely on.

Besides Mr. Lloyd's work, a little handful of us have done what we could. But a large number of citizens of all beliefs are always about some undertaking to help the village. As a result we have a fine new public school building, and a very fine high school building is going up; we have a village hall, lighted by our own electric lights; a very good free library, a very successful water system, and now a new electric light service for both public and private houses and for the streets. The water pressure is so good that a stream can be thrown over the top of the highest house in the village, making fire engines unneeded, and the electric light may be had all night.

All these we absolutely own and operate. We have a most devoted village president, who is an electrician. While our plant was being installed he gave a great deal of his time and his expert knowledge gratuitously to see that all was right about it.

We have many beautiful old shade trees, and he was especially solicitous to see that the placing of poles and stringing of wires did not injure them. About the time we desired to get up the electric lighting system the telephone company received permission to enter here, but not without making some return to the village for the chance to profit by us. We required and they paid \$8,000, the cost of the poles for our electric light wires. The telephone wires also are strung upon these.

For our generous water service we have been paying eighteen cents per 1,000 gallons; now comes a notice that this rate is reduced to fifteen cents. The notice adds that there is likely to be a further reduction soon and a prospect that we may "still maintain a sufficient surplus fund for emergencies."

This may be called an aristocratic suburb, yet even we had a little share in the campaign of the S. D. P. We followed the example of the old parties and held our political Debs meeting in the village hall and had a well-filled house. A much interested audience came out on a very bad night to hear Seymour Steadman. We polled several votes for Debs, and three of the four women voting voted the S. D. P. ticket for university trustees.

The annual report of the village is just out. The president closes his communication thus:

"Let the people of Winnetka continue to take that deep interest in its affairs and protect our municipal plants and see that they are well managed. Remember that the profits of these plants belong to us, and the greater they become the greater the benefits to our village, either in reduced rates or other benefits, while if owned by private capital the greater the profits—well, we would always be given to understand that there were no profits. We certainly would never appreciate any benefit from them."

"There are those who cry that 'municipal ownership' is a failure and the basis of their arguments is the dishonesty or incapacity of those who have been entrusted with such plants."

"That argument is as inconsistent as to claim any line of business a failure because some individual's business in that line has been ruined due to mismanagement or to a thief having had charge of it. Any such arguments are not against municipal ownership, but against the rottenness and degradation which we permit to get into our public offices. Such a condition is as ruinous to any portion of our government as it is to that which comes under 'municipal ownership.' Such arguments should rather act to shame us to our duty at the primaries and at the polls, and by the performance of this duty we relieve all branches of our government of this blight; and all branches benefit thereby as much as 'municipal ownership.'"

ANNA R. WEEKS.

THE MONKEY AND THE BEES

A Chapter in the Natural History of Economics

By F. I. Wheat

A shrewd old monkey found some bees storing up honey in a hollow tree in the forest. He liked honey, and many a time in former days had helped to rob the bees. But wisdom had come at last into his simian skull. He boldly demanded of the bees by what right they had taken possession of a part of his domain. The trees he claimed for his own, and he frowned very darkly and stood up very haughtily.

It was impossible for bees to face such reasoning as this, and they waited in silence.

The monkey seized the psychological moment to become gracious, and with apparent benevolence proposed to compromise the matter and fix it up so they need not move out. If they would every day give him one-half of their product he would let them occupy the place in the tree, he said, for the present, at any rate, and perhaps he could arrange his affairs so as to keep them permanently. He would see. For he wanted to do what he could for them and wished it might be more, so he said.

The bees were relieved from their anxiety and felt quite grateful in the reaction from their fright. They thanked him and hurried off to gather the needed honey. For bees are too industrious to think about things, and now they must be busier than ever.

The shrewd old monkey thought very well of himself. Indeed he soon began to speak of himself as special providence to the bees; came to give them employment and save them from want, and he had this idea taught early to the young. For this special favor the bees learned to be humbly grateful, and their providence found out several ingenious ways to keep them employed.

One day another monkey found old Shrewdness' good fortune and quarreled with him for a share in it, but without success. The next day, however, he came back with some more honey-hungry fellows, and they made things pretty warm for the old monkey. He certainly would have been driven out, or more likely killed, had he not suddenly thought to order the bees to fall upon the attacking party, which they did to such effect that the young rascals were soon howling in full retreat.

On the next morning the monkey told the bees that they would have to turn over to him one hundred thousand of the best young workers, whom he would

organize into a standing army to protect his tree from all other monkeys.

And it was done just as he said, for now the busy bees must waste no time in parleying, for this army must be fed.

But as only monkeys could be thought of as qualified to be officers in the army several were called in and given places. Then clerks were needed, and heads of departments, and, moreover, personal servants to mark the dignity of the great organizer of this commonwealth.

Now it began to be very hard for the workers to provide for all the community. Moreover, the officers became insolent when some luxuries were missing. So the king monkey ordered that all the honey should be given into his possession, and more officers were appointed to take charge of it. Then it was ruled that the purest honey should be given only to the monkeys, and the next best to the army. Whatever remained might be eaten by the workers.

And it was done so.

Then ever faster and faster flew the bees in their quest for honey, till the very limit of their strength was reached and there was no spirit left in them.

And the monkeys in other trees did as this monkey had done. Then often one kingdom attacked another to get its store or to destroy its power to gather honey from the flowers for the supply was limited, and so workers perished. Those left must toil the harder and give up more and more of their gatherings.

It is likely that the end of that history would have come speedily in utter destitution and the extinction of all bees, but there swept through that forest a conflagration that destroyed everyone of these tyrannies and drove the surviving monkeys and bees into distant parts.

The old order, of idle monkeys over busy bees, was never revived.

But this is how it came to pass that the bee is habitually so busy, and does not know when to rest; but ever piles up more and more of common store; and this, too, is the reason why the monkey is—well, why the monkey is a monkey.

"The fear of over-population no longer plays an important part in modern sociology. Every man brings two hands into the world and only one mouth."—Exchange.

LOCAL BRANCHES

Notices of Branch Meetings Inserted for 25 Cents per Month

CALIFORNIA
Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evenings, commencing at 8. Admission free. Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening.
Memphis, Social Dem. Oct. 1. I would free to each member, 25 cents per month.
Apply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk street.
Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock at Woodmen's Hall, 1234 Spring St. J. Franco, 700 Dayton Ave., Secretary.
Branch No. 12, San Francisco (German), holds business meetings first Sunday each month at 8 o'clock, 2 p. m., at 117 Turk street. Attendance meeting on valid Sunday evening, same place, to which public is invited. August F. Mayer, secretary, 1400 Polk street.

COLORADO
Branch No. 1, Denver, meets every Sunday at 8:00 p. m. at 1115 California Ave., Chas. M. Davis, Secretary, 1623 17th Street.
Branch No. 3, Goldenfield, meets every Sunday at 7:30 p. m. at City Hall, Chas. La Camp, Secretary.

CONNECTICUT
The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at 2 p. m. at P. Schaeffer's, 1039 Main St., Hartford. Louis Schiefel, Sec., 25 Spring St., Rockville, Conn.
Branch No. 3, New Haven, meets every Wednesday evening at 8 p. m. at Aurora Hall, C. Volmer, Sec.
Branch No. 4, Rockville, Conn., meets first and third Thursdays at Turn Hall meeting room, Village street. Secretary, Richard Niederwieser, Box 760.

ILLINOIS
Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 43 Dearborn St.
Branch No. 1, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening, Thomas Kirwin, Secretary, 2604 Westworth Ave.
Branch No. 2 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets first and third Thursdays at 8 p. m. at Nagel's Hall, 335 Blue Island Ave. Ferdinand Svoboda, Secretary, 694 West 18th Street.

Branch No. 3 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays at 8 p. m. at Nagel's Hall, 335 Blue Island Ave. and 18th St. Joe Cerny, Sec., 130 W. 18th St.
Branch No. 6, Chicago, meets at Adolph Jankowski's place, 86 West 21st street, every other Saturday in the month. A. Delator, Sec., 226 W. 20th street.

Branch No. 8 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays at 8 p. m. at 6022 Lake Street. J. A. Ambros, Secretary, 4940 Wood Street.
Branch No. 9, Chicago, meets at 1145 W. 3rd St., first and third Sundays at 8 p. m. Gus Larson, Secretary, 2345 Center avenue.

INDIANA
Branch No. 6, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichwein's Hall, corner Market and Noble sts. Address all communications to the Sec. of State Executive Board, Thomas Patton, 617 Arbor ave.

IOWA
Branch No. 2, Hittman, meets every fourth Friday in the month at 8 p. m. in Dexter Baxter, chairman, Wm. Truman, secretary, Box 151.

KENTUCKY
Branch No. 4, Bellvue, meets 1st and 3rd Sunday, at 2 p. m.; and 2nd and 4th Wednesday at 8 p. m., at 81 Fairfield ave. We will aim to make it interesting for all. Henry Listerman, Sec., 122 Foote ave.

KANSAS
Branch No. 1, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Thursdays of each month at Springdale Turner Hall, Carl Schwab, Organizer, 24 Jackson St.
Branch No. 5, Lyons, permanent headquarters, 71 Monroe St. Business meeting every Monday night at 7:30. Open house. Public invited. Harry Gotimer, Sec., 433 Kansas St.

Branch No. 6, Brookline, meets Friday night at 8 p. m. for business at Socialist Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Center Sts. Every committee is expected to attend one meeting a month. Mrs. Annie Bosworth, Secretary, 81 Prospect st.

Branch No. 22, Roxbury, Mass., meets at 24 Warren st., 2d and 4th Fridays of every month. Public invited

MICHIGAN
Branch No. 1, Battle Creek, Mich., meets 2nd and 4th Sundays of each month at 8 p. m. at 10 W. Main Street, in the International Congress Hall. All are cordially invited. L. C. Rogers, Secretary.

MINNESOTA
Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Geeswein, on Main St. A. Kinsinger, Secretary.

MISSOURI
Branch No. 7, Kansas City, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1300 Union Ave. G. J. Stora, Secretary, 1200 W. 8th St.

MONTANA
Branch No. 1, Butte, meets every Thursday, at 8:30 p. m., Engineers' Hall, Owlsey block. G. Frankel, Sec., 71 E. Park Street.

Branch No. 3 meets first and third Sundays of each month at G. W. Wood's home, Chico, Mont.

NEW JERSEY
Branch No. 1, Secretary, Michael W. Schor, 87 Livingston st.
Branch No. 5, Camden, N. J., meets every 2d Sunday of the month. For particulars address Paul Eberding, 120 E. Park Street.

Branch No. 3 (German) Newark, meets every third Saturday, at International Hall, 1 Bedford St. Hans Hartwig, Secretary, 7 Bedford St.

Branch No. 6 (German), Paterson, N. J., in first and third Mondays at 8 p. m. at Holzer's Hall, 64-66 Van Houten St. Karl Lindner, Secretary, 246 Edmund St.

NEW YORK
The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York, meets every second Tuesday at 412 Grand Street, Windsor Hall. James Altman, Secretary, 32 Suffolk st. Care of "Forward."

East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every first and third Thursday at 115 Cliss St. A. Guyer, Secretary, 181 Suffolk St.

Branch No. 5 Brooklyn, New York, meets every Saturday at 9 p. m. at 56 Moore's place, 1st floor welcome. (Cor. roads desiring to organize should communicate with Secretary Sol. Freeman, 190 Boerum st.)

Branch No. 4, Buffalo, N. Y.—Persons desiring to join the branch will call or communicate with Tom Kitten, 119 Congress street.

Branch No. 10, New York, meets every Friday, at 8 p. m., 209 E. Broadway. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Organizer, Joseph Williams, 56 Henry st.

OHIO
Branch No. 4, Cincinnati, meets at Richelieu Hall southeast corner 8th and Plaza Sts., every Sunday at 2 p. m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Jos. Jasie, Secretary, 1410 Central Avenue.

OREGON
Branch No. 1, Portland, meets every Monday night at Washington Hotel, Cor. 3d and Flanders Sts. Body invited. T. C. Wendland, chairman; Mrs. K. E. Forthick, secretary.

PENNSYLVANIA
Branch No. 1, Philadelphia, meets every Monday, at 8 p. m., at 428 S. 5th Street, until further notice.
Branch No. 4, Conshohocken, meets every second and last Wednesday of each month in E. of L. Hall, Chas. Knispel, Chairman; L. H. Morse, Secretary, Sns. Codington, Treasurer.

Branch No. 5, Philadelphia, meets first Friday of each month—Executive meets every Sunday morning at S. D. P. (Club Room) at 123 S. Third St. Organizer, M. Gillis, 1007 S. Third St.

Branch No. 10, William sport, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2 p. m. in Social Labor hall, No. 25 East 2d St. G. R. Smith, chairman; Jan. Lyon, secretary, 148 Second St. Public invited.

WISCONSIN
Milwaukee Central Committee, S. D. P., meets second and fourth Monday of the month at Brewers' Hall, southeast corner Fourth and Chestnut sts.
Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets at Keller's Hall, Fourth Street, between State and Prairie, every second and fourth Thursdays.
Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Friday in Geale's Hall, corner Green Bay and Concordia Ave.
Branch No. 3, Sheboygan, meets every second Thursday of the month at Emil Henscheid's place, 101 Michigan ave. Secretary, Eugene F. Kiehnberger, 120 N. 11th street.
Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every 7th and third Friday each month at Keller's Hall, corner 2d and Brown Sts. George Moerschel, Secretary, 301 25th St.
Branch No. 5, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at E. of L. Hall, 1st floor, east corner Omaha St. and 9th Ave. O. Wild, Secretary.
Branch No. 12, Milwaukee, meets every 2d and 4th Thursday of each month at Volkman's Hall, 12 and Center st., 8 p. m. Secretary, Edolph Keschman, 1123 23rd St.
Branch No. 21, Milwaukee, meets second and fourth Wednesday of each month at 121 Clark street. Henry Harbicht, Sec., 374 7th Street.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

THE NATIONAL PLATFORM

Adopted at the Indianapolis Convention, March, 1900

ATTITUDE TOWARD TRADE UNIONS

In accordance with our declaration of principles we declare that the trades union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the wage-working class. We recommend to the members of the Social Democratic party the following general rules:

- First—Join the union of your respective trade.
- Second—Assist in building up and strengthening the trade union movement.
- Third—Support the union labels of all crafts.
- Fourth—Educate your fellow-unionists on the question of Socialism and the labor movement, on economic and political lines.
- Fifth—It shall be your duty to work for the unity of the labor movement, thereby recognizing the fact that the emancipation of the working class can only be achieved by the united efforts of this class.
- Sixth—Educate the members of the unions in the principles of Socialism and induce them, individually, to affiliate with the Social Democratic party.
- Seventh—Trades unions are by historical necessity organized on neutral grounds, as far as political affiliation is concerned. The trades union is the arena where all wage-workers may be brought together for joint action to resist the encroachments of capitalism on the economic field and to participate in the class struggle of the proletariat which will finally develop into the political alignment of the forces of labor in the struggle for proletarian emancipation.

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness depend upon equal political and economic rights.

In our economic development an industrial revolution has taken place, the individual tool of former years having become the social tool of the present. The individual tool was owned by the worker who employed himself and was master of his product. The social tool, the machine, is owned by the capitalist and the worker is dependent upon him for employment. The capitalist thus becomes the master of the worker and is able to appropriate to himself a large share of the product of his labor.

Capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people; but the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system will necessitate the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare.

The present system of social production and private ownership is rapidly converting society into two antagonistic classes—i. e., the capitalist class and the propertyless class. The middle class, once the most powerful of this great nation, is disappearing in the mill of competition. The issue is now between the two classes first named. Our political liberty is now of little value to the masses unless used to acquire economic liberty.

Independent political action and the trade union movement are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its political, the other its economic wing, and both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system.

Therefore the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be:

- First—The organization of the working class into a political party to conquer the public powers now controlled by capitalists.
- Second—The abolition of wage-slavery by the establishment of a national system of co-operative industry, based upon the social or common ownership of the means of production and distribution, to be administered by society in the common interest of all its members, and the complete emancipation of the socially useful classes from the domination of capitalism.
- Third—The working class and all those in sympathy with their historic mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America.
- Fourth—The control of political power by the Social Democratic party will, be tantamount to the abolition of all class rule.
- Fifth—The solidarity of labor connecting the millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international Socialism, the brotherhood of man.
- Sixth—As steps in that direction, we make the following demands:
 - First—Revision of our federal constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to complete

control of government by the people irrespective of sex.

Second—The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combinations.

Third—The public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones; all means of transportation, and communication; all water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

Fourth—The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal, and other mines, and all oil and gas wells.

Fifth—The reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

Sixth—The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

Seventh—Useful inventions to be free, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

Eighth—Labor legislation to be national, instead of local, and international when possible.

Ninth—National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.

Tenth—Equal civil and political rights, for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

Eleventh—The adoption of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

Twelfth—Abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

National Organization

Section 1: This organization shall be known as the Social Democratic Party of America, and its headquarters shall be located at such place as the national conventions of the party may appoint, or as may be fixed by the National Executive Board subject to a referendum vote.

Sec. 2: The Social Democratic Party of America shall be organized as follows:

- First—Local branches limited to five hundred members each.
- Second—A National Executive Board of nine members, five of whom shall be chosen from territory convenient to the national headquarters, and shall be called "resident members," and the remaining four shall be chosen, so far as possible, from other parts of the country. All members of the Executive Board shall have equal rights and powers; but the resident members shall have power to act and a majority of said resident members shall constitute a quorum. The non-resident members shall not be required to be present at all meetings of the board, but shall be kept advised of all proceedings of the board. The Executive Board shall be elected by the national convention.
- Third—The form of state organizations shall be left to the branches in the respective states.

NATIONAL PAPER OF THE PARTY:

The Social Democratic Herald

126 Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.

HEADQUARTERS: 126 WASHINGTON ST., CHICAGO

SOCIAL DEMOCRATS... ATTENTION

A meeting of all Members of Branches of the Social Democratic Party in Chicago is called for

**SUNDAY AFTERNOON
NOVEMBER 25, 1900
(2 O'CLOCK)**

Lauterbach's Hall, 55 N. Clark St.

The object of the meeting is to consider the political situation and decide on a plan of action for the Spring Campaign. A full attendance is desired. By order of

City Central Committee, S. D. P.

FROM THE WORKERS

Texas—I take pleasure in letting you know how the election went at Rancho. McKinley received 5 votes; Bryan, 43; Debs, 43. People's party, 15. Hurrah for Debs and Social Democracy!

G. F. SIKES.

Missouri—Among the remarkable increases of the Socialist vote in localities that of Webb City and county is among the most prominent. Four years ago the county had but five Socialist votes; this year, 326.

J. RONEY.

California—Mr. Bryan or any other Democrat has had his last call on the Populists in this neck of the woods (Los Angeles) and they are going to fall in line with the Social Democrats. The vote for Debs in this county is about 1,000. We expect to poll 1,500 votes in the city election next month.

ARTHUR VINETTE.

Pennsylvania—The official vote of this (New Castle) county is 333, giving us official standing on ballot. We have opened the campaign of 1904 and intend to keep them on the jump.

W. J. WHITE.

New York—After considerable trouble I have succeeded in getting our vote in Buffalo and find that we polled 371.

TOM FILTON.

Kentucky—One result of the election at Covington was that we secured the necessary two-thirds majority to establish a municipal electric lighting plant.

F. E. SEEDS.

Illinois—In the eleventh district (Jacksonville) we know positively of seven votes that did not show up on the tally sheet. But we have done well to get as many counted as is shown. I firmly believe that we cast 25 more votes than were counted.

AL. PIERSON.

Pennsylvania—At the next borough election in Cokeville we expect to elect a complete Socialist ticket.

J. S. BRUBAKER.

Indiana—We increased the Socialist vote in Bartholomew county 1,600 per cent, as there was but one in the county in '98.

A. H. ROWLEY.

Montana—Our vote in the state may be 1,200, but nothing reliable can be obtained until the official count is published or our comrades send in their figures from the different counties.

GUSTAV FRANKEL.

Indiana—We believe that at least 400 votes were cast for Socialism in Vanderburg county, but that we have been outrageously counted out.

E. H. MEYER.

Indiana—We understand from the best sources that many of our ballots were mutilated and destroyed. We are in the fight to stay in spite of all obstacles.

M. H. WEFEL.

Oklahoma—In this county (Grant) we polled 2 per cent of the entire vote for E. T. Tucker, candidate for congress. He received 58 votes. In the entire territory he received 780.

J. W. McFall.

Illinois—The official vote in this (Marion) county for Comrade Debs was 13. Four years ago the S. L. P. cast four votes.

J. C. Wibel.

The Socialist Woman's club meets every second and fourth Wednesday at 8 p. m. in Hull house. The last meeting was held on the 14th of November, and was addressed by Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman and Miss Corinne Brown. A fine program has been prepared for the coming winter, and all women interested in Socialism are cordially invited.

Are you the only Socialist in your town or in your factory? The Social Democratic Herald will furnish you with the best arguments for Socialism to fire at your neighbors and friends and the members of your union. The Herald will give you Socialism up-to-date and supply you with the most telling ammunition for your arguments.

The Debs-Herron pamphlet is positively the finest propaganda literature ever gotten out in this country. They are 5 cents each, or \$2 by the hundred. They will be just as good after election as before.

No Social Democrat's library, however small, is complete without a copy of the Social Democracy Red Book. Order it while the edition still lasts. It contains information you can get nowhere else. Price 15 cents, this office.

Twenty-four towns in Massachusetts in 1896 gave Matchett for president 681 votes. The same places this year gave Debs 4,078.

Business—Past and Present

In the old days a man could start in business with a few hundred dollars. That time is past. Competition is too sharp. It is not merely sharp competition between small business undertakings, but it is a cut-throat fight between large consolidations of capital, organized on lines of economy in rents and "help" that the small business cannot possibly resort to. The failures of the small business men come thick and fast. They go down as helplessly as ten-pins in a bowling alley. The majority of them are even unaware of the changed conditions and heedlessly plunge into business where their doom is foreordained.

Illinois State Vote

Below is given the vote received by the various candidates on the Social Democratic party ticket for state officers. The Cook county vote, not yet completed, will raise the totals about 1,000 for each:

Pierson, lieutenant-governor... 6,012
Kerwin, secretary... 6,966
Winnin, treasurer... 7,006
Wright, auditor... 6,974
Soelke, attorney-general... 7,069

THE ILLINOIS VOTE

Following is the Socialist vote by counties in Illinois for President and Governor. For comparison the vote of the S. L. P. is given:

	Ma-loney	Debs	Hoff-Per-	man	Ry.
	S. L. P.	S. D.	S. L. P.	S. D.	S. L. P.
Adams	20	55	20	55	
Alexander	3	3	3	3	
Bond	1	13	1	11	
Brown	2	10	2	9	
Bureau	1	2	1	1	
Calhoun	33	222	32	225	
Carroll	1	2	1	2	
Cass	1	1	1	1	
Champaign	8	21	8	20	
Christian	11	53	11	54	
Clark	2	8	2	8	
Clay	3	3	3	3	
Clinton	11	74	11	66	
Coles	5	18	4	14	
*Cook	300	6622	408	5553	
Crawford	3	1	3	1	
Cumberland	1	2	1	2	
De Kalb	10	14	8	12	
De Witt	1	1	1	1	
Douglas	5	7	5	7	
Du Page	6	12	6	10	
Edgar	9	13	9	9	
Edwards	1	34	1	34	
Effingham	3	3	3	3	
Fayette	2	3	2	3	
Ford	1	8	1	8	
Franklin	1	3	1	3	
Fulton	10	127	9	94	
Gallatin	1	2	1	2	
Greene	1	1	1	1	
Grundy	16	85	15	83	
Hamilton	1	1	1	1	
Hancock	2	10	2	9	
Hardin	1	1	1	1	
Henderson	1	16	1	15	
Henry	1	273	1	271	
Iroquois	11	14	11	15	
Jackson	1	1	1	1	
Jasper	1	1	1	1	
Jefferson	1	1	1	1	
Jersey	4	1	4	1	
Jo Daviess	1	1	1	6	
Johnson	1	22	1	21	
Kane	23	82	18	47	
Kankakee	5	6	5	4	
Kendall	3	5	2	4	
Knox	3	142	3	118	
Lake	15	16	15	15	
La Salle	22	148	23	141	
Lawrence	1	6	1	6	
Lee	6	11	6	11	
Livingston	8	13	8	10	
Logan	8	24	8	13	
Macon	11	20	12	16	
Macoupin	13	178	13	162	
Madison	57	82	55	74	
Marion	4	13	2	10	
Marshall	1	3	1	5	
Mason	1	4	1	1	
Massac	2	13	2	1	
McDonough	3	3	3	3	
McHenry	1	2	1	13	
McLean	15	95	9	72	
Menard	3	2	3	3	
Mercer	2	13	2	11	
Monroe	1	1	1	1	
Montgomery	8	17	7	12	
Morgan	66	50	51	34	
Moultrie	3	2	3	2	
Ogle	5	11	5	5	
Peoria	50	102	70	93	
Perry	11	5	11	5	
Pike	1	1	1	1	
Pope	5	34	5	32	
Pulaski	1	1	1	1	
Putnam	2	1	2	1	
Randolph	5	6	5	5	
Richland	1	13	1	12	
Rock Island	23	128	23	126	
Saline	7	14	7	14	
Sangamon	23	38	20	33	
Schuyler	1	7	1	7	
Scott	1	1	1	1	
Shelby	1	7	1	3	
Stark	1	7	1	4	
St. Clair	134	100	184	109	
Stephenson	1	10	1	10	
Tazewell	16	42	15	40	
Union	1	1	1	1	
Vermilion	4	91	4	83	
Warren	3	42	3	33	
Washington	3	34	10	11	
Wayne	1	5	1	5	
White	2	3	2	3	
Whiteside	1	17	1	8	
Will	16	92	14	82	
Williamson	3	10	5	10	
Winnebago	11	73	10	61	
Woodford	7	13	7	13	
Totals	907	9631	1273	8193	
*Estimated.					

WANTED

A partner for grocery business; one with \$300 to \$500 cash; line of customers secure; Socialist preferred. Address, J. Voss, care of Social Democratic Herald, 126 Washington St.

IF YOU SYMPATHIZE WITH TRADE UNIONS

You will encourage the sale OF UNION LABEL GOODS

If you want Union Label Shoes demand the above Union Stamp. No shoe is Union made unless it bears the Union Stamp. No charge or royalty for the Union Stamp. Visit your shoe dealer and take no excuse. Send for latest list of factories. Subscribe for "The Union Boot and Shoe Worker," 50 cents per year.

Boot and Shoe Workers Union.

620 Atlantic Ave., Boston, Mass.

GERMAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LITERATURE

SOCIALISTIC LETTERS
Being the chapters of Morris England done into German and suited to American conditions
BY VICTOR L. BERGER
200 pages. Price 15 cents.

THE MISSION OF THE WORKING CLASS
A German adaptation of the pamphlet by G. H. Veil.
BY JACOB WINNEN
13 pages. Price 5c., in larger amounts, 3c.

TWO GREAT SPEECHES

Should be Read by Socialists Everywhere and Put into the Homes of Non-Socialists

Delivered at Central Music Hall, Chicago, Saturday, September 29, 1900, by

EUGENE V. DEBS
AND
PROF. GEO. D. HERRON
A Splendid Campaign Document

Sixteen Page Pamphlet. Price, Five Cents One Hundred, \$2.00

Address, 126 Washington St., Chicago

YOU ARE CORDIALLY INVITED TO ATTEND THE

SUNDAY EVENING LECTURES

Kaiser's Hall, 298 4th St., Milwaukee

Under the auspices of Branch No. 1, Social Democratic Party

- November 25, Thos. C. P. Myers—"Production and Exchange."
- December 2, Dr. S. Knopfsiegel—"Class Consciousness."
- December 9, S. Richardson—"War from a Socialist Standpoint."
- December 16, Louis Wieman—"Trades Unions and Politics."
- December 23, Leon S. Hein—"Socialism as I Understand it."

DISCUSSION AFTER LECTURE
Admission Free. Lecture begins at 8 o'clock

MAPLE CITY WHITE BAR SELF-WASHING SOAP

HENRY LARSON
68-82 PACIFIC AVENUE - CHICAGO

The Herald will be sent to any address in the United States 26 weeks for 20 cents.

PRINCIPLES OF Scientific Socialism

By Rev. Charles H. Vall
Author "Modern Socialism" and "National Ownership of Railways."

CONTENTS:
The Industrial Revolution. The Analysis of Value. The Origin of Surplus Value. The Advantages of Socialism: Production, Distribution, Elimination of Unnecessary Vocations, Prevention of Waste, Elevation of Woman, Proper Care and Training of Children, Efficient Directors, Solution of the Monetary Question, Abolition of Taxation, Simplification of Government, Benefits to Capitalists, Benefits to Laborers.

The Evidences of the Moral Strength of Socialism: Its Spirit and Aim; Abolition of Business Dishonesty; Restriction of Divorce; Prevention of Prostitution; Elimination of Crime; Prevention of Intemperance, Insanity, etc. Poverty—Its Cause and Cure. Wage Slavery vs. Chattel Slavery. Rent and Interest. The Law of Wages. The Law of Progress. Industrial Depression and Commercial Crises. The Problem of Labor-Saving Machinery.

Popular Economic Errors: That Value is Determined by Capitalist Greed; That the Interests of Laborers and Capitalists are identical; That Labor is Better Off To-day Than Ever Before; That Cheap Prices are Beneficial to Labor; That Foreign Markets are Beneficial to Labor; That Luxury is Beneficial to Labor; That Land Nationalization Would Solve the Social Question; That Extravagance is the Chief Cause of Economic Want; That Socialism Would Wreck Lawlessness and Improvements; That Socialism Would Destroy Individuality, Civilization and Order.

12mo, 236 Pages; Paper, 50c; Cloth, \$1.00.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

THIRD YEAR. No. 24.

CHICAGO, ILL., U. S. A., SATURDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1900.

Whole No. 126.

PROGRESS OF THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION

**We Press Forward With Renewed
Energy, Vitalized by the First
Encounter with the Enemy
in the Political Arena**

APPROACHING CONVENTION

**Time and Circumstances Call Upon Every
Social Democrat to Reconsecrate His
Talents to the Propaganda**

The returns of the national election are still indefinite and incomplete. It seems certain, however, that our vote is over 100,000 and it may reach 150,000. The figures are smaller than most of us expected, but we are satisfied. Under all the circumstances the party did all that could have been reasonably expected and the showing, if not inspiring, has at least nothing discouraging in it.

From private advices received I am convinced that a large percentage of our vote was counted against us, or cast out upon technical grounds. We were not represented upon the election boards and it was an easy matter to discredit our vote. In some of the southern states the Social Democratic vote was counted in the Democratic vote and there was none present to object. We must expect all such difficulties until we are strong enough as a party to protect our interests and have our votes fairly counted.

If all the votes cast and meant to be cast for our party had been counted in our favor it is safe to assume that the Social Democratic party would stand credited with 200,000 votes.

But we accept the logic of facts and prepare for the next battle. We are too busy getting ready for what is to be to waste any time over what might have been. The vote cast for our ticket measures the progress of the social revolution, and taking note of this we press forward with renewed energy, vitalized by the first encounter with the enemy upon the national battlefield.

The old parties, with whom a campaign is simply a contest for spoils, have folded their flags and stored away their torches for four years more.

The Republican party has triumphed and the trusts will riot in the spoils of conquest. With such an overwhelming endorsement the dominant capitalist class will throw off all restraint and trustify everything in sight. The centralization of large capital and expropriation of small capital will proceed as never before. The development of capitalism will reach its greatest momentum. Consumption will not be able to keep pace with production, and before McKinley's "prosperity" administration closes the crash will come and then the working class will get in full measure what they voted for.

Overproduction, glutted markets, paralyzed factories, silent mills, deserted mines, enforced idleness, reduced wages, strikes, lockouts, injunctions, soldiers and the funerals of workmen will follow in rapid succession. There will be no work for the hands and the brain will have a chance. Workingmen will have ample time for reflection. When their ambition for this sort of thing is fully satisfied, they will cease voting robes to their masters and rags to themselves; they will stand with their class for the abolition of the capitalist system. Meantime the country will dance to the music of capitalist prosperity.

The Democratic party presents a picture never before exhibited in the political gallery. Its platform looks as if a cyclone had revised it and its demoralization is complete. Its reactionary, cowardly and dishonest policy has been spurned with merited contempt and repudiation. There is no longer room for a party that seeks to ride into office by straddling the class issue and engaging, or pretending to engage, on both sides of the class struggle. It is one side or the other, and with the double dealing Democratic party doomed, the political atmosphere will clear up and the working class will be able to see the class contest, and they will then rally with the Social Democratic party, the party of the working class in the struggle for emancipation.

Disintegration is already preying upon the Democratic party. Its leaders are unable to "point with pride" to a single thing. They have not yet recovered sufficiently to even "view with alarm" or "deplore," or "condemn as un-American" anything, not even the

"paramount issue" of "throwing away" their votes. The eastern leaders, who are Republicans in fact, are scrutinizing the wreck but they can hardly make up their minds that it is worth raising. And yet the capitalist class can not afford to allow the Democratic party to retire from business. It must be used to arrest the progress of Socialism and so it is entirely probable that the "radical" element will be given full permission to galvanize the corpse with an injection of "public ownership."

A great many of the rank and file, however, know when they have enough. This is shown by the fact that the tide is already setting in the direction of the Social Democratic party. A week at headquarters enables me to perceive the drift. Never since we have been a party have the inquiries for party literature, for organizers and speakers equaled the present demand. Never have the branches increased in number and in membership as now. The party has entered upon an era of development hitherto unequaled and unknown, and it is spreading over the entire country.

MERLIN'S MIXTURE

Charles W. Canon & J. J. Revere, Miam.

The battle of ballots is over;
The day of the voter is past;
The voice of the people has spoken,
And destiny's die has been cast.

Another campaign has been opened;
A new duty faces us now—
To brush every cobweb of error
Away from the laborer's brow.

Where eloquent rhetoric dazzled
We need sober logic instead;
Where the heart of the worker was wanted,
We must now try to capture his head.

'Tis ours, then, to break every fetter
Of falsehood that tyrants have wrought,
Till Love shall be re-incarnated
By Labor's omnipotent thought.

Then cursed be the one who sits idle,
And passively helps falsehood win
Our idleness now is foul treason;
Our silence is socialist sin.

Greeting!
Hence, unless I wish to be a self-proven liar, on the one hand, or a trait-

But cursed be the fellow who retains hold of the rope, only that he might have opportunity to hack at the strands with his traitor's knife!

A plea for unity.
If we cannot have union, we can at least have unity. We have it. The time has not yet come, as has been amply proven during the last six months, when the socialist forces of America are so free from the elements of personal ambition and autocratic leadership as to render a sane and workable union possible.

We need, at this period, not so much the force of numbers, as the force of effective organization. Just now brotherhood is infinitely more important than bulk, sincerity is more essential than size.

So if there are balky mules on our tow-line, we had better cut them loose, than let them drag us backward.

If we must use our pen-points as daggers, let us direct them against our enemies, and not against our comrades in a common belief.

LOSSES THROUGH THE COMPETITIVE SYSTEM

**A Chaotic System of Competitive
Production Involves a War of
Producer and Distributors—
The Wisest not Secure**

RISK IS THE SECRET OF GAIN

Everybody is in the Dark, Planning, Guessing, Chancing; there is Tremendous Effort and Prodigious Waste

Jack London in the Cosmopolitan

At one time our forefathers, ignorant of hygiene, sanitation and quarantine, were powerless before the plagues which swept across the earth; yet we, their enlightened descendants, find ourselves impotent in the face of the great social cataclysms known as trade and commercial crises. The crises are peculiarly a modern product—made possible by the specialization of industry and the immense strides which have been taken in the invention of labor-saving machinery, but due, and directly so, to the antagonism of the units which compose society. A competent co-operative management could so operate all the implements and institutions of the present industrial civilization that there need never be a fear of a trade or commercial crisis. Boards or departments, scientifically conducted, could ascertain, first, the consuming power of the community; second, its producing power; and then, by an orderly arrangement, arrange these two, one to the other. These boards or departments would have to study all the causes which go to make the community's producing power inconstant—such as failure of crops, droughts, et cetera—and so to direct the energy of the community that equilibrium between its production and consumption might still be maintained. And to do this is certainly within the reach of man's achievement.

But instead of this logical arrangement of industry the community today possesses the chaotic system of competitive production. It is a war of producers, also of distributors. Success depends on individual knowledge of just how much and at what cost all others are producing and at just how much and at what prices they are selling. All the factors which decide the fluctuations of the world's markets or the purchasing power of its peoples must be taken into account. A war cloud in the Balkans, a failure of crops in the Argentine, the thoughtless word of a kaiser, or a strike of organized labor, and the success or failure depends on how closely the results of this event have been foreseen. And even then, because of a thousand and one fortuitous happenings, chance plays an important part. Even the footing of the wisest and the surest is precarious. Risk is the secret of gain. Lessen the risk, the gain is lessened; abolish it, and there can be no gain. Individual strives against individual, buying for himself, and keeping his transactions secret. Everybody is in the dark. Each is planning, guessing, chancing; and because of this, the competitive system of industry, as a whole, may be justly characterized as planless. The effort lost is tremendous, the waste prodigious. A favorable season arrives. Increased orders accelerate production. Times are prosperous. All industries are stimulated. Little heed is taken of the overstocking of the markets, till at last they are flooded with commodities. This is the danger point. The collapse of a land boom in Oregon, the failure of a building association in Austria—anything may start the chain of destruction. Speculations begin to burst, credits to be called in, there is a rush to realize on commodities produced, prices fall, wages come down, factories close up, and consumption is correspondingly reduced. The interdependence of all forms of industry asserts itself. One branch of trade stops, and those branches dependent upon it, or allied with it, cannot continue. This spreads. Depression grows, failures increase, industry is paralyzed. The crisis has come! And then may be observed the paradoxical spectacle of glutted warehouses and starving multitudes. Then comes the slow and painful recovery of years, then an acceleration of planless production, and then another crisis. This is friction, the inevitable correlative of a disorderly system of production and distribution. And the losses incurred by such friction are incalculable.

SPECIAL CONVENTION

OFFICIAL CALL

To Members and Branches of the Social Democratic Party, Comrades:

RESPONDING to suggestions from all parts of the country and a demand from many branches, a special National Convention of the Social Democratic party is hereby called, to take place at the national headquarters, 126 Washington street, Chicago, Ill., beginning Tuesday, January 15, 1901, and continuing in session until the work of the convention shall have been completed.

The purpose of this convention will be to make such changes in the laws of the party and to make such other provisions as may be deemed necessary to meet the growing demands of the organization. It is our purpose to enter at once upon a vigorous campaign of agitation, education and organization, so that the party shall be fully equipped to meet the capitalist enemy on the political battle-fields of the future. Now that the presidential campaign is over, our work is fairly begun and must be carried forward with all possible energy without the loss of a single hour.

The basis and other conditions of representation will be the same as at the Indianapolis Convention, and are here incorporated as follows:

First—Each branch shall be entitled to as many representatives as the individual members thereof in good standing may select for that purpose; provided, that each representative shall be entitled to one (1) vote for each member whose signature is attached to his credential; and provided further, that no member shall have his signature attached to more than one credential.

Second—Branches not sending their own representatives may select those of other branches of the same state to represent them; provided, that in each such case the representative shall hold the proper credential with the signatures of members attached as herein provided.

Third—No member shall be qualified to serve as representative or entitled to representation who has not been a member of the party at least thirty (30) days prior to the opening day of the convention.

Fourth—All signatures of members attached to credentials shall be certified to by the chairman or secretary of their respective branches.

Fifth—The national secretary shall furnish each branch with a sufficient number of blank credentials for the purpose herein specified.

Unaffiliated Socialist clubs or societies whose members may desire to connect themselves with the Social Democratic party, are cordially invited to communicate through their proper officials with the Secretary of the National Executive Board, 126 Washington street, Chicago.

This call is issued to all branches of the Social Democratic party in good standing, as shown by the records at 126 Washington street, Chicago, and organized prior to December 15, 1900. The time and place of meeting and other details will be given in the Herald as soon as arrangements are completed.

SEYMOUR STEDMAN, Secretary.

including the southern states, and I feel not only confident but absolutely certain that within twelve months our party will have an effective organization in every state in the union.

We are not discussing the "cause" of the recent Republican victory and Democratic defeat. We have no time for that. Ours is a party of the future and not of the past; we are looking forward and not backward; let others linger with the slain on yesterday's field of action, we must gird afresh our armor and move on the enemy again and again, and yet again, until he is overthrown and routed and driven from the field.

The approaching convention of our party will be an event of special interest and importance. The representatives who will assemble at Chicago will be familiar with the trials of the past and equal to the demands of the future, and we can confidently look forward to the most progressive and prosperous year in the history of the party.

I can not close without reference to the loyal support of comrades in the recent presidential contest. Other candidates may boast a larger vote, but not one dare claim more steadfast devotion. It was born of fidelity to principle and was and will be faithful even unto death.

In the name of the Social Democratic party which honored me, I thank all comrades for their loyal support.

Eugene V. Debs.

Chicago, November 26.

The old party politicians in charge of the election machinery of Indiana saw to it that the big Socialist vote in the state which everybody expected did not materialize.

orous sinner on the other, I must needs break my six months' silence, and again add my quota to the common cause of socialist propaganda.

It will be little at the best, but perchance in the chaff of my Mixture there may be a stray grain of truth that shall find lodgment in some mind and develop into the full ear of socialist activity.

Now that we have recovered from the disintegrating effects of unity, and are following the dictates of sense, rather than those of sentiment, in our party polity, we are ready for educational work.

Before it was well nigh useless. It was like a man asking a friend to dinner, when he and his wife spent the entire dinner hour in a pitched battle, using the dishes as weapons.

But now there is need, and good, in inviting the public to our socialist dinner of digestible truths.

The present duty.

Now that the tangles in our party rope have been unsnarled and straightened out, there is need, not to "pull for unity," but to unite to pull.

We have a strong party rope running through the various states, with its end hitched to the foundations of monopoly, and loyal, energetic comrades along the line.

It matters little what we call the rope; it matters little what the words we use for the united heave; it matters little what the professional cut of coat of the fellow next us; it matters little whether the end of the rope be tied with a scientific knot by some old navigator of the Socialist sea; it matters all, if we do not pull!

So long as the rope is intact and strong, there is need of but two things: either to pull, or get out of the way.

If we cannot work side by side, the field is amply large enough to lose sight of each other, and yet all engage in socialistic effort. When we near the center we shall have learned lessons in the school of oppression and shall be able to unite.

"Pull, or part!"

So pass the word down the line, comrades, and let every man hear and heed—"Pull, or part!"

If you can't pull on the common cable go tie your own little thread to some snag of injustice and try and pull it out.

As I write these words a gang of workmen in front of my window are dragging a huge rail in the relaying of the street railway. One man gives the word; all pull together; the thing is done.

We are constructing the road along which the Co-operative Commonwealth shall ultimately advance. Many heavy rails will have to be lifted into place.

Personally, I have confidence in the ability of our overseer, Eugene V. Debs, to give the word for a united pull, and shall myself respond in the common heave.

When we have lost confidence and courage let us stand aside, not hindering, if we cannot help. So pass the word along, "Pull, or part!"

The showman in Indiana who found that his cotton advertising signs were taken by a poor woman, whose husband, working for 75 cents for ten hours a day in a factory, could not provide her children with clothing, has since been wondering with the rest of us what more untruthful device than that of prosperity the politicians have to spring on a confiding public.

Executive Board
FREDERIC HEATH Chairman
SEYMOUR STEDMAN Secretary
EUGENE V. DEBS **VICTOR L. BERGER**
CORINNE S. BROWN

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, \$5.00. Six months, \$3.00. No paper sent to any one on credit. If, without having subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and no bill will follow. Foreign subscriptions \$10.00.

Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

A. S. EDWARDS, Editor
THEODORE DEBS, National Sec'y-Treas.
126 Washington St., Chicago.

126 is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 127 your subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, DEC. 1, 1900.

The Social Democratic Party

Defeat on the one side in a battle does not always mean victory for the other side in the contest. Notably such was the case in the historic battle of Bunker Hill. Nominally the British were victorious, but in a sense more inspiring the champions of liberty and independence, behind their rude intrenchments, hurriedly constructed, with little ammunition and arms of diverse caliber, untrained in the art of war, were the victors. Proud, boastful and defiant England was taught a lesson, the first in a bloody series she nor the world has forgotten, the last of which, at Yorktown, brought down the English flag to float no more in triumph over her American colonies.

The Social Democratic party, in the ever memorable campaign of 1900, has nominally been defeated, and yet, like the old continentals who measured arms against the British on Bunker Hill, it won a victory. The contest has inspired hopes more animating and faith more intensified of ultimate victory over every opposing force than ignorance and prejudice and bigotry can array against it. The Social Democratic party comes out of the contest with convictions strengthened. The great truths it advocated are more firmly entrenched in the minds of the people, and everywhere throughout the broad land the banners of the party float defiantly, and invite all who have faith in the onward march of human progress in which men enlightened and grasping the essential ideas of reform in conditions find in Socialism the true solution of the problems relating to just government and human happiness.

In such regards the campaign of 1900 has responded to the expectations of the Social Democratic party, and without a taint of demoralization in its ranks and with its organization intact, it is better than ever equipped for its mission.

The future of the Social Democratic party is not to be one of repose. It is not to furl its battle flags nor cease the beat of its war drums. The battle is still on. Not only are the watch fires in every branch of the party to be kept burning, but new branches are to be organized, and new signal fires lighted. Other parties may cry "peace," but the battle cry of the Social Democratic party will be agitation, discussion, action and a forward movement all along its lines.

The republican party, the beneficiary of capitalistic favors, swollen with the pride of victory, will proceed with its imperialistic policy. With the sword and purse of the nation at its command, it will increase the standing army to crush "insurgents" who fight for liberty in foreign lands, and to crush labor insurgents who rebel against the edicts of capitalism at home.

The democratic party, dazed and bewildered by its defeat, and factionized beyond the hope of redemption, is scarcely to be considered a factor in future campaigns. The coming party, with abounding virility and energy to do, to dare and to achieve, is the Social Democratic party. It alone of all the parties has a mission in the world sharply and vividly defined. It brushes aside all the wranglings over issues born of venality and warmed into life in the vulture nests of duplicity and hypocrisy, and proclaims its purpose to unbar and throw wide open the doors, that the million of men now enslaved by conditions which horrify the thoughtful, shall achieve their liberty and independence.

The Idea of Classes

It is hard for a certain brand of American patriotic philistines and jingo degenerates to reconcile themselves to the undeniable fact that in this country we are confronted by the existence of classes, and, therefore, that this is a class-ruled country, notwithstanding that the people, or the male portion, at least, enjoy the great privilege of giving to candidates for office votes that are not always counted. One of the latest to try and persuade people to believe that we have no classes is Gen. J. C. Black, who himself belongs to a class which lives upon other classes.

The development of capitalism necessarily produces classes—the propertied and the propertyless. We have a class in possession of the modern facilities of production and another class dependent upon the first for the opportunity to earn a living. It is worse than idle, it is dishonest to say that where the workers are no longer the owners of their tools of production, which are monopolized and exploited for the sole purpose of extracting profits from labor, there is not a distinct and dependent class. Gen. Black says that the "only real class America has ever produced was the slave-holding class." But it is certain that the slaves who were held were also no less a class than their masters. There were two classes. So there are now two classes: The capitalist class which holds the means of life and operates them for profit alone, and the class which is wholly dependent upon the will of capitalists for a chance to live. Between these two classes there is a conflict which will end only in the abolition of private property in the means of life. The class struggle is a potent fact in the United States.

Comfort in Prison Cell

Many of our old party friends believe, or at least say, that "the government is run all right, and everybody can work that wants to." What would they think of William Van Velsom, who entered the Cook county jail a few days ago and asked Jailer Whitman to send him back to state prison. "I'm cold and haven't any home," said Van Velsom to the clerk as he entered the room. "It's warm here. It makes me think of my warm cell in Joliet."

The fact that Van Velsom had been in Joliet is no proof that he was any worse than thousands of respectable citizens living on the boulevards, or over the line in Canada.

If he was a thief he did not steal enough to protect himself, hire corporation attorneys, bribe jurors and make a flash with his money, or take a trip to Brazil or Italy.

If he murdered a single man with a knife or gun he made a mistake; he should have sold adulterated foods, and thereby murdered ten thousand men every year.

If he got drunk and beat some woman, he should have waited until prosperity brought him wealth enough to own a harem on Fifth avenue.

If he gambled at poker and got in a fight, he made a very serious blunder; he should have gambled on some poor widow's money in mining stocks, or cornered a market.

Anyway, Van Velsom was cold, and wanted a warm place to stay. Having no cheerful home to go to, and no work, he was willing to be taken back to a warm cell in the county jail. He begged the jailer not to turn him out.

A Campaign Contribution

It is probable that one of the largest contributions to the national campaign fund of the Republican party in the recent election was received from the Western Union Telegraph Company. It was given, not in the form of money but of free service, which saved to Mark Hanna's committee the expenditure of a large sum. The following circular, issued by the company and sent to all "managers" in its employ, explains how it was done:

"All Managers, Western Union Telegraph Co.: This will be your authority to accept messages relating to the business of the National Republican Committee, 'Checked Paid,' when signed by the following named persons: M. A. Hanna, Perry S. Heath, Henry C. Payne, R. C. Kerens, Harry S. New, Graeme Stewart, H. H. Rand, R. C. Buckland, and deliver to them like messages checked 'Collect,' without requiring payment in either case."

This circular was furnished to the Appeal to Reason by an employee of the company. Names and dates are omitted for obvious reasons. The republican party managers and the managers of the Western Union are thus hooked up together in the control of the government for the next four years.

Duty of the Hour

The election is over. The Social Democratic party has come forth with flying colors. From now on we propose to make things hum. Our program is one of action. We have no time to waste in quarreling with anybody. All the states must be organized for Socialism. We propose to invade them, not one at a time, but all at once. The coming convention will provide the equipment. Organizers are already in the field. The number must be increased. We propose to have a thousand branches and more in operation before 1901 closes its eyes. We want the help of each and every comrade. We want it in deeds and not in words. We want it now.

The contention that the people are the shareholders in great corporations is not proven by the fact that at the annual election of the Big Four railroad recently four men voted 260,000 shares of stock and elected all the directors for three years.

NOTES AND COMMENT

Workingmen: This is the year of prosperity. Workingmen are rich. They build great palaces in every city, go to the mountains and seashore and erect "country seats"; put up great office buildings of marble; furnish them in costliest carpets, paintings, chairs and tapestry, and then these wealthy workers depart through the basement door, and very soon an automobile stops in front and the man to whom the workingman gave the property enters, and the workingman is seen around there no more.

Then they build great roads and lay steel rails, on which run elegant moving palaces at thirty miles an hour. But the workingman prefers to see the country when he travels, so he walks slowly and painfully over the road.

And when police protection is needed at home, or a foreign foe insults the men in the palaces, these same wealth makers cheerfully put on a blue coat or take up the sword. They would rather work than eat, these prosperous workingmen.

From not less than 100 precincts in the city of Chicago, several towns in the county of Cook, and also from many states in the union, complaints have been received at The Herald office that votes cast for Eugene V. Debs for president were not counted. In many localities the rights of citizenship have been outraged by election clerks and judges, both through prejudice and gross incompetency, and the probabilities strongly favor the opinion held by Socialists who have written us that for every vote credited to Debs he actually received one more, making the grand total of votes cast for Socialism this year not less than 225,000. Bye and bye, in the next national election, if present prospects mean anything, we will be too strong to be counted out. Educate and organize for 1904.

There is a large class of people in this country that the Socialists have not reached. In fact several, but just now comes to mind the men who are disgusted with the mockery of "voting kings," who know that something is wrong, but are too busy to find out just what it is. This is the professional class of doctors, artists, musicians, etc.; who know that capitalism is dragging their profession down to its own level; and yet are so busy in their work and dissatisfied with all the rest of the world outside of their profession that they do not care to investigate. These men are ready for Socialism; with us it is only a question of getting after them with the facts.

Any great daily newspaper will furnish conclusive evidence that the capitalist system is all wrong. They don't intend to give the facts, but it all comes out in the news items, cable dispatches and special telegrams. Cut out such items and classify them. You will be surprised in a week at the way things go wrong in this world. Then study the principles of Socialism for another week and report to The Herald what you think of the situation. This is only two weeks' work. Try it.

The big corporations and trusts are already putting themselves in line for the legitimate result of the election. The Illinois state legislature will be asked to pass more liberal laws for the benefit of the predatory gang. They argue that corporate interests do not get a fair deal in Illinois. Government protection of the economically powerful is in order. That is what the election meant. The corporations are entitled to all they can get, and the people have said so.

Can you get five Socialists together and organize a branch? You are the man or woman we are looking for. Can you add a new member to your branch? Can you send us a subscriber, or a dozen to The Herald? Can and will you come to the front and do a comrade's share to make our party a continental power? We shall rely upon the emphatic affirmative of thousands and we shall not be disappointed.

The present's no time for creeping.

Up, comrades, and at 'em!

It is no time for sleeping.

Up, comrades, and at 'em!

Capitalists are defiant—

Now is the time to spat 'em;

On yourselves reliant,

Up, comrades, and at 'em!

After banqueting the Irish nationalists who went over to Africa and fought for the Boers, their Chicago friends have turned every effort to secure for these men a chance to make a living. Every man was a wage-earner—and earned very much more than his wages amounted to.

The laundry sign, "Shirts, 4 cents," which has been as common as beer signs in Chicago, has disappeared, and that indispensable garment is now "done up" for 6 cents. Yet thousands

of wage-earners are compelled to borrow money from interest sharks to live.

A backwoods philosopher said: "A hog mought whistle, but he has an on-likely mouth for such a performance." Mark Hanna's mouth, engaged in helping workingmen out of their troubles, is very much like the unaccommodating mouth of the hog.

Public opinion is a manufactured article in which too often there is a preponderance of shoddy. It is the purpose of Socialists to eliminate the shoddy and produce an article "all wool and a yard wide."

That the mortgage debt of Indiana has increased during McKinley's administration over \$55,000,000 is another proof of prosperity—for the holders of the mortgages.

Socialism a "Portentous" Fact

The Socialists cast about 5 per cent of the total vote of Massachusetts last week. In other states they broke all previous records easily, as far as national elections go. Here is an interesting and portentous fact in American politics.

If the anti-Bryan and conservative democrats, such as Whitney, Cleveland, Fairchild, Dickinson and Carlisle, could carry out their reported plans for a re-organization of the democratic party on the lines which they must insist upon if they are to take part in its management and support its candidates, the immediate outcome would probably be the transfer of a large radical element in the democratic organization to the Socialists. The Socialist vote would increase at once so fast that it might have to be reckoned with as a great force in politics.

Then we should have exciting campaigns, indeed. If Bryan has hinted at grave changes in the structure of the government, the Socialists are frankly revolutionary. If Bryan has been guilty of inciting envy and class enmity, the Socialists openly advocate the virtual confiscation of a great share of the productive private property in the United States. It is often forgotten that the acquisition by the government of the railroads, telegraph lines, telephone property, the mines, and the municipal street railways, gas works, electric lighting plants, etc., all of which changes are urged by the Socialist platforms and leaders, would imply such a narrowing of the field for the employment of capital that the interest obtainable on money would be cut down far and fast, and many great investments would be wiped out.

Perhaps it will be just as well if the democrats go the road they have been following for the past five years. It does not lead to any important changes in practical conditions of government, and it keeps Socialism from coming to the front in American politics.—Cleveland Leader (Rep.), Nov. 12.

"Dividin' Up"

Here's a funny thing. A cadaverous-looking oyster wandered into a second-hand clothing store the other day to buy himself a second-hand pair of shoes.

It was cold, but he had no overcoat. The poor devil's jacket was worn threadbare, and his pants hardly hid his hide. His hat was like Ben Harrison's—looked as though it might have been his grandfather's.

A couple of men in the store were talking about the number of political parties represented in the recent election, and the various tickets to be had at the polls.

The oyster spoke. "I durned near made a fool blunder in votin'," he said.

"How was that?" was asked.

"I got a ticket readin' 'Social Democrat' and thought it was what I wanted ter vote."

The oyster grinned—oysters do, sometimes.

"Wasn't it what you wanted?" asked one of the men present, who was a Socialist himself.

"What I wanted?" gasped the oyster, "not by a gol darn sight. I wanted ter vote the straight old democrat ticket, begosh. Think I'd vote fer a lot of fools that want ter divide everythin' up?"

The oyster didn't buy any shoes. The cheapest pair he could find were 35 cents and he only had two bits.—New Dispensation.

Prof. Ely on Prosperity

What do we mean by prosperity? I have heard a great deal of the prosperity of the south. It is said to be growing rich. Does this mean the prosperity of the many or the few? Not long since a friend on returning from Richmond told me that the people were making so much that they could not spend it. I had not heard of any rise in wages. When walking on Charles street in Baltimore the other day I saw a huge poster setting forth the growing wealth of a newly developed region in Virginia, and among other attractions for capital, I noticed this: "Cheap Labor." I have been turning that over in my mind ever since.—Richard T. Ely.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY NATIONAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

To the Comrades of the Social Democratic Party, Greeting:

The labors of your campaign committee are now concluded, with the exception of reporting to you their work in our first struggle to place before the American people the Social Democratic party, its principles and purposes.

Your committee has been greatly assisted by the comrades in our organization and at the headquarters especially. Comrade Elizabeth H. Thomas not only contributed financially to the success of the campaign, but gave her services gratuitously for a period of nearly three months. She was in constant attendance, undiring and active, and while Comrade Stedman was ostensibly the secretary, the greater part of the work of that office was performed by Comrade Thomas, and your committee believe our comrades join them in expressing their gratitude to her.

Your committee was further assisted by Comrades Mesdames Corinne Brown, Gertrude Debs and Irene Stedman and by Misses Corinne Brown, Ethel James and others, who assisted in answering the letters, addressing mail orders, adjusting meetings, etc. Comrade Ray Edwards served the committee, for which he was paid eight dollars (\$8.00) per week.

We have been careful to publish in each succeeding issue of The Herald the sums donated to your committee, the total amount of which is set forth in the following financial statement, to-wit:

Contributions received \$2,176.25
Received from the sale of literature... 1,361.63

Total receipts \$3,537.88

EXPENDITURES.

Leaflets and stickers \$834.57
Lithographs 163.00
Tubes for mailing same 11.00
Buttons 131.82
Postage stamps 342.03
Office rent, \$7.50 per month, 4 months 30.00
Stationery, miscellaneous, letter heads, envelopes, etc. 37.60
Office furniture, tables, shelving, chairs, etc. 14.27
Advertising Appeal to Reason and 4th page of Herald, etc. 337.63
Expressage 127.45
German Social Democrat and cuts 41.00
Polish paper 10.00
Telegrams 51.63
Hall rents, opening campaign, etc. 127.00
Emblem cut 1.75
Exchange on drafts, revenue stamps on checks, money orders, etc. 11.19
Burton, stenographer, reporting Debs' campaign speech... 8.80
Eugene V. Debs, traveling expenses, campaigning 398.20
McSweeney, campaigning and organizing expenses 279.44
Stedman, campaigning trips 50.00
Heath, campaign work 82.50
Edwards, 4 weeks' trip campaigning, Indiana and Michigan expenses 25.00
Maynard, contributions, editorial, newspaper work 45.00
White, for organizing in Massachusetts 50.00
J. H. Bohanan, organizing in Indiana and Ohio 29.50
Oneal, speaking 10.00
John A. Bruell, organizing 10.00
F. Svoboda, campaigning 13.00
James Beattie, expense, six meetings 36.00
Philip Brown, meeting at Elkhart 3.50
Thorndyke, speaking, etc. 3.00
Ray Edwards, salary for work at headquarters, \$8.00 per week, 13 weeks 104.00
Janitor 1.50
Total amount received \$3,537.88
Total amount paid out 3,430.38

Cash on hand \$ 107.50
Due organizer in state of Massachusetts \$ 50.00
Due Kervin for postals 5.25
\$ 55.25

Balance (after all bills are paid) \$ 52.25
There was \$100 voted for eastern campaign purposes, \$50 of which was sent to Massachusetts, there being \$50 due, as per report.

The campaign speakers and organizers from this committee have visited over 200 different cities and towns, and we have mailed and distributed in all 50,000 German leaflets, 25,000 Polish leaflets, 30,000 Bohemian leaflets, 250,000 stickers, 12,000 lithographs, 16,500 buttons, 12,000 extra Social Democratic Heralds, 16,000 leaflets No. 1, 285,000 leaflets No. 2, 75,000 Leaflets No. 4, 75,000 leaflets No. 5, 9,000 leaflets No. 6, 145,000 leaflets with epigrams and platform, 20,000 Debs-Herron speeches. We have still on hand 3,000 of the latter, and about 900 German Merrie Englands. The total amount of literature distributed amounts to 1,196,500 different pieces.

The committee ordered the balance of cash on hand to be turned over to the national organization for propaganda purposes.

In many instances localities paid the expenses of speakers; where this has occurred they have asked nothing of this committee. Respectfully submitted, Seymour Stedman.

Bebel, the German Social Democrat, says a Berlin correspondent of a St. Petersburg newspaper, has made a fortune by his little book entitled "Woman."

Machines are all right and Socialists are determined to own and operate them.

MEETING OF CHICAGO SOCIAL DEMOCRATS

The Demand for a National Convention from Other Sections of the Country Receives Strong Support

A large and representative meeting of the local branches of the Social Democratic party in Chicago was held last Sunday, Nov. 25, at Lauterbach's hall, North Clark street. There were present over 250 members, representing seventeen branches of the organization, with a total membership of 400. In its final outcome it was one of the most satisfactory meetings of the party members ever held in the city, and this for the reason that it cleared the way for a return at an early day to the sane methods and effective propaganda of the party, unhampered by the hysterical and dishonest practices of intriguing "unionists."

Comrade Philip Brown was chosen as chairman, and Comrades Elizabeth H. Thomas and M. Holsinger acted as secretaries. After a discussion of several hours in committee of the whole, during which a large number, including Comrade E. V. Debs, took part, the following resolutions were almost unanimously adopted, the very few dissentients being led by F. G. Strickland:

Whereas, At a mass meeting of some of the Socialists of Chicago, held Nov. 18, 1900, a resolution of which the following is a part, was passed: "That all Socialists, irrespective of any past affiliation, are hereby called upon to assemble in their respective wards in response to the call of the joint campaign committee, for the purpose of electing five (5) delegates to the city convention and two (2) delegates to a provisional central committee"; and

Whereas, Such a method of nominating candidates and electing delegates would produce great confusion and would weaken the Socialist movement in this city, and would leave it a prey to politicians of all parties; and

Whereas, The best work for Socialism can be done by and through an organized and dues-paying constituency of Socialists affiliated and recognizing a national organization; and

Whereas, All other Socialists of this city, both organized and unorganized, do not owe sufficient fealty to a national organization; and

Whereas, The continuation of independent local organizations will soon place the Socialist movement in a state of chaos; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the Chicago members of the Social Democratic party of America, having national headquarters at 126 Washington street, Chicago, call upon, urge and invite all Socialists of this city to join our organization, either singly or in clubs or branches, and with us make a determined fight for our principles in this city in the spring campaign of 1901, and to build up an American Socialist movement which shall be strong enough to resist any attacks from the old parties and politicians, and present a united front to the capitalist press of the country.

That copies of this resolution be sent to The Social Democratic Herald, the Spravellmost, the Workers' Call, the Appeal to Reason and all other Socialist publications of this city.

Other resolutions adopted, were as follows:

Resolved, That this meeting of Social Democrats favors the holding of a national convention of members of the local branches affiliated with 126 Washington street, and requests the national executive board to call such convention for the third Tuesday in January, 1901.

Resolved, That the members of the Social Democratic party acting on the state and county joint campaign committees be withdrawn, and the thanks of this meeting tendered them for their services.

Gillespie's Big Vote

I have seen the accounts of our election in The Herald, and I think a full account is desirable at this time. The Fifth Plymouth district is composed of the towns of Whitman and Abington. The town of Abington is divided into two villages called North Abington and Abington Center. Our vote for representative last year (1899) was as follows:

	Whitman.	N. Abington.	Abington Center.	Total.
O'Brien, rep.	324	113	154	591
Gillespie, S. D.	335	112	28	475
Nash, dem.	112	40	156	308
O'Fihelley, s. l. p.	36	13	30	79

The vote this year is as follows:

	Whitman.	N. Abington.	Abington Center.	Total.
O'Brien, rep.	484	188	312	984
Gillespie, S. D.	540	207	95	842
Nash, dem.	73	20	14	107
Fihelley, s. l. p.	10	2	6	18

You see, we nearly doubled our vote over last year, and had reason for expecting to elect our man, but the democratic nominee personally worked for the republican nominee, standing outside of the polling place in Abington and asking all democrats to vote for O'Brien and thus kill the Socialists, and

the trick was done. There was a deal between the Fourth and Fifth Plymouth districts, the republicans in the Fourth agreeing to vote for Perry, democrat, and beat MacCartney, if the democrats in the Fifth would vote for O'Brien, republican, and thus beat Gillespie, and that in their minds would settle the Socialists for all time. The democrats are driven in with the republicans where they belong. Gillespie's vote, 842, would elect MacCartney or Carey or any republican in the state. No man ever elected in this district ever received as many votes as he. We spent about \$150 in this district, and you see it has come pretty hard on our small branches, but we will come up soon.

Chas. E. Lowell.

Our Growth in Milwaukee

Every tenth voter in this city is a Social Democrat. Moreover, from now on we are an official party in the state. The official count for the city of Milwaukee has just been completed and shows that with the vote of the towns, Milwaukee county will give us over 5,000. An interesting fact, and one that we are justly proud of, is that the vote for Debs even runs a trifle higher than that for Tuttle, our candidate for governor. This shows that our Milwaukee Social Democrats stood pat. None of them voted the state and local tickets and then put in a capitalistic ballot for president. The vote by wards with the increase over 1898 is as follows:

	1900.	1898.	Gain.
1	52	35	17
2	251	135	116
3	9	3	6
4	50	30	20
5	112	46	66
6	228	121	107
7	43	39	4
8	223	73	150
9	438	247	191
10	414	215	199
11	391	182	209
12	217	105	112
13	280	143	137
14	136	50	86
15	198	99	99
16	31	13	18
17	113	86	27
18	60	36	24
19	547	282	265
20	522	284	238
21	347	216	131
	4,662	2,440	2,222

The vote from the state comes in very slowly. One return that has given us a good deal of gratification is that from Racine county, where 144 votes were cast. This is a surprising gain, as Socialism has heretofore scarcely had a foothold in that section of the state. Racine is a manufacturing city par excellence and is therefore peopled with wage workers. It will now go forward in Socialism and may prove a western Brockton ere long.

A Day at Headquarters

Since the election applications for new branches are coming in and new members are being enrolled with a rush. In a single day last week six applications for new branches were received. On the same day new members were reported as follows:

- Branch 3 of Arkansas, 2.
- Branch 10 of Colorado, 5.
- Branch 1 of Connecticut, 3.
- Branch 8 of Illinois, 3.
- Branch 16 of Illinois, 11.
- Branch 37 of Illinois, 10.
- Branch 43 of Illinois, 5.
- Branch 44 of Illinois, 6.
- Branch 1 of Indiana, 12.
- Branch 5 of Indiana, 1.
- Branch 9 of Indiana, 8.
- Branch 21 of Indiana, 5.
- Branch 5 of Kentucky, 8.
- Branch 12 of Kansas, 7.
- Branch 13 of Kansas, 9.
- Branch 45 of Massachusetts, 1.
- Branch 22 of Missouri, 1.
- Branch 1 of New York, 2.
- Branch 4 of Ohio, 1.
- Branch 2 of South Dakota, 8.
- Branch 1 of West Virginia, 1.
- Branch 1 of Wisconsin, 4.
- Branch 6 of Wisconsin, 1.
- Branch 42 of Wisconsin, 1.
- Total, 115.

On the same day 48 annual and 28 semi-annual subscriptions to The Herald were recorded. The general office bristles with activity, and the hours have to be extended nightly beyond midnight, and all the seven days of the week are necessary to prevent the office from being flooded.

The party has outgrown its office capacity, and one of the duties of the coming convention will be to provide larger quarters and greater facilities for the transaction of the rapidly increasing volume of business. We are on the main track and bound to get there.

Comrade T. C. Sullivan, secretary of the city committee at Brockton, Mass., writes acknowledging the receipt of \$5 to help the local campaign, and says: "The fight here is to wipe Socialism from the city hall. We are to have a big meeting with Comrades Coulter and MacCartney, Nov. 28. The republicans challenged us to a debate, we accepted, but now they are backing out. I hope to have good news for you Dec. 5."

SHOULD COLLEGES ACCEPT ILL-GOTTEN GIFTS?

Christian Institutions Gratefully Accept Tainted Wealth and Rise to Chant the Praises of Democracy Triumphant

A PROTEST FROM A WOMAN

Considerable interest was aroused in the press a few months ago by circumstances connected with Mr. John D. Rockefeller's donation of \$100,000 to Wellesley College. At the time this gift was offered, a memorial signed by Miss Vida D. Scudder, professor of English literature at Wellesley, and by seventeen other members of the faculty, was addressed to the trustees of the college, requesting that inquiry be made into the business methods of the Standard Oil Company; in order that assurance might be obtained of the propriety of accepting such a gift. The trustees accepted the donation, and there is no evidence that their decision was influenced by the memorial. Miss Scudder offered to resign her professorship if the acceptance of the gift should in any way hamper her freedom of expression, but she was assured by the president of the college that she should have perfect liberty in that respect. A conference which was held in an obscure parish house in Boston, while the matter was still pending, but which had no direct connection with the Wellesley incident, was attended by President Eliot, Prof. John Graham Brooks, and other representatives of several New England colleges. Bishop Potter presided, and the question of the acceptance of "tainted wealth" by colleges was discussed, but no resolutions were adopted. These facts cast some light upon an article in the current issue of The Atlantic Monthly, written by Miss Scudder, regarding the problems involved in this experience at Wellesley. She says:

"No one questions that the mammoth fortunes which are coming to be a distinctive feature of American life are sometimes made by methods which are cruel if not technically dishonest, methods pushed perilously near the limits of what even the crude conscience expressed in common law considers legitimate—pushed some way, though the fact can rarely be proved, beyond those limits. Wealth exists which has been piled together by means unscrupulous and unchristian. It stands in the public mind as a symbol of unrestrained self-seeking and greed; it has to the knowledge of many left behind its shining heaps a ravaged desert track of despair. There is a growing tendency on the part of owners of money of this kind to spend lavishly on works of public utility, on the endowment of churches, charities, universities. It is a paradoxical situation. With the one hand the owner of such wealth thrusts his competitors into the abyss of commercial ruin, or grinds the faces of the poor; with the other, he hands the resultant gain to the Christian institutions of the land, which gratefully accept it, and rise to chant the psalm of democracy triumphant."

The view is sometimes taken that ethical scrutiny of the sources of wealth is wholly uncalled for, on the ground that the use sanctifies the gift, and that the endowment of churches and colleges is so important that money should be accepted without question from any source. On the other hand, some contend that even an inconsiderable degree of popular odium attached to money should make a Christian institution shrink from accepting it. Miss Scudder attempts to find middle ground between these two extreme conclusions. She declares:

"There are two broad, positive reasons why churches and colleges should at least exercise far more caution than they have been doing of late in the acceptance of proffered gifts."

"First, to ignore a scruple is to help suppress it. Every institution which accepts without explanation money under suspicion or indictment weakens the awakening demand for ethical scrutiny of the sources of wealth. The church and the university, standing as they do for the subjugation of the gross automatic instincts of the race by conscience and reason, are our most safe and natural guides; and ill betides the country where they hold the rear rather than the van. The attitude of self-justification in which certain institutions find themselves to-day is in itself a grave public misfortune. For a college or church which accepts questionable money as a matter of course injures far more than itself. It stifles the breath of new life in our civilization, and the higher its standing and the stronger its influence the more fatally does it effect this end."

"Another reason, equally practical, equally cogent, should impose caution in the acceptance of money, the danger lest our colleges forfeit the respect of the people. No one can move among working people in an informal and intimate fashion without realizing how entirely they lack confidence in the integrity of our academic life, how honest and sincere is the scorn with which

they view it. It is said by the head worker of one of the largest settlements in New York that economic argument with the clever young Socialists of the East Side is rendered useless by their contempt for the traditions she represents and the authorities she cites. 'Of course Professor This and Professor That hold such views; they have salaries to draw,' is the constant rejoinder."

If the great throng of the unprivileged come to distrust the centers whence these unifying forces should proceed, and to view them as class institutions, where is our hope for the future? Better than this, let poverty be the portion of our colleges, as it has been the portion of some of the strongest centers of intellectual life that the world has known."

Miss Scudder ventures the hope that the college which sets the example of rigid honesty may benefit thereby even pecuniarily. "It is conceivable," she says, "that the first institution to refuse an offer of ill-gotten money might draw to itself students from the length and breadth of the land. Countless eager contributions from the modest means of many might flow in upon it, and bring within its reach those riches which it had shown itself strong to do without." She concludes:

"There is no duty before the academic and religious world in America more pressing than the duty of strengthening the demand that methods of acquiring wealth come wholly under the dominion of the moral sense. There is no opportunity more significant, more in danger of closing forever, than the opportunity of convincing the public at large, by definite sacrifice of worldly advantage, if need be, that the intellectual life of the country, as represented by its organized centers, is disinterested, honest, and free."

It is interesting to recall in this connection the report that Jane Addams of Hull House, Chicago, declined a gift to that institution not long ago from Mr. John D. Rockefeller, but requested that the donation be made to some hospital or other public institution, whose function was other than that of imparting education and molding public opinion.

New Life at Terre Haute

The Socialists met in C. L. U. hall last Sunday and the hall was crowded, every seat being taken. E. V. Debs was present and delivered a splendid address, which was received with frequent applause. Fifteen new members were admitted, making a total membership of fifty-seven for the local branch, and more are expected to join at the next meeting. Plans were discussed for the organization of ward clubs throughout

LOCAL BRANCHES

Notices of Branch Meetings Inserted for 25 Cents per Month

CALIFORNIA

Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evenings, commencing at 8. Admission free. Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening.

Membership, Social Democratic Herald free to each member, 25 cents per month. Apply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk street.

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock at Woodmen's Hall, 1234 Spring St., J. Frank, 700 Dayton Ave., Secretary.

Branch No. 12, San Francisco (German), holds business meeting first Sunday each month, at 1 o'clock p. m., at 117 Turk street. Agitation meeting on third Sunday evening, same place, to which public is invited. August F. Major, secretary, 1408 Folk street.

COLORADO

Branch No. 1, Denver, meets every Sunday at 8:30 p. m. at 1715 California Ave., Chas. M. Davis, Secretary, 1629 17th Street.

Branch No. 3, Goldfield, meets every Sunday at 7:30 p. m. at City Hall, Chas. La Camp, Secretary.

CONNECTICUT

The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at 8 p. m., at P. S. Rogers, 1029 Main St., Hartford. Louis Schial, Sec., 25 Spring St., Rockville, Conn.

Branch No. 3, New Haven, meets every Wednesday evening at 8 p. m., at Aurora Hall, C. Volmer, Sec.

Branch No. 4, Rockyville, Conn., meets first and third Thursdays at Turn Hall meeting room, Village street. Secretary, Richard Niederwieser, Box 760.

ILLINOIS

Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 42 Dearborn St.

Branch No. 1, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening, Thomas Kirwin, Secretary, 204 West North Ave.

Branch No. 2 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets first and third Saturdays at 8 p. m. at Nagel's Hall, 535 Blue Island Ave.

Branch No. 3 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Mondays at 8 p. m. in Dunder's place, 1001 W. 18th place. Joseph Dunder, Secretary.

Branch No. 3, Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays of each month at Pleasant's Hall, 100 Centre Ave., and 19th St. Jos. Czury, Sec., 530 W. 18th St.

Branch No. 6, Chicago, meets at Adolph Jankowski's place, 961 West 21st street, every other Saturday in the month. A. Delisler, Sec., 726 W. 20th street.

Branch No. 4 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays at 8 p. m. at 1022 Line Street, J. A. Ambros, Secretary, 1840 Wood Street.

Branch No. 9, Chicago, meets at 1145 W. 63rd St., first and third Sundays at 8 p. m. Gus Larson, Secretary, 2543 Central avenue.

INDIANA

Branch No. 4, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month at Lechweid's Hall, corner Market and Noble Sts.; Address all communications to the Sec. of State Executive Board, Thomas Catton, 611 Arbor ave.

Branch No. 2, Hitean, meets every fourth Friday in the month at opera house, James Saxter, chairman, Wm. Truman, secretary, Box 151.

KENTUCKY

Branch No. 4, Bellevue, meets 1st and 3rd Sunday, at 2 p. m.; and 2nd and 4th Wednesday at 8 p. m., at 91 Fairfield ave. We will aim to make it interesting for all. Henry Listerman, Sec., 125 Foote ave.

MASSACHUSETTS

Branch No. 2, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at Sprindale Turner Hall, Carl Schraib, Organizer, 24 Jackson St.

Branch No. 3, Lynn, permanent headquarters, 71 Monroe St. Business meeting every Monday night at 7:30. Open house. Public invited. Harry Gottler, Sec., 24 Essex St.

Branch No. 3, Brockton, meets Friday nights at 8 p. m. for business at Social Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Center Sts. Every committee is expected to attend one meeting a month. Mrs. Annie Bowditch, Secretary, 31 Prospect St.

Branch No. 2, Roxbury, Mass., meets at 24 Warren St., 2d and 4th Fridays of every month. Public invited.

the city, and a thorough organization of the mining camps. No definite action was taken for the present. The report of the campaign committee showed that \$135 had been collected, twenty-six meetings had been held in six counties and three branches organized and another forming.—The Toiler.

What New Jersey Socialists Think

The following resolutions have been forwarded to The Herald by the state campaign committee of New Jersey:

"The state campaign committee of the New Jersey Social Democratic party herewith denounces the action of Prof. Frank Parsons, B. O. Flower and Elwood Pomeroy in requesting E. V. Debs to withdraw in favor of Bryan as a trick worthy of ward politicians, but not of honorable men, and especially men calling themselves Socialists. The request was sent out, knowing that Comrade Debs under no circumstances would withdraw, and purposely was sent only a few days previous to election to aid the capitalist press in spreading the thought that Comrade Debs had withdrawn and thus deceive voters. We would point out that none of the men whose names are appended to this request have ever done anything to prove themselves class conscious Socialists, nor in fact ever stood for any popular, righteous cause; even Elwood Pomeroy only going with the populist party when its vote reached 2,000,000, and then apparently only for the purpose of helping to betray the populist cause to the democratic party."

"We therefore feel justified in warning all honest reformers, and especially Social Democrats, against the men who would resort to such tricks. These men have simply unconsciously been true to their class interests, not one of them belonging to the producing class. In their action we see new proof that the only hope of the working class is in the working class itself."

A PRIMER OF SOCIALISM

A 32-page pamphlet which contains in addition to the "Primer of Socialism," by G. C. Clemens, "Socializing a State," by the late Laurence Gronlund, and "Economic Terms and Phrases," by A. P. Hazel.

One of the strongest pamphlets for propaganda yet issued. A splendid vote-maker, and thousands should be circulated before election.

PER COPY, 5 CENTS—PER 100, \$1.50

Address, Debs Publishing Co., Terre Haute, Indiana.

MICHIGAN

Branch No. 1, Battle Creek, Mich., meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of each month, at 2 p. m., at 10 W. Main Street, in the International Congress Hall. All are cordially invited. L. C. Rogers, Secretary.

MINNESOTA

Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Gesswein on Main St. A. Kingsbury, Secretary.

MISSOURI

Branch No. 7, Kansas City, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1200 Union Ave. G. J. Stors, Secretary, 1280 W. 9th St.

MONTANA

Branch No. 1, Butte, meets every Thursday, at 1:30 p. m., Engineers' Hall, Owlsey Block. G. Frankel, Sec. 7 E. Park Street.

Branch No. 3 meets first and third Sundays of each month at G. W. Wood's home, Chico, Mont.

NEW JERSEY

Branch No. 1, Secaucus, Michael W. Schor, 87 Livingston St.

Branch No. 5, Camden, N. J., meets every 3d Sunday of the month. For particulars address: Paul Eberding, 1286 Kaigh's Avenue.

Branch No. 3 (German) Newark, meets every third Saturday, at International Hall, 7 Bedford St. Haas Hart, Secretary, 7 Bedford St.

Branch No. 6 (German) Paterson, N. J., meets first and third Mondays at 8 p. m. at Helvetia Hall, 54-56 Van Houten St. Karl Lindner, Secretary, 246 Edmund St.

NEW YORK

The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York, meets every second Tuesday at 412 Grand street, Windsor Hall. James Allman, Secretary, 32 Suffolk St.

East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every first and third Thursday at 112 Chateaufort St. A. Guyer, Secretary, 123 Suffolk St.

Branch No. 5 Brooklyn, New York, meets every Saturday at 8 p. m., at 54 Moore St. Visitors welcome. Comrades desiring to organize should communicate with Secretary Sol. Freeman, 190 Horner St.

Branch No. 3, Buffalo, N. Y.—Persons desiring to join this branch will call or communicate with Tom Filton, 119 Congress street.

Branch No. 10, New York, meets every Friday, at 8 p. m., 200 E. Broadway. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Organizer, Joseph Williams, 56 Henry St.

OHIO

Branch No. 4, Cincinnati, meets at Richelieu Hall southeast corner 3d and Pine Sts., every Sunday at 7 p. m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Joe. Jasin, Secretary, 1410 Central Avenue.

OREGON

Branch No. 1, Portland, meets every Monday night at Washington Hotel, Cor. 3d and Flinders Sts. Every body invited. T. C. Wendland, chairman; Mrs. N. E. Fortsch, secretary.

PENNSYLVANIA

Branch No. 1, Philadelphia, meets every Monday, at 8 p. m., at 423 E. 3rd Street, until further notice.

Branch No. 4, Connersport, meets every second and last Wednesday of each month in M. of I. hall. Chas. Knispel, Chairman; L. E. Morse, Secretary, Ben. Codington, Treasurer.

Branch No. 5, Philadelphia, meets first Friday of each month—Executive meets every first Friday of each month at 8 D. P. Club Rooms, at 423 E. 3rd St. Organizer, M. Gillis, 1007 E. 3rd St.

Branch No. 10, Williamsport, meets every Sunday afternoon at 3 p. m., in Social Labor hall, No. 28 East 3d St. G. B. Smith, chairman; Jno. Lyon, Secretary, 743 Second St. Public invited.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee Central Committee, S. D. P., meets second and fourth Monday of the month at Bryers' Hall, southeast corner Fourth and Chestnut Sts.

Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets at Keller's Hall, Fourth Street, between State and Franklin, every second and fourth Thursday evening.

Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Friday in Geatke's Hall, corner Green Bay and Concordia Ave.

Branch No. 3, Sheboygan, meets every second Thursday of the month at Emil Henschel's place, 1011 Michigan Ave. Secretary, Eugene F. Kichenberger, 1701 N. 11th street.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every 2nd and 4th Friday each month at Miller's Hall, corner 2nd and Brown Sts. George Moorehead, Secretary, 2nd St.

Branch No. 5, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at R. Sigel's Hall, south-east corner Orchard St. and 9th Ave. O. Wild, Secretary.

Branch No. 12, Milwaukee, meets every 2nd and 4th Thursday of each month at Volkmann's Hall, 22nd and Center Sts. S. P. M. Secretary, Rudolph Loebmann, 1102 2nd St.

Branch No. 23, Milwaukee, meets second and fourth Wednesday of each month, at 524 Clark street. Henry Hartmann, Sec., 1011 1st Street.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

THE NATIONAL PLATFORM

Adopted at the Indianapolis Convention, March, 1900

ATTITUDE TOWARD TRADE UNIONS

In accordance with our declaration of principles we declare that the trades union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the wage-working class. We recommend to the members of the Social Democratic party the following general rules:

- First—Join the union of your respective trade.
- Second—Assist in building up and strengthening the trade union movement.
- Third—Support the union labels of all crafts.
- Fourth—Educate your fellow-unionists on the question of Socialism and the labor movement, on economic and political lines.
- Fifth—It shall be your duty to work for the unity of the labor movement, thereby recognizing the fact that the emancipation of the working class can only be achieved by the united efforts of this class.
- Sixth—Educate the members of the unions in the principles of Socialism and induce them, individually, to affiliate with the Social Democratic party.
- Seventh—Trades unions are by historical necessity organized on neutral grounds, as far as political affiliation is concerned. The trades union is the arena where all wage-workers may be brought together for joint action to resist the encroachments of capitalism on the economic field and to participate in the class struggle of the proletariat which will finally develop into the political alignment of the forces of labor in the struggle for proletarian emancipation.

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness depend upon equal political and economic rights.

In our economic development an industrial revolution has taken place, the individual tool of former years having become the social tool of the present. The individual tool was owned by the worker who employed himself and was master of his product. The social tool, the machine, is owned by the capitalist and the worker is dependent upon him for employment. The capitalist thus becomes the master of the worker and is able to appropriate to himself a large share of the product of his labor.

Capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people; but the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system will necessitate the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare.

The present system of social production and private ownership is rapidly converting society into two antagonistic classes—i. e., the capitalist class and the propertyless class. The middle class, once the most powerful of this great nation, is disappearing in the mill of competition. The issue is now between the two classes first named. Our political liberty is now of little value to the masses unless used to acquire economic liberty.

Independent political action and the trade union movement are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its political, the other its economic wing, and both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system.

Therefore the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be:

- First—The organization of the working class into a political party to conquer the public powers now controlled by capitalists.
- Second—The abolition of wage-slavery by the establishment of a national system of co-operative industry, based upon the social or common ownership of the means of production and distribution, to be administered by society in the common interest of all its members, and the complete emancipation of the socially useful classes from the domination of capitalism.
- The working class and all those in sympathy with their historic mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America.
- The control of political power by the Social Democratic party will be tantamount to the abolition of all class rule.
- The solidarity of labor connecting the millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international Socialism, the brotherhood of man. As steps in that direction, we make the following demands:
- First—Revision of our federal constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to complete

control of government by the people irrespective of sex.

Second—The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

Third—The public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones; all means of transportation, and communication; all water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

Fourth—The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal, and other mines, and all oil and gas wells.

Fifth—The reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

Sixth—The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

Seventh—Useful inventions to be free, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

Eighth—Labor legislation to be national, instead of local, and international when possible.

Ninth—National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment, and want in old age.

Tenth—Equal civil and political rights, for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

Eleventh—The adoption of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

Twelfth—Abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

National Organization

Section 1. This organization shall be known as the Social Democratic Party of America, and its headquarters shall be located at such place as the national conventions of the party may appoint, or as may be fixed by the National Executive Board subject to a referendum vote.

Sec. 2. The Social Democratic Party of America shall be organized as follows:

First—Local branches limited to five hundred members each.

Second—A National Executive Board of nine members, five of whom shall be chosen from territory convenient to the national headquarters, and shall be called "resident members," and the remaining four shall be chosen, so far as possible, from other parts of the country. All members of the Executive Board shall have equal rights and powers; but the resident members shall have power to act and a majority of said resident members shall constitute a quorum. The non-resident members shall not be required to be present at all meetings of the board, but shall be kept advised of all proceedings of the board. The Executive Board shall be elected by the national convention.

Third—The form of state organizations shall be left to the branches in the respective states.

NATIONAL PAPER OF THE PARTY:

The Social Democratic Herald

126 Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.

HEADQUARTERS: 126 WASHINGTON ST., CHICAGO

THE CAMPAIGN FUND

Boston meeting.....	\$ 35.00
Boston meeting.....	5.00
H. A. Gibbs.....	1.00
Jos. Roesch, Bridgeport.....	1.10
A. J. Jones, List, Brooklyn.....	4.25
J. Broadman, Port Angeles.....	1.00
Previously reported.....	2,128.94
Total.....	\$2,176.25

Campaign Committee's Report

The Herald prints with pride the work done by the national campaign committee, a full report of which is given in this week's paper. It was work done under great difficulties, for the most part, but always with the cheerful co-operation of comrades all over the country, without which nothing could have been accomplished. No such constant flood of Socialist literature has ever been printed and distributed as by this committee in 1900.

New Hampshire Vote

Counties—	Debs.	Clafin.
Rockingham.....	184	183
Stratford.....	118	79
Belknap.....	20	14
Carroll.....	14	12
Merrimack.....	50	43
Hillsboro.....	331	340
Cheshire.....	8	12
Sullivan.....	19	23
Grafton.....	35	32
Coos.....	11	14
Totals.....	790	752
S. D. P. vote in 1898, 262.		

Dues and the Herald

Members of the party who expect to receive The Herald must keep their dues paid up. The amount is a mere trifle, and is often overlooked or neglected on that account. We receive numerous complaints that The Herald fails to reach comrades and in almost every case it is due to the fact that the dues of the complaining comrade are unpaid.

Each comrade should see to it that his dues are paid; and the treasurer of each branch should see to it that they are promptly forwarded to headquarters.

We are obliged to keep the records properly and the names of all members who fail to pay up their dues will hereafter be promptly stricken from the mailing list.

To Comrades

Do you know of five Socialists in any city, town, village or hamlet who have no branch? If so, let us hear from you at once and we will take prompt steps to have them organized. A branch must be set in operation at every possible point. No place is too small to overlook. We are bristling with determination. We mean business. Every comrade is expected to give us a hand in the work we have laid out for the coming year. Not a single day must be lost. We want more branches; we want more orders for literature; we want more activity north, south, east and west, and finally we want it understood that the Social Democratic party is on the main track and has the right of way to the co-operative commonwealth.

Snap Shots

If the dues of your branch are behind, see that they are paid up and that the branch is set in motion.

The most wonderful activity prevails in our party since the election. Our comrades everywhere are up and doing.

Good morning! Have you secured that subscriber to the Social Democratic Herald?

NEW BRANCHES

- Colorado, one.
- Idaho, one.
- Illinois, six.
- Kansas, two.
- Massachusetts, one.
- Nebraska, one.
- New Jersey, one.
- South Dakota, one.

FROM THE WORKERS

Montana—The official returns for Montana, so far as known at this time, are as follows: Butler, 240; Anaconda, 121; Bozeman, 22; Cascade county, 47; Kalispell, 24; Dillon, 5; Billings, 19; Red Lodge, 45. There are some votes in every county and it is safe to say that the total vote in the state for the presidential ticket will be between 700 and 800. Gustav Frankel.

Tennessee—My former advice to you that Debs received only 28 votes in Shelby county was an error. Official returns give him 45 in the city (Memphis) and 32 in the county; total, 77. Wm. P. Mason.

Illinois—We are grinding away still and hope to put a full ticket in the field for the spring election. Harry W. Nelson.

Indiana—The official vote for state officers are considerably larger than our first figures. Kelly for governor has 2,238; Backus, lieutenant-governor, 2,238; Evinger, secretary, 2,235; Croke, auditor, 2,231; Halsman, treasurer, 2,220; Thornton, attorney-general, 2,224; Fieser, court reporter, 2,152; Thorndyke, public instructor, 2,218; Ehrenhardt, 2,220. C. A. Thornton.

Kentucky—We claim that Bellevue is the banner town in Kentucky in one respect; we have gained legal standing as a party in town elections. We intend to nominate a full ticket at the municipal election next spring. H. Listerman.

Colorado.—In Teller county the highest vote for presidential electors of the S. D. P. was 104. The candidate for governor (D. C. Copley) received 223. Delta county gave 30 votes for president and 26 for governor. M.

Texas.—We received 51 votes in this (Parker) county and 60 in Palo Pinto county, which joins us on the west. We know we polled over 100 votes in this county, yet the guardians of our liberties give us only 51. D. C. Bruce.

Texas.—The electoral vote of San Antonio is 101. You can add 50 to 60 per cent to this. Our votes were not counted. Where we had men at the polls they almost had to resort to blows to get any counted, but most of them were ruled out. Wm. Tullos.

Massachusetts.—At a meeting of the branches in the Eleventh aldermanic district, Boston, held Nov. 17, the following nominations were made by acclamation: Alderman, Eleventh district, Richard D. Schmidt; councilmen, Ward 22, Alphonse Andel, Chas. S. Chipman, Wm. F. Fahey. Fred S. Schmidt.

Make yours the banner branch. In these bristling times pluck and perseverance win the victory.

Shake the moss from your back, comrade, and stand up in the sunlight and be counted among the soldiers of Socialism.

Debs' Lecture Course

In answer to numerous inquiries we have to say that Comrade E. V. Debs will deliver a limited number of lectures during the present season. Applications should be sent in as soon as possible as the available dates will be booked in advance.

Labor unions, central bodies, clubs and societies can obtain terms by addressing Comrade Debs at Terre Haute, Ind.

Cook County Ticket

The official canvass of the returns shows that the candidates for different offices in Cook county, Illinois, on the Social Democratic ticket received votes as follows:

States Attorney (Morgan).....	6,227
Recorder (Petersen).....	6,432
Clerk Circuit Court (Ballard).....	6,515
Clerk Superior Court (Lindgren).....	6,378
Coroner (Wanhope).....	6,388
Board of Assessors—high vote (Nielsen).....	6,263
Board of Review (Hakenson).....	6,364
Judges Superior Ct.—high vote (Sissman).....	6,556
Probate Judge (Holsinger).....	6,316
County Surveyor (Sanders).....	5,707
Co. Commissioners—high vote (Williams).....	6,240

As the above figures show, Peter Sissman leads the ticket with the highest number of votes, 6,554, for judge of superior court and the head of the ticket, T. J. Morgan, has the lowest vote, 6,227, except that cast for Sanders, 5,707, who falls over 800 below Sissman.

Following is the official vote credited to the candidates of the Social Democratic party on the Cook county ticket:

Perry, governor.....	6,100
Pierson, lieutenant governor.....	6,270
Kerwin, secretary of state.....	5,977
Wright, auditor.....	6,356
Winnen, treasurer.....	6,274
Soelke, attorney general.....	6,406

The official returns show that the Social Democratic candidates for university trustees received votes as follows:

Irene Stedman.....	6,470
Ellen Edwards.....	6,470
F. J. Hlavacek.....	6,402

The vote cast for Eugene V. Debs for president in the city of Chicago and county of Cook, according to the official canvass of the election commissioners and the county board, was 6,752, distributed as follows:

1st ward.....	42	19th ward.....	123
2d ward.....	34	20th ward.....	117
3d ward.....	38	21st ward.....	123
4th ward.....	65	22d ward.....	167
5th ward.....	106	23d ward.....	193
6th ward.....	101	24th ward.....	95
7th ward.....	145	25th ward.....	127
8th ward.....	236	26th ward.....	210
9th ward.....	309	27th ward.....	227
10th ward.....	438	28th ward.....	114
11th ward.....	110	29th ward.....	66
12th ward.....	147	30th ward.....	425
13th ward.....	174	31st ward.....	166
14th ward.....	540	32d ward.....	68
15th ward.....	522	33d ward.....	200
16th ward.....	237	34th ward.....	651
17th ward.....	98	35th ward.....	34
18th ward.....	84	County towns.....	190

Total.....6,752
State vote for Debs.....9,672

Martin Irons

When Martin Irons died the other day organized labor lost a devoted, helpful and courageous adherent; the struggling masses, chained to the juggernaut of capitalism, lost a man who for many years labored with all his powers, entirely oblivious to personal interests or advantage, to show them the way out of slavery. Comrade Irons' metal was tested in the Iron Mountain railway strike, which he led with great credit to himself. He died at Bruceville, Texas, Nov. 17.

The Herald will be sent to any address in the United States 28 weeks for 20 cents.

IF YOU SYMPATHIZE WITH TRADE UNIONS

You will encourage the sale OF UNION LABEL GOODS

If you want Union Label Shoes demand the above Union Stamp. No shoe is Union made unless it bears the Union Stamp. Visit your shoe dealer and take an earnest hand for latest list of factories. Subscribe for "The Union Boot and Shoe Worker," 80 cts per year.

Boot and Shoe Workers Union, 620 Atlantic Ave., Boston, Mass.

GERMAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LITERATURE

SOCIALISTIC LETTERS
Being the chapters of Morris England done into German and adapted to American conditions
BY VICTOR L. BERGER
200 pages. Price 15 cents

THE MISSION OF THE WORKING CLASS
A German adaptation of the pamphlet by C. H. Vail.
BY JACOB WINNEX
18 pages. Price 5c., in larger amounts, 3c.

TWO GREAT SPEECHES

Should be Read by Socialists Everywhere and Put into the Homes of Non-Socialists

Delivered at Central Music Hall, Chicago, Saturday, September 23, 1900, by

EUGENE V. DEBS
AND
PROF. GEO. D. HERRON
A Splendid Campaign Document

Sixteen Page Pamphlet. Price, Five Cents
One Hundred, \$2.00

Address, 126 Washington St., Chicago

YOU ARE CORDIALLY INVITED TO ATTEND THE SUNDAY EVENING LECTURES

Kaiser's Hall, 298 4th St., Milwaukee

Under the auspices of Branch No. 1, Social Democratic Party

December 2, Dr. S. Knopfnagel—"Class Consciousness."

December 9, S. Richardson—"War from a Socialist Standpoint."

December 16, Louis Wieman—"Trades Unions and Politics."

December 23, Leon S. Hein—"Socialism as I Understand it."

DISCUSSION AFTER LECTURE
Admission Free. Lecture begins at 8 o'clock

MAPLE CITY WHITE BAR SELF-WASHING SOAP

MONMOUTH ILLINOIS

HENRY LARSON
SALESMAN
76-82 PACIFIC AVENUE - CHICAGO

BRANON SUPPLIES
Membership Cards (per 100).....1.00
Membership Applications (100)......25
Constitutions (each)......42

Send orders with cash to Theodore Debs, 126 Washington Street, Chicago. No supplies sent on credit.

PRINCIPLES OF Scientific Socialism

By Rev. Charles H. Vail
Author "Modern Socialism" and "National Ownership of Railways."

CONTENTS:
The Industrial Revolution. The Analysis of Value. The Origin of Surplus Value.
The Advantages of Socialism: Production, Distribution, Elimination of Useless Vocations, Prevention of Waste, Elevation of Woman, Proper Care and Training of Children, Efficient Directors, Solution of the Monetary Question, Abolition of Taxation, Simplification of Government, Benefits to Capitalists, Benefits to Laborers.
The Evidence of the Moral Strength of Socialism: Its Spirit and Aim; Abolition of Business Dishonesty; Restriction of Divorce; Prevention of Prostitution; Elimination of Crime; Prevention of Intemperance, Insanity, etc.
Poverty—Its Cause and Cure. Wage Slavery vs. Chattel Slavery. Rent and Interest. The Law of Wages. The Law of Progress. Industrial Depression and Commercial Crises. The Problem of Labor-Saving Machinery.
Popular Economic Errors: That Value is Determined by Capitalist Cost of Production; that the Interests of Laborers and Capitalists are Identical; that Labor is Better Off To-day Than Ever Before; that Cheap Prices are Beneficial to Labor; that Foreign Markets are Beneficial to Labor; that Luxury is Social to Labor; that Land Nationalization Would Solve the Social Question; that Extravagance is the Chief Cause of Economic Want; that Socialism Would Thwart Inventions and Improvements; that Socialism Would Destroy Individuality. Conclusion and Index.
12mo., 226 Pages; Paper, 35c.; Cloth, \$1.00.

SEND ORDERS TO
THEODORE DEBS, 126 Washington St., CHICAGO

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LIBRARY

Karl Marx, Capital, Cloth.....	\$2.00
F. W. Sprague—Socialism, from Genesis to Revolution. Cloth.....	1.00
Greenland—The Co-operative Commonwealth. Paper.....	.25
August Bebel—Woman: Past, Present and Future.....	.25
Blatchford—Morris England.....	.25
Edward Bellamy—Looking Backward.....	1.25
Lissagarry—History of the Commune of 1871.....	1.25
Charles Vail—Modern Socialism.....	1.25
Aschapel—Historical Economics and Social Reform.....	1.25
Profrats.....	.25
Henry D. Lloyd—Wealth Against Commonwealth.....	1.25
Volney—The Ruins of Empires.....	.25
Thomas Paine—The Rights of Man.....	.25
Henry George—Social Problems.....	.25
Osborne Ward—The Ancient Lowly.....	1.25
Adams—President John Smith.....	.25
Richard T. Ely—Socialism and Social Reform.....	1.25
Bochner—Man in the Past, Present and Future.....	1.25
Chas. H. Vail—Principles of Scientific Socialism.....	1.25
Herron—Between Jesus and Caesar.....	.25
Fabian Essays.....	.25
Rogers—Six Centuries of Work and Wages.....	.25
Donnelly—Caesar's Column.....	.25

PAMPHLETS

F. Lusselle—What Is Capital.....	.25
H. M. Hyndman—Socialism and Slavery.....	.25
F. Lusselle—The Workingman's Program.....	.25
Chas. H. Vail—The Industrial Revolution.....	.25

THEODORE DEBS, Secretary Treasurer,
126 Washington Street, Chicago.

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRACY RED BOOK

EDITED BY FREDERIC HEATH

Printed on Plate Paper. Handsomely Illustrated.

This is an annual publication for Social Democrats who will find it indispensable for reference purposes. This first issue is of special value because of the historical character of its contents. Among the features are:

A HISTORY OF SOCIALISM IN AMERICA
Covering 76 pages, with portraits of Robert Owen, Etienne Cabet, Wilhelm Weitling, etc., etc.

ALBERT REINHARDT
The first American agitator, with portrait.

A TRIP TO GIRARD
By Wayfare, with view of Appeal to Reason office.

KARL MARX ON THE SINGLE TAX
MACHINE vs. HAND LABOR
Compiled from government reports by Lester Ludlow.

SHORTER PIECES
Labor Conflicts in 1899. Greenland. Grant Allen. Chronology for 1899. Directory of Social Democrats. Socialist Controversies of 1899. The "Golden Rule Mayor." Prof. Herron's Own Social Democratic Platform, Etc.

BIOGRAPHIES OF WELL KNOWN SOCIAL DEMOCRATS. Twenty in all.

ELECTION STATISTICS
Covering the Socialist movement down to the present year. A valuable reference.

A SOCIALIST PORTRAIT GALLERY
Comprising caricatures of leading capitalists in the movement, Gustavus Franklin Swift, etc.

Send postpaid on receipt of price, 15 CENTS.
DEBS PUBLISHING CO.
TERRE HAUTE, IND.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

THIRD YEAR. No. 25.

CHICAGO, ILL., U. S. A., SATURDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1900.

Whole No. 127.

GROUND WORK OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

Various Distinct Eras in the March
of Human Progress Noted—The
Development of Capitalist
System of Production

THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO

Evolution of Capitalism and the Goal to
Which It Inevitably Tends—Unerring
Forecasts of Marx and Engels

By James Oneal

In March, 1899, in the city of Chicago, Prof. Albion W. Small, in an address delivered before a body of Methodist ministers, used the following words: "In this age of so-called democracy we are getting into the thralls of the most relentless system of economic oligarchy that history has thus far recorded. The march of human progress is getting reduced to marking time in the lockstep of capital's chain gang."

This pessimistic cry is re-echoed by thousands who realize that something is out of gear in our industrial and social machinery, but who see no solution of the complex problems with which society is afflicted. To assert, as the Socialist does, that these evils which have become so intense are merely the pangs of child-birth incident to the transition from one stage of civilization to another, is to invite from the "learned" such phrases as "impracticable," "dreamer," etc. To such as these capitalist society presents itself as a solid crystal no longer subject to those great changes which have characterized its development in the past, and that while changes may take place, they will not be of such a magnitude as to burst the integument in which it is incased, and stand forth as a distinct stage in the evolution of society. Happily, however, the tendency and direction in which society is evolving cannot be made to move in the groove mapped out for it in the brain of some great man or thinker; and if it can be proved that the laws of social evolution inevitably point to the decay and dissolution of capitalism and as a consequence the dawn of a new era, then the ridicule of the "learned" will avail them naught.

I am well aware that Socialism is denied the name of science by those who hold the power to confer it. This is not difficult to account for when we recall to mind the opposition that Darwin met with in the publication of his "Origin of Species." As Marx has well said: "In the domain of political economy, free scientific inquiry meets not merely the same enemies as in all other domains. The peculiar nature of the material it deals with, summons as foes into the field of battle the most violent, mean and malignant passions of the human breast—the furies of private interest." When it is also remembered that those in possession of class privileges control the great educational institutions through endowments and other means, it is not surprising that Socialism should be denied, by this class, the mantle of science that one of their "professors" should declare John D. Rockefeller a greater man than Shakespeare. Nevertheless, the accuracy of the Socialist's analysis of industrial forces and social phenomena, is of more value than the questionable indorsement of these "professors." The first is essential, the second is not.

Modern Socialism as a science dates with the issuance by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels of the "Communist Manifesto" in 1848, which was published as the platform of the "Communist League," a workingmen's association, and which at a later period became international. This little booklet has become one of three classics in Socialist literature and has been translated into the language of every capitalist nation on the globe. In this little work no detailed plan of some ideal society is presented. It is simply an industrial history of the origin of capitalist society out of the womb of feudalism which preceded it, and an analysis of the industrial forces that brought it into being. In his later work, "Das Capital," published in 1867, Marx presents in detail a scientific analysis of capitalist society, explaining the method by which the working class is deprived of the surplus values of its labor, and with a logic and accuracy remarkable for its accordance with subsequent facts, sketched each successive stage in the development of capitalism up to the present trust era which he hardly lived to see, having died

in 1883. This achievement by him alone should be of sufficient importance to raise Marx's system of political economy to the plane of one of the exact sciences, for there is no better method of determining the merits of a science than the ability of its exponent to predict in advance the results of his observations. Thus astronomy is considered one of the most perfect branches of human knowledge because it enables the investigator to predict the occurrence of heavenly phenomena at a designated time and place in the future, marvelous for its accuracy. Just why Socialism has not been accorded the same privilege with other branches of human knowledge is easily perceived by those who recognize its evolutionary character and the opposition it must contend with.

As a science it presents three aspects, past, present and future. The first two (past and present) may be discussed under the head of the "Evolution of Capitalism." The third (the future) under the head of the "Goal that Evolution Points To."

Evolution of Capitalism

The results of such patient investigators as Sir John Lubbock, Mr. Taylor, Herbert Spencer, Lewis Morgan and others, have proven that communism was the "cradle of the human race." This is the first form of human society presented to man at the dawn of history, survival of which may yet be seen among the Australian aborigines and various tribes in South Africa. This society had as its basis communal ownership of land, herds and flocks and in many instances of wives. Such an organization was necessarily very crude, yet it lasted for centuries. After the dissolution of this primitive social organization, due to various causes, land began to be appropriated by military chieftains as private property and captives were enslaved for the purpose of tilling the soil for the benefit of the owners. Agriculture came to be the most prominent feature during this period and historians have appropriately designated it as the "Agricultural Stage."

With the fall of the Roman Empire a system, founded on private property in land and human beings, a period commonly known as the Dark Ages prevailed for hundreds of years. Feudalism was its successor. A system wherein the serf was attached to the soil and was sold with it. Under this system, simple manufactures developed and played a prominent role in production. The towns began to grow and expand as manufacturing developed. Simple machines were invented, which replaced the simple and crude tools formerly used, and later on as industry developed through the application of water power and steam, the class in possession of these things obtained political supremacy, feudalism fell and capitalism made its entrance on the stage of history.

Thus in looking backward we find that the human race in its gradual ascendancy to civilization has reached certain marked stages and each and every stage presented advantages which were seized upon, improved and handed on to its successor. The most important factor in this development was the progressive improvement in the productive forces of society. As the productive forces in any given age develop a corresponding change takes place in the whole superstructure. New social classes and social factors hitherto unknown, develop and expand with the changes in the methods of wealth production, and slowly but surely push their way to the front and gain the ascendancy over the old. When this development reaches maturity the old society is burst asunder and the new starts on the path of progress and undergoes the same process. Thus in the march of human progress various distinct eras have been evolved only to pass away and make room for more vigorous ones and to assume that we have attained the highest and that capitalism is ordained to an eternal existence, is to presuppose a suspension of those laws that brought it into being. Capitalism itself presents abundant evidence of its decline and fall and in its old age presents such marvelous changes that it is hard to believe that this is the same lusty infant born a few hundred years ago. Like the other systems that have passed away capitalist society rests on the exploitation of the producing class, the only difference being in the methods and the intensity of the process. Beginning with private ownership of land and the instruments of labor, it has developed its own negation, corporate or trust ownership.

Let us trace the process. The entrance of the United States into the sisterhood of nations after the termination of the American Revolution, presented a system of small petty industry adapted to the domestic needs of the times. This crude method was based on personal ownership of the small shops and the simple tools then in vogue, and of

(Continued on Third page)

MERLIN'S MIXTURE

Charles W. Cannon of Revere, Mass.

"Today is the day of salvation"
By Socialist science and sway;
From mammon's swift-coming damnation
And anarchy's awful array.

With Hanna our national leader,
And congress monopoly's slave,
With Roosevelt, the strenuous pleader
For guns to make labor behave;

With a prostitute administration,
Selling laws to protect evil gain;
With a people, in strange aberration
Once more giving tyrants the rein;

Soon, soon, spite of fear and of shirking,
The crisis shall bloodlessly come;
Evolution is quickly outworking—
Hear you not the low, ominous hum?

"Today is the day of salvation,"
By Socialist speech and song,
To guard our American nation
From the hell of unexpressed wrong!

NOW

The election is over. The political crisis has come and gone. The event on which we had concentrated our whole interest is a thing of the past.

Naturally our interest wavers. We slacken our pace now that the election milestone has gone by. Or even we stop running and gaze back at the path we have trod, with backs turned to the future.

We make a grand mistake. Today is of more value than tomorrow. All investment of Socialist effort bears compound interest. Truth given to the mass is like leaven in the lump.

A Socialist made now may mean ten votes more in 1904 than if he be made a month hence. Turn loose a Socialist thought upon the world now, and it shall be like a grain of wheat in a plowed field.

The last election means little to us. The road leads straight on. We are bound for the co-operative commonwealth. The day after election is just as vital to us as the day before.

A PROPHECY

The recent election has removed all possible barriers to the swift culmination of economic evolution. The conditions for complete capitalistic consolidation are ideal. The party of the trusts has been given entire control, and the trust magnates will not lose their opportunity to buy up the earth and enslave its inhabitants.

Had Bryan succeeded in the contest he would have been in duty bound compelled to ameliorate the pain caused the people by tyranny's grasp and hence postponed the inevitable climax.

But McKinley, poor, pliable McKinley, has again been placed in his high chair by Hanna and given the presidential seal to play with, while the men who hold mortgages on the white house proceed to get back what they patriotically paid for campaign expenses.

Roosevelt—and here's the prophecy—goes into the strenuous training that shall make him, in less than a decade, the capitalistic leader who shall ride rough-shod over the people's liberties, and shall lead the army of mammon against the army of labor.

TWO SOCIALIST FORCES

Hitherto there have been two forces in the creation of the co-operative commonwealth.

On the one hand there has been the consolidating capitalist, who in blind pursuit of his own self-interest has been the chief factor in industrial evolution. By his combines and trusts and department stores he has been unwittingly de-

THREE WARNINGS TO THE RICH OF NEW YORK

"If you want to find the dangerous classes in this city, do not go into the East Side, among the ignorant, the criminal and the poor. * * * If you had stood in front of Delmonico's last night, as the members of the Chamber of Commerce filed in to sit down to the annual dinner of that organization * * * you would have found them, guilelessly innocent that they were."—Ernest Crosby, speaking in All Souls' Church, Nov. 21.

"What is needed as our next step in civilization is to break a hole and make a window that the public may see into the great corporations and trusts."—Bishop Lawrence, of Massachusetts, at the Chamber of Commerce dinner, Nov. 21.

"If the majority, through neglect of education and means of advancement, lapse into barbarism, spoliation and robbery, extinction of property would be the sure result."—Abram S. Hewitt.

stroying the old system of competition. On the other hand has been the Socialist educator, who has studied the science of social evolution, and who proclaims his principles to the world.

The one predicted, the other performed. The one studied the direction along which society should advance; the other, in clearing a way for himself, has helped to make the path.

Rockefeller has done more to prepare the way for Socialism than have any score of curbstone orators, who have stamped on soap boxes and blown soap bubbles of idealism before the blind eyes of the passing crowd.

"All things work together for"—Socialism.

SILENCE IS CRIME

But now times have changed. The consolidating stage of evolution has almost reached its end. Competition has gone; combination has come.

The time has almost come when the capitalist will use his power, not to pave the way for Socialism, but to prevent the people from using the way created.

Then comes the need of labor combination to overthrow the power and utilize the results of capital's combination. Then comes the need of proclamation of the new principles of Socialist co-operation.

Now, therefore, the silent Socialist becomes the social criminal. Having the mental key that would admit labor through the doors of co-operative liberty, he indolently keeps it to himself, while the growing mob hammers in blind and increasing fury at the gates.

Men near you on the street, beside you at the bench, are wondering what shall be done with the tyrant trusts. You know. How shall you dare, then, lock the truth up in your brain and let them drift in thought past the docks of Socialism into the whirlpools of anarchy and force?

ENTHUSIASM

There is one thing, which, after having chosen right principles, conduces more than anything else to the success of an individual, a society or a political party, and that thing is enthusiasm.

The Social Democratic party has commenced its campaign for 1904 and it behooves every member of every branch of the party in every state to work with enthusiasm. You can often win a convert to Socialism by showing a man the platform, explaining to him the need for the changes we advocate, and then with all of the enthusiasm you can muster tell him what record we have already made and what we expect to do in the next four years.

You will be surprised at the effect you can produce. If you find a man who does not agree with you and is constrained to combat the principles you stand for, do not be too quick to use the same tactics. Let him have a chance to state his objections, and then, with perfect control of your own mind, quietly expound the principles of the organization. Let him see that you are thoroughly in earnest and that you have confidence in the final success of the principles you advocate and whether you win him or not, you will have gained his respect; for there is nothing humanity prizes more than earnestness and confidence in one's own plans and principles.

Let every member of the Social Democratic party do his duty, keeping the fires of a noble enthusiasm burning brightly within him, and in four years we will have the balance of power, even if we should not elect the next president. W. A. Ross.

Getting a Line On Us

Just as Socialists hail the development of trusts with joy, so do they take satisfaction in the election of McKinley. They claim the logic of events, unhindered, will make them recruits with increasing rapidity.

If Bryan had been elected the radicals in the capitalistic ranks would have had a temporary success. That success would delay the development of many people who would otherwise soon be ripe for Socialism.

But Bryan has not been elected. Populist democracy has been severely sat down upon. The old party managers will probably now get the reins, and democracy will go back to respectable conservatism. Those opportunist reformers who want to make progress by choosing the lesser of two evils, will not be able to detect much difference between democrats and republicans.

The real malcontents of the party, however, cannot go backwards. They must go into a third party of some sort. Why will they not go into the Socialist party? Look at the relative and absolute progress being made by Socialism! At the next presidential election, the Socialists, who now outnumber the Prohibitionists, will be the third party.—North American Review.

A WORD ABOUT THE "INDEPENDENT"

The Real Struggle of Socialism is to
Develop the Political Party that
Shall Establish the Co-op-
erative Commonwealth

DEVELOPMENT IN GERMANY

"Independents" May Become Socialists
but They are Not Such in Their
Present Capacity

A great many men and women who call themselves Socialists do not affiliate with the national party. They hold aloof while the struggle is progressing and the party is evolving. They watch the struggle instead of being in it, with the result that the struggle is prolonged and the development of the party delayed. These "independents" may understand Socialism, but whatever they may conceive themselves to be, they are not Socialists.

The real struggle of Socialism is to establish the co-operative commonwealth. Once the party is perfected, the rest follows as a natural sequence, and is comparatively easy.

Note the struggle in Germany, for example, for over a third of a century to build up a national party. Who shall tell of the patience, self-denial, anxiety, suffering, the strife and turmoil, the jealousy, suspicion, anger and hate, the factional discord, friendships made and broken, the period of temporary harmony shattered by dissension and disruption entailed by the herculean task? But out of it all came the magnificent Social Democratic Party, the wonder and admiration of the Socialist world. Such a party could only have been forged and tempered and molded and fashioned in the flame of passion, the lightning of treachery, the tempest of hate, the sunshine of hope, the tide of economic necessity, the torrent of determination. This is evolution. Did the Titans who were its instruments sit on the fence and "wait" until the party was "made" and presented to them on a silver platter? No, they plunged into the struggle and "made" the party. They did not wait for it to "be made."

Suppose Liebknecht had been one of the "waiters" who are so numerous in this country. Would he have become the social colossus of his day? Would his funeral procession have shaken all Europe? Would the millions of the earth build monuments of flowers, watered by their tears, where the old warrior sleeps? No! If Liebknecht had been an "independent," if he had spent his time on the fence instead of in the fray, if remembered at all it would be as a time-server and a coward, of whom there has been an overproduction ever since man began his tramp from savagery to civilization.

Marx, Engels and Lassalle were not "independent" factors in the social struggle. They shared in all the trials and privations incident to, and inseparable from, the building of a great political movement, and the world will forever remember them with gratitude and love.

Those who become members of clubs and leagues and those who are connected with "independent" and "unattached" bodies for fear that their sensitive organisms may be shocked in the clash of the party struggle, may become Socialists, but they are not such in their present capacity.

Only those are Socialists who are in the national and international party; and if the national party has not yet fully developed, only those have correct conception of Socialist duties who are in and of the struggle, however fierce, of which the party is born, and from which it derives its strength and power. Eugene V. Debs.

The dispatches say that the Hocking Valley railroad had a net income for the year ending June, 30, 1900, of \$1,168,547. This, we are further informed is an increase over the earnings of the previous years of \$861,545, or only 94 per cent. The rich like the capitalist system, for under it, prosperity lands all the plutes their way. Socialism will bring a different sort of prosperity. Under it there will be no lean wages for the toiler and fat salaries for stockholding head officials. And the dividends will be short hours of work, high and just wages and added security to life in the service—and these dividends will go to the workers themselves.

Social Democratic Herald

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board
FREDERICK HEATH Chairman
STIMOUR STEPMAN Secretary
EUGENE V. DEBS VICTOR L. BERGER
CORINNE S. BROWN

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, \$5 cents. Six months, \$3 cents. No papers sent to any one on credit. If, without having subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and no bill will follow. Foreign subscriptions \$1.00.

Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

A. S. EDWARDS, Editor
THEODORE DEBS, National Sec'y-Treas.
126 Washington St., Chicago.

127 is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 126 your subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, DEC. 8, 1900.

The Logic of Capitalism

The contention of spokesmen of modern commercialism in the United States is that prosperity is proven by the fact that we have to go abroad for foreign markets in order to dispose of our surplus products. We produce so much, say they, that we are unable to consume a large portion of the product, so we are compelled to look abroad for purchasers. And the bare fact that we have to send products out of the country and are able because of our overproduction to sell these products to others, is a demonstration of our great prosperity!

The range of view of the economists of trade does not take in the obvious fact that products exported for profit, which profit goes to augment private fortunes, are products representing the surplus values created by labor at home; that by reason of the appropriation of the values through the wage system the producing class at home is robbed, and that, therefore, large foreign trade does not mean prosperity for the workers, but rather underconsumption and poverty, enforced upon them by the capitalist system.

Nevertheless, the contention is maintained that the more we send out of the country, the more we enjoy and the greater the measure of prosperity. Since, then, the gauge of the prosperity of a nation is in the amount of goods and commodities shipped out of the country, what is to be said of the claim just made that the prosperity which Germany is now enjoying is due to an entirely opposite cause—viz., that Germany is prosperous because compelled to "buy food products raised abroad"? Americans ship products out and are "prosperous"; Germans ship products in and are "prosperous"; Americans are "prosperous" because they produce "more than they can consume"; Germans are "prosperous" because they do not produce enough to consume; Americans have a big surplus and consequent good times; Germans have a big deficit and the result is the same. This is the logic of capitalism. What do the producers think of it?

"Am I My Brother's Keeper?"

There is in this writing no purpose to engage in homiletical dissertation or enter the realm of sentiment. Cain had killed his brother, and when the Lord asked the murderer, "Where is Abel, thy brother?" Cain replied, "I know not," and then asked, "Am I my brother's keeper?"

The inquiry addressed by the Lord to Cain has lost not a jot of its primeval importance. To use a sophomoric figure, it has come "ringing down the centuries" in all the vitality and vigor of youth.

It has divided the human family into two distinct classes, and the line of demarcation is as vivid as if traced by lightning.

One class replies affirmatively to the query, "Am I my brother's keeper?" It is sympathetic. It feels for the woes of others. It helps, it lifts, it enlightens. It hews out new pathways of progress. It is the class that seeks to redeem from grossness and disenthral from the fetters and entanglements of ignorance, prejudice and bigotry all the low and base depravities of animalism. What there is good in the world it has accomplished, and what there is wrong in the world it has fought since the day when Cain asked the Lord, "Am I my brother's keeper?"

Cain represents the other class—the class that does not believe that man is his brother's keeper; the class that has no sympathy for the woes of its fellow men—distinguished for selfishness, unkindness, cruelty, venom, savagery.

The Lord put some sort of a mark upon Cain—a myth has it that the Lord changed Cain into a black man. Possibly, but that matters little. When a man is found without sympathy for his fellow man, unjust in his dealings, cruel in his practices, robbing toil of its earnings to increase his wealth, he wears the Cain mark as certainly and as irretrievably as if his skin were as black as ebony. It is the class that has desolated the earth. It has reaped the fields where others sowed and lived luxuri-

ously amidst the wails of famine. It is the class which, surveying its world-wide field of vision, felicitates itself that by the laws of procreation will forever supply it with toilers, who, satisfied with a "full dinner pail," and having no aspirations above mere animal wants, will add to the list of beatitudes, "Blessed are they who, forgetful of themselves, toil to add to the wealth and enjoyment of those who do not toil."

But, fortunately a new era has dawned with a new program and a new policy. Socialism proclaims, "I am my brother's keeper," and a new party has been launched—the Social Democratic party—to proclaim the divine right of man's ownership of himself. They are the rallying cries of the new century—the avant couriers of victory—the tocsins of battle and the shibboleths of the advancing armies of Socialism.

Bryan Socialists Once More

How many Socialists who voted for Bryan to "save" their votes have since then carefully reviewed the ground they occupied and scrutinized the reasons they gave for supporting an anti-Socialist for-president? We do not mean to say they knew Bryan to be an anti-Socialist. On the contrary, we are satisfied that many of them really believed his election would be a "step" toward it. How they could arrive at such a conclusion remains as much a mystery to us after the election as before. It is notorious that while thousands of men, with intentions more or less good and calling themselves Socialists, were doing yeoman service for the democratic candidate, the three most influential newspapers in the country that supported Bryan—the New York Journal, Chicago American and San Francisco Examiner—did so on the ground, thoroughly understood by the managers of these newspapers, that he was antagonistic to Socialist doctrines. True, the newspapers in question favored national control and ownership of railroads, but that is not Socialism, and it is interesting to note that the Hearst syndicate understood Socialism better than many calling themselves Socialists and giving support to Bryan because of this advocacy of public railroads. This is clear from what Bryan journals had to say before election; the sentimentalists who thought Bryan was a Socialist, too, and that public railroads was a "step" toward Socialism, will do well to ponder a little over what they did say and for their special benefit we quote the newspapers before mentioned:

"The railroad system ought to belong to the public. Under national control, with discriminations abolished and a fair field open to all, IT WOULD HELP TO DELAY THE ADVANCE OF SOCIALISM IN OTHER DIRECTIONS." And so it would. Imagine the democratic party, which, as the Hearst papers declared, "is the only guardian of the COMPETITIVE system," in power with control over the railroads of the country, and you will be able to picture to the mind an extraordinary condition of affairs. The management of the transportation facilities of the country by the democratic party, judged by that party's management in other directions to date, would be the most flagrant and discreditable in the history of human government.

But let us take another sample from the democratic organs. "It should not be forgotten," they said, "that the only party THAT CAN LOGICALLY OPPOSE THE GENERAL ADOPTION OF SOCIALISM IS THE DEMOCRACY." If the Bryan Socialists understand the true meaning of these declarations, they can no longer honestly support the party which "is the only guardian of the competitive system." Either they are for Socialism or against it. The democratic party, its leaders and its principal newspapers are against it; they are opposed to the advance of Socialism both from party tradition and policy. The late leader of the party is instinctively individualistic, anti-Socialist and a firm believer in the competitive system.

A Union Which Unites

The city of Fitchburg, Mass., has recently furnished an example of Socialist unity which for completeness and success is well worthy of emulation.

At the opening of the campaign there was in Fitchburg a branch of the S. D. P. unflinchingly loyal to the Chicago N. E. B. There was also an S. L. P. "Kangaroo" branch. Each branch had almost twenty members and both contained excellent material. They had previously worked together in local elections harmoniously.

In addition to these there was a large body of unattached Socialists comprising some of the very best men and women in the city. All these three elements had united in carrying on a series of meetings during the winter of 1899-1900, with the result that the city had become permeated through and through with Socialist doctrine.

This was the situation at the beginning of the campaign. The conditions were ripe for a model Socialist union, and it has been brought about.

The S. L. P. "Kangaroo" branch voted to disband and has practically gone over in a body to loyal Branch No. 14 of the S. D. P. In addition no less

than twenty-four of the unattached Socialists have joined in the last three meetings, making its total membership fifty-six up to date. It has become one of the most vigorous and progressive branches in the state.

Fitchburg gave 250 votes for Debs at the last election, and a municipal ticket has just been put in the field. It is a straight Socialist ticket without deals or indorsements. Comrade Henry L. Rice, who had previously been a candidate on a citizens' ticket, has been nominated for mayor.

Comrades Bartlett, Davidson and Peabody are candidates for aldermen, together with nine councilmen and two members of the school board.

The movement in Fitchburg has thus been put on a permanent and growing basis. The comrades of the S. L. P. and S. D. P. are to be congratulated—the former for their breadth of vision and wisdom of action, the latter for their loyalty, which has gained its own just reward, and both for the genuine Socialist spirit which has prevailed and for the success which is now assured through this union which unites.

NOTES AND COMMENT

It is reported of a charcoal burner down in the Jerseys, the spawning ground of trusts, that, having got "religion," he was, on one occasion, called upon to lead in public prayer. The poor fellow was illiterate, but fond of high-sounding words, the meaning of which he had no comprehension, and began his invocation as follows: "O thou great diabolical God!" The Jerseyman's prayer might be adopted by the Filipinos after a battle for liberty and their native land, or by a family evicted from a capitalist's tenement in New York, while suffering the combined pangs of freezing and starvation.

Having run short or tired of the stock arguments against Socialism, which they are beginning to see are losing their efficacy with the people, some of the capitalist newspapers are keeping up a reputation for lying by publishing a statement that Eugene V. Debs has predicted that before the end of McKinley's administration the streets of the cities "will be saturated with blood." It is needless to say that Debs said nothing of the kind. The saying of things like that nowadays is the special privilege of Christian bishops and ministers.

President McKinley talks of the tremendous weight of responsibility Providence has laid upon him and the republican party, nothing less than civilizing and Christianizing ten million Filipinos with shotguns. As to what becomes of the "niggers" little heed may be taken, but it is exceedingly expensive for Mr. McKinley to go a-gunning in the Philippines, and as labor pays everything, including the Philippine sport now going on in our oriental possessions, labor has a right to complain, the game not being worth the powder.

During the late campaign the papers reported that great throngs of the people attended the meetings of Eugene V. Debs, the standard bearer of the Social Democratic party. If our comrades in all of the branches of the party will exert their energies to send The Herald new subscribers, it will address every week larger meetings than greeted Teddy the Terrible, Billy the Boxer or both combined. Send us at least 20,000 by Christmas. It will be an acceptable Christmas gift.

The Social Democratic party is no longer an experiment, but an acknowledged power. It has found its place. The people waited for it and it came. Those who were present at its christening are astonished in contemplating its development. Those who would increase its power should establish new branches. The people, as the late campaign demonstrated, want to know more of the party, its principles, policy and program.

The growing Socialist sentiment in the country, as evinced by the late election, has started a big batch of lackadaisical intellectualities who get a living from educational institutions where education is "limited" to lecturing on liberty. The man least qualified to talk about liberty is the college professor, who has no scruple about the source of his income, and whose individual freedom is hampered by the limit-lines fixed by his rich patron.

In India they have the banyan tree, a sort of a miracle of the forest. Its branches send out roots which, descending into the soil, produce more banyan trees, and this goes on until the parent tree becomes itself a forest of mighty trees capable of sheltering thousands of people. Let every member of the Social Democratic party plant a banyan branch of the party. It will pay.

The Herald is the organ of the Social Democratic party, and in a broader sense the organ of the great Socialistic movement in the United States.

The more subscribers it enlists the more good it will be able to accomplish for the cause it advocates.

The following is the latest reported make-up of McKinley's next cabinet; Secretary of state, Hon. M. A. Hanna; secretary of treasury, Mr. Mark Hanna; secretary of war, Marcus Aurelius Hanna; attorney-general, Mr. Hanna; postmaster-general, Hanna; secretary of the navy, M. Aurelius Hanna; secretary of the interior, M. Hanna; secretary of agriculture, Senator Hanna.

Andrew Carnegie says John D. Rockefeller is the richest man in the world, having an income of \$16,000,000 a year. A little arithmetic will show that every time the clock ticks off a second, during the round year, night and day, including Sundays and all holidays, something more than \$5.00 drops into John D. Rockefeller's money box.

If without hypocrisy
You would help Social Democracy,
And down capitalist aristocracy,
Then decide
To proclaim God's fatherhood,
Man's brotherhood,
Your own manhood,
And subscribe
For The Herald.

At a conference meeting of Bible readers reference was made to the five "foolish virgins who went to meet the bridegroom without oil in their lamps," when one of the party remarked that "evidently some John D. Rockefeller of the time had advanced the price of oil or closed down on the retail shop of the village."

Mr. I. W. Morton of the Simmons Hardware company, St. Louis, says his firm is paying the same salaries for the same services that it did twenty-five years ago. This is doubtless quite true, for Mr. Morton knows; but it reads funny, doesn't it? So does his argument that commercial ethics today are higher than ever before.

Socialists, members of the Social Democratic party, may forget several things without inflicting upon themselves or the party special damage, but forgetting to subscribe for The Herald is not of the list. To forget that duty is as if a soldier going into battle should forget to take along his gun.

Is there to be another attempt to force upon us another "honorable union"? A press report now has it that the populists and other reformers have a movement afoot for a new party to "include the Social Democrats." Please count us out, friends; we want ten years' relief from fusionism.

A French scientist, by imprisoning a lot of ants, discovered the insects could talk, and as near as he could understand the language it amounted to about this: "Capitalism has come and destroyed our co-operative commonwealth."

The duke of Manchester, the white elephant caught by Miss Zimmerman in the jungles of London and is now in America for exhibition, has several trunks—which he expects his father-in-law will fill with cash.

The latest estimate is that McKinley wants 60,000 new recruits for his standing army. Evidently Mark Hanna proposes to be ready for the next great strike of the dinner pail brigade.

Capitalism is occasionally exploited in boneyards, as, for instance, John W. Mackay built in Greenwood cemetery, New York, a family mausoleum, costing \$400,000.

It is reported that William Jennings Bryan will continue to fight for "free silver." The Social Democratic party will continue its fight for free men.

When Byron wrote that
"Freedom's battle once begun,
Bequeath'd by bleeding sire to son,
Tho' baffled oft, is ever won,"
He sounded a keynote and blended fancy and fact in a way to inspire unflinching courage in the breasts of those who are willing to battle for freedom.

"Freedom's battle" suggests freedom's army, and army suggests soldiers.

The Social Democratic party is freedom's army. It needs soldiers.

Our campaign has been fought. Another is on. No member of the army or party is required to blush for the results of the first campaign. Its banners were not trailed in the dust. There was no bugle call for retreat. No muffled drum beat a funeral march. Every soldier can secure a recruit, and the new recruit still another, and thus "freedom's battle" will proceed on its conquering march to victory.

The Herron Lectures

Announcement is made that, beginning Sunday, Jan. 6, 1901, and thereafter every Sunday afternoon until March 24, Prof. George D. Herron will lecture at Central Music hall, Chicago. Admission will be free, and lectures begin at 3:30 p. m. Readers of The Herald desiring to aid in furthering the cause of which these lectures will be an expression will communicate with Franklin H. Wentworth, 609 Ashland block, Chicago.

MR. DOOLITTLE'S LATEST OBJECTIONS TO SOCIALISM

Bob Workman met his friend, Mr. Doolittle, on the avenue yesterday and the conversation drifted upon political subjects.

"Bob," remarked his friend, "the more I think of your remarks on Socialism, the more convinced I am that you are laboring under a delusion—a sort of fantasy."

"I'm not at all surprised," remarked Bob, smiling. "Have you ever read 'Looking Backward,' 'Merrie England,' 'Equality,' or any of the numerous books and pamphlets on the subject?"

"N-no," admitted Mr. Doolittle.

"Then, of course, you have not read any of the more scientific works of Marx, Engels and others, in which case you remind me of a school boy who, before he has mastered addition, subtraction, multiplication and division, complains that he can see nothing in the problems of algebra."

"That's putting it rather strong," remarked Mr. Doolittle.

"But it is true, however. I find that of ten persons who oppose Socialism, nine have never studied the subject at all, while the tenth man is prevented by circumstances from acknowledging what he knows to be true."

"Socialism," continued Bob, as he warmed to the subject, "is unlike all other political systems—it proposes absolute and equal justice to all alike. Socialism does not mean that because I am physically your superior that I should rob you. Neither does it uphold a system which gives to the strong mentally the right to rob the weak minded."

"The system you believe in has abandoned the first idea, but still clings to the second, which gives you the privilege of taking advantage of your neighbor's weakness to take his goods, by a system of profits, rent and interest. The end sought is the same and the result is the same as far as the man who is deprived of his belongings is concerned."

"For instance, take the recent section hand strike in this section. Two years ago the section men were getting \$1.10 per day. Today they are getting the same wages—but with this difference: Today he pays on an average one-fourth more for the things he needs to live on. The result is that one-fourth of his wages are taken from him."

"Suppose I should hold you up tonight and demand one-fourth of your wealth at the point of a gun, would not the result be the same as in the case of the section man?"

Mr. Doolittle scratched his chin reflectively and attempted to reply.

"Well, er—you see, the one is business and the other is robbery."

"True," replied Bob, "you've struck it exactly. One is robbery and the other business—but is not the result the same in both cases?"

"Well, yes," admitted the other.

"Then in order to justify our present system of business you must admit that highway robbery is right. If you disagree with this statement you place our present commercial system in the category as robbery."

"Well, it does look that way," admitted Mr. Doolittle.

"Socialism proposes to abolish entirely the present system of business just as feudalism was abolished and chattel slavery was abolished, and introduce a system nearer perfect, which will guarantee to the laborer the product of his toil. To understand why this should be done, I would prescribe a course of reading beginning with 'Looking Backward,' 'Merrie England,' 'Equality,' to be followed by Marx, Engels and the masters of the subject."—The Critic.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS

S. N.—The claim that the executive board "costs from \$6,000 to \$8,000" annually is an absurd and untrue claim. Those who advance the ridiculous proposition know better. As a member of the national organization you pay dues of 25 cents per quarter; in consideration of these payments you receive fifty-two weeks in the year The Social Democratic Herald. If we had no organization and no Herald, you as a Socialist would subscribe for a Socialist paper, say 50 cents per year, and 19,999 others like you would do the same. The amount of money that would go annually into private publication would thus be \$10,000. We are glad to note that you are clear minded enough to see that it would be the product supplied in the form of a weekly newspaper and not the owner or owners of the paper that would "cost" \$10,000. As a matter of cold fact, the executive board costs the party nothing. On the contrary, the party is a constant source of expense to members of the board. The Herald costs money; the party is responsible for its existence. Service of those persons engaged wholly in the work of the organization and the paper costs money. The party is responsible for their employment. The executive board costs nothing. We have an organization and the members made it. The Herald is the property of the party and not of the executive board. It stands for the party and for Socialism and costs no more than any other Socialist paper. And, we may add, now is the time to subscribe.

SOCIALISM AND PRACTICAL POLITICS

Social Democrats in Germany Will Begin the New Century with the Exercise of Real Power. Will Take Active Part in Legislation

GRÉAT QUESTION OF THE DAY

Many people will watch with interest to see what the Social Democratic party will do during the next session of the German reichstag. That it will attack the Chinese policy of the government is certain. At the Mayence party congress a resolution was adopted which reads to the following effect:

The war in China is a capitalist war, and its sole object is the subjugation and exploitation of the Chinese people. Such a policy demoralizes the conquerors and provokes continual rebellion among the subjugated. Moreover, it causes jealousies among the powers, and sows the seeds of international conflict which must needs arrest the march of progress and civilization. As the enemy of all oppression, the Social Democratic party protests against the policy of pillage and conquest, for we believe that no one has the right to spread modern civilization except by precept and example.

It is not likely that the Socialists will be able seriously to affect the foreign policy of the government; but they will doubtless begin the new century with the exercise of real power, as they intend to take an active part in legislation. Prof. Hans Delbrück, in his "Preussische Jahrbücher," expresses himself in the main as follows:

The Socialist party, considering the number of votes it controls, is the strongest party, and it is the only one capable of further development. The other parties have become petrified. The conservatives have long since ceased to gather in congress, and the national-liberals followed suit. The gatherings of the Centrists are as inane as parliamentary sittings. The only congresses worth noticing are those of the Socialists. The latter have made up their minds to nominate candidates even for the Prussian landtag, despite the unfavorable conditions under which the elections for that body take place. There can be no harm in the presence of a few Socialists in the Prussian parliament. Radicalism is necessary in the body politic, and it will do less harm in parliament than out of it.

Of course the Socialists continue to attack the foreign policy of the government. That is the way the parliamentarism. The opposition follows the principle that everything the government does must be reviled. Gladstone, who was a master of this sort of thing, demanded in the eighties that England should evacuate Egypt. He never dreamed of acting in accordance with his anti-election speeches when he came into power. At Mayence, Herr Singer calmly said the Socialists would tell the whole world, when they came into power what foreign policy they meant to adopt. As regards economic and commercial questions, they mean to drop their policy of uncompromising opposition, and this is a matter of great importance. If the government is able to obtain a majority for its commercial treaties, then it will be a matter of small importance how the Socialists vote. But it is quite possible that their assistance will be needed. The anti-patriotic attitude of the Socialist need not worry any one. History teaches us that in war time the patriotic party is always strongest. We see this again in England. The Transvaal war undoubtedly is not free from condemnation on moral grounds, yet the British people gathered around the flag. Can any one suppose that Germans, who do not make use of hirelings, but to take the rifles themselves, would be less patriotic if necessary? To talk against militarism in times of peace may serve the purposes of the political agitator. If war is really upon us, such agitation vanishes. The Socialists have been forced to admit that, "under certain circumstances," they would fulfill their patriotic duties. What good can their anti-militarist agitation do if they are forced to abandon their uncompromising internationalism for a kind of relative patriotism?

The time when a confirmed radical can hope to become a member of the German cabinet is probably very distant; but Socialists must be given places in parliamentary committees if they take an active part in parliamentary work, and even the speakership would not be beyond their reach. Theoretically, the question will be raised in the party whether a revolutionist may share in the work which tends to strengthen the complete form of government. Theoretically, M. Millerand, the Socialist French minister of commerce, is attacked for holding a position under the govern-

ment. But these attacks seem to have little practical value. "In France, as in Germany, the Socialists represent too large a number of voters to abstain from practical politics," remarks the Journal des Debats (Paris); "their constituencies wish to see practical results." But in England, where Socialism is still in its infancy, the revolutionary character of the party is emphasized more strongly. Justice (London) is opposed to any alliance with other radical parties. It says:

"Our ultimate object is the consummation of Social Democracy, the achievement of the social revolution; and in the meantime our work is the organization of a definite revolutionary Social Democratic party inside and outside of the house of commons as an instrument for the advancement of our ultimate aim. We do not wish to form an advanced, semi-Socialist-cum-Radical-cum-Labor party, but a Social Democratic party. We have joined with radicals, Irish nationalists, and social and political reformers of all kinds in defense of the right of public meeting, for the extension of the franchise, in resisting coercion in Ireland, and for many other objects. In the recent election we have shown our readiness to co-operate with others for an object which we thought to be right. . . . But the election is over now; and we have to remember that the imperialism which we engaged to fight in that contest is only one of the many forms of capitalist domination, and there is no immediate issue before us upon which we are called upon to combine with anybody. Those who agree with us will join our ranks; and an attempt to form a permanent alliance with those who do not agree with us would be useless. Our work now is mainly that of agitation, education and organization; and we may as well agitate, educate and organize for Social Democracy as for anything else."—The Literary Digest.

The Woman Vote

Special interest attaches to the election results in the four states of Utah, Colorado, Wyoming and Idaho from the fact that in these states the women are entitled to vote. The newspaper editors have been scanning the returns from these states to find some striking or picturesque feature due to woman's ballot; but the only striking fact that appears in the returns is the absence of any such feature. The women seem to have voted about as men would under similar circumstances. In Wyoming, for example, John C. Thompson, the Democratic candidate for Congress, was reported early in the campaign as saying that the woman vote was "the easiest to get, the easiest to keep and the easiest to manipulate of all elements in politics." The candidate denied that he ever made the unfortunate remark, but without avail; he was not only defeated, but ran 800 votes behind the rest of the ticket. His opponent had the largest majority ever given a candidate in the state. Elnora Monroe Babcock, a woman-suffrage candidate, writes triumphantly to the Detroit Journal: "As to whether Mr. Thompson ever made this statement or not we do not know; but, if he did, he is undoubtedly a wiser man than he was when he made it." In Colorado the woman vote increased from 46,720 in 1896 to 86,943 this year, "owing, possibly," says the Chicago Times-Herald, "to the greater interest taken in the election because of the marked subsidence of free-silver sentiment, but more directly, however, to their wish to effect the defeat of Senator E. O. Wolcott, whose recent divorce had provoked the opposition of the women of Colorado."

Wives of Servant Girls

A meeting held recently at the Friendly Aid society's rooms, New York, was addressed by Mrs. St. Justin Beale, who has made a study of the servant girl question. Mrs. Beale has been for six years interesting herself in the servant girl problem, and has at different times hired out to service to find out for herself what the conditions are which are to be met. She served as a nurse to an infant in a family that had a cottage at Ocean Grove, and was obliged to sleep on a three-legged lounge in a hall between her mistress' bedroom and some others, to arise in the night to attend the infant, who slept in its mother's room, and to be up and out of the house at 5 a. m., taking the infant out with her and keeping it out until 8:30, when she was permitted to come in and have breakfast. For this she received \$2 a week and board, and the assurance that she ought to be thankful to get it, as many girls would be glad to go to the seashore for nothing.

She also served as a waitress with thirteen black and white girls at a mountain resort, where they all had to sleep in one room, ill-ventilated and without proper accommodations of any kind. Then they were cursed by the chef and the proprietor in turn until some of them fainted in their places and had to be sent home.

Another place Mrs. Beale had was in a young woman's school in Harlem, where she was to attend an elderly woman. She had to sleep in the engine-room and eat in the icehouse, she said, and was asked to do the heavy work of a man.

The Church and War

At the congress of the Episcopal Church of the United States Ernest H. Crosby of New York spoke upon "War from the Christian Point of View." After citing recent reports of battles and setting forth the horrors of war in connection with Gen. Sherman's historical declaration, Mr. Crosby said:

"War is hate. Christianity is love. On which side is the church of Christ to be ranged?"

"War is hell: the church should be the kingdom of heaven. What truce can there be between them?"

"And yet the fact is that the church favors war. Can you recall a single sermon criticizing warfare? In England among the recent leading opponents of war have been Harrison, the positivist; Spencer, the agnostic, and Morley, the atheist, while the whole influence of the bench of bishops has been thrown on the side of bloodshed.

"In our country what has she done to stay the arm of violence? In the vigorous movement to prevent war she has been almost silent. Has a single religious journal been found on the side of peace?"

"I have had some experience during the past two years in addressing various audiences on behalf of peace, and I can testify that as a rule the 'common people' hear the message gladly.

"It is only in gatherings of professedly Christian people that it fails to find a responsive chord. I am constrained to assert as the result of my observations that the churches are the chief strongholds of the spirit of war."

Opportunities for Millionaires

A capitalistic exchange has an editorial about the field for young millionaires, just as if there hadn't been a field for them right along. I recently got into conversation with a well-known and old-established New York architect and he told me that the business of the old firms was being ruined by competition with millionaires' sons who go into architecture as a fad and a preventive of ennui. These young men, not being pressed by the bread and butter problem, cast about for something that will serve to take up their spare moments in a genteel way. They find this in architecture and like callings. They serve an apprenticeship, polish off what they have learned by a tour through Europe, then fit up lavish offices, which they are content to run at a loss so long as they can indulge their desire to plan attractive buildings. Their station in life gives them the influence necessary to get big contracts away from the old and less favored houses, and the old houses, one after the other, have to succumb.

This, like other things that come to our notice every day, help to expose the utter hopelessness of the capitalistic system as a thing of permanency. It is eating itself up, it is destroying itself, and making a sorry joke of the old law of the survival of the fittest.

Tried the Gatling Gun

The naval reserves went to Stroudwater yesterday for their annual qualification shoot. Considering the little opportunity these men have had for practice this season their shooting was very good. The interesting feature of the day was the trial of the Gatling gun which is used by the naval reserves. This gun was used at 200, 300 and 500 yards. It fires 1,500 shots a minute and this shower of lead will bore a hole through almost anything. The targets were simply riddled with bullets and the rattle of the gun was heard for several miles. The reserves have drilled a good deal with this piece and feel that if they should be called out for riot duty they could put a mob out of the game with it in short order.—Portland (Me.) Daily Press.

THE GROUNDWORK OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

(Continued from First Page)

course personal ownership in the products. It was a period of independence for the producer, as the capital required was small and enabled others, if they so desired, to save enough in time to go in business for themselves. This form of production was essentially individual and anti-social. Meantime as the tools of production began to grow and the small shop expanded and new inventions were introduced the factory system slowly evolved and practically annihilated the petty industry. With the development of the factory system class distinctions became apparent. "Self-earned private property, that is, based, so to say, on the fusing together of the isolated, independent laboring individual with the conditions of his labor, is supplanted by capitalistic private property, which rests on exploitation of the nominally free labor of others, on wage labor." (Marx.) Formerly the producer and the appropriator of products were one and the same person; now two distinct classes are vested with these two functions; one class produces, another absorbs the products. Division produces the modern class struggle, the intensity of which increases with the development of capitalism.

(To be continued.)

THE SOWER

By Edwin Markham

(Written after seeing Millet's painting with this title.)

Soon will the lonesome cricket by the stone
Begin to hush the night; and lightly blown
Field fragrances will fill the fading blue—
Old furrow scents that ancient Eden knew.
Soon in the upper twilight will be heard
The winging whisper of a homing bird.

Who is it coming on the slant brown slope,
Touched by the twilight and her mournful hope—
Coming with hero step, with rhythmic swing,
Where all the bodily motions weave and sing?
The grief of the ground is in him, yet the power
Of the earth to hide the furrow with the flower.

He is the stone rejected, yet the stone
Whereon is built metropolis and throne.
Out of his toil come all their pompous shows,
Their purple luxury and plush repose!
The grime of this bruised hand keeps tender white
The hands that never labor, day or night.
His feet that know only the field's rough floors
Send lordly steps down echoing corridors.

Yea, this vicarious toiler at the plow
Gives that fine pallor to my lady's brow.
And idle armies with their boom and blare,
Flinging their foolish glory on the air—
He hides their nakedness, he gives them bed,
And by his alms their hungry mouths are fed.

Not his the lurching of an aimless clod,
For with the august gesture of a god—
A gesture that is question and command—
He hurls the bread of nations from his hand;
And in the passion of the gesture flings
His fierce resentment in the face of kings.

This is the earth-god of the latter day,
Treading with solemn joy the upward way;
Strong to make kind the grudging ground, and strong
To pluck the beard of some world-honored wrong—
A lusty god that in some crowning hour
Will hurl Grey Privilege from the place of power.

These are the inevitable steps that make
Unreason tremble and tradition shake—
This is the world-will climbing to its goal,
The climb of the uncurable sure soul—
Democracy whose sure insurgent stride
Jars kingdoms to their ultimate stone of pride.

BRANCH SUPPLIES

Membership Cards (per 100).....	1.00
Membership Applications (100).....	.25
Constitutions (each).....	.03

Send orders with cash to Theodore Debs,
126 Washington Street, Chicago. No supplies sent on credit.

LOCAL BRANCHES

Notices of Branch Meetings inserted for
25 Cents per Month

CALIFORNIA

Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evenings, commencing at 8. Admission free.
Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening.
Membership, Social Democratic Herald free to each member, 25 cents per month.
Apply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk Street.
Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2 o'clock at Woodmen's Hall, 1204 Spring St. J. Franco, 700 Dayton Ave., Secretary.
Branch No. 1, San Francisco (German). Holds business meetings first Sunday each month, at 1 o'clock p. m., at 117 Turk Street. Agitation meeting on third Sunday evening, same place, to which public is invited. August F. Mayer, secretary, 1400 Polk Street.

ILLINOIS

Branch No. 1, Depeu, meets every Sunday at 8:00 p. m. at 1715 California Ave. Chas. M. Davis, Secretary, 1629 17th Street.
Branch No. 2, Goldfield, meets every Sunday at 7:30 p. m., at City Hall. Chas. La Camp, Secretary.

CONNECTICUT

The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at 2 p. m., at P. Schaffer's, 7029 Main St., Hartford. Louis Schaff, Sec., 26 Spring St., Rockville, Conn.
Branch No. 3, New Haven, meets every Wednesday evening, at 8 p. m., at Aurora Hall, C. Veimer, Sec.
Branch No. 4, Rockville, Conn., meets first and third Thursdays at Turn Hall meeting room. Village street. Secretary, Richard Niederwieser, Box 750.

INDIANA

Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 33 Dearborn St.
Branch No. 1, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening. Thomas Kirwin, Secretary, 204 Westworth Ave.
Branch No. 2 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets first and third Saturdays at 8 p. m. at Nagel's Hall, 535 Blue Island Ave.
Branch No. 3 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Mondays at 8 p. m. in Dunder's place, 1080 W. 18th place. Joseph Dunder, Secretary.

Branch No. 5, Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays of each month at Plaster's Hall, cor. Centre and 19th St. Joe. Cerny, Sec'y, 550 W. 14th St.
Branch No. 6, Chicago, meets at Adolph Jankowski's place, 984 West 21st street, every other Saturday in the month. A. Geisler, Sec., 730 W. 20th street.

Branch No. 7 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays at 8 a. m. at 6023 Lincoln Street. J. A. Ambros, Secretary, 440 Wood Street.
Branch No. 8, Chicago, meets at 1148 W. 32nd St., first and third Sundays at 8 p. m. Gus Larson, Secretary, 6243 Center Avenue.

INDIANA

Branch No. 6, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichwein's Hall, corner Market and Noble streets. Address all communications to the Sec. of State Executive Board, Thomas Catton, 506 Warren av

ILLINOIS

Branch No. 2, Hittman, meets every fourth Friday in the month at opera house, James Baxter, chairman, Wm. Truman, secretary, Box 141.

KENTUCKY

Branch No. 4, Bellows, meets 1st and 2nd Sunday, at 2 p. m., and 3rd and 4th Wednesday at 8 p. m., at 91 Fairfield Ave. We will aim to make it interesting for all. Henry Listersman, Sec., 126 Foote Ave.

MARYLAND

Branch No. 1, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at Springfield's Turner Hall. Carl Schwabe, Organizer, 24 Jackson St.
Branch No. 5, Lyons, permanent headquarters, 11 Meares St. Business meeting every Monday night at 7:30. Open house. Public invited. Harry Göttscher, Sec., 43 Lewis St.

Branch No. 3, Brooklyn, meets Friday nights at 8 p. m. for business at Beattie's Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Center Sts. Every comrades is expected to attend one meeting a month. Mrs. Annie Scoworth, Secretary, 21 Prospect St.

Branch No. 22, Roxbury, Mass., meets at 21 Warren St., 2d and 4th Fridays of every month. Philia Irtland

A PRIMER OF SOCIALISM

A 32-page pamphlet which contains in addition to the "Primer of Socialism," by G. C. Clemens, "Socializing a State," by the late Laurence Gronlund, and "Economic Terms and Phrases," by A. P. Hazel.

One of the strongest pamphlets for propaganda yet issued. A splendid vote-maker, and thousands should be circulated before election.

PER COPY, 5 CENTS—PER 100, \$1.50

Address, Debs Publishing Co.

Terre Haute, Indiana.

MICHIGAN

Branch No. 1, Battle Creek, Mich., meets 2nd and 4th Sundays of each month, at 2 p. m., at 10 W. Main Street, in the International Congress Hall. All are cordially invited. L. C. Rogers, Secretary.

MINNESOTA

Branch No. 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Gesswein on Main St. A. Kingsbury, Secretary.

MISSOURI

Branch No. 7, Kansas City, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1200 Union Ave. G. J. Stors, Secretary, 1230 W. 9th St.

MONTANA

Branch No. 1, Butte, meets every Thursday, at 8:30 p. m., Engineers' Hall, Owsley Block. G. Frankel, Sec. 71 E. Park Street.

Branch No. 2 meets first and third Sundays of each month at G. W. Wood's home, Chico, Mont.

NEW JERSEY

Branch No. 1, Secaucus, Michael W. Schor, 87 Livingston St.
Branch No. 3, Camden, N. J., meets every 3d Sunday of the month. For particulars address Paul Eberding, 124 E. 10th St.

Branch No. 2, (German) Newark, meets every third Saturday, at International Hall, 7 Bedford St. Hans Hartwig, Secretary, 7 Bedford St.

Branch No. 4, (German), Paterson, N. J., meets first and third Mondays at 8 p. m. at Helvetia Hall, 54-56 Van Houten St. Karl Linder, Secretary, 246 Edmund St.

NEW YORK

The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York, meets every second Tuesday at 412 Grand street, Windsor Hall. James Allman, Secretary, 32 Suffolk St. Care of "Forward."

East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every first and third Thursday at 115 Clinton St. A. Guyer, Secretary, 125 Suffolk St.

Branch No. 5 Brooklyn, New York, meets every Saturday at 8 p. m., at 54 Moore St. Visitors welcome. Comrades desiring to organize or communicate with Secretary Sol. Freeman, 190 Boerum St.

Branch No. 8, Buffalo, N. Y.—Persons desiring to join this branch will call or communicate with Tom Fitton, 119 Congress street.

Branch No. 10, New York, meets every Friday, at 8 p. m., 209 E. Broadway. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Organizer, Joseph Williams, 56 Henry St.

OHIO

Branch No. 4, Cincinnati, meets at Richallen Hall southeast corner 9th and Plum Sts., every Sunday at 3 p. m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Joe. Jasin, Secretary, 1410 Central Avenue.

OREGON

Branch No. 1, Portland, meets every Monday night at Washington Hotel, Cor. 3d and Flinders Sts. Every body invited. T. C. Wendland, chairman; Mrs. N. E. Fortsch, secretary.

PENNSYLVANIA

Branch No. 1, Philadelphia, meets every Monday, at 8 p. m., at 423 S. 3rd Street, until further notice.
Branch No. 4, Connersport, Meets every second and last Wednesday of each month in K. of L. Hall. Chas. Knipfel, Chairman; L. H. Morse, Secretary, Bea. Codington, Treasurer.

Branch No. 5, Philadelphia, meets first Friday of each month—Executive meets every Sunday morning—at 8 a. m., Club Rooms, at 28 S. Third St. Organizer, M. Gillis, 1007 S. Third St.

Branch No. 10, Williamsport, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2 p. m., in Social Labor hall, No. 26 East St. G. B. Smith, chairman; Jas. Lyon, secretary, 74 Second St. Public invited.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee Central Committee, S. D. P., meets second and fourth Monday of the month at Brewers' Hall, southeast corner Fourth and Chestnut sts.

Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets at Keller's Hall, Fourth Street, between State and Prairie, every second and fourth Thursday evening.

Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Saturday in Gustke's Hall, Concordia and Green Bay Ave. Frank Liebiach, secretary.

Branch No. 3, Sheboygan, Meets every second Thursday of the month at Emil Handke's place, 1011 Michigan Ave. Secretary, Eugene F. Kichberger, 1701 N. 11th street.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday each month at Miller's Hall, corner 2d and Brown Sts. George Moerschel, Secretary, 21 5th St.

Branch No. 5, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at E. H. H. Hall, southeast corner Orchard St. and 9th Ave. O. Wild, Secretary.

Branch No. 12, Milwaukee, meets every 7th and 14th Thursday of each month at Volkmann's Hall, 33 and Center St., 8 p. m. Secretary, Rudolph Josephman, 1123 2nd St.

Branch No. 23, Milwaukee, meets second and fourth Wednesday of each month, at 124 Clark street. Henry Harbicht, Sec., 1074 7th Street.

FROM THE WORKERS

Indiana—I am pleased to tell you that we are starting a propaganda club. We have nearly concluded arrangements for meeting place. Our branch will be connected with it. W. Blenko.

Colorado—A few of us living at Ouray got together ten days before election and put a ticket in the field. We did not get much of a vote, but enough to encourage us to organize for the next battle. R. B. Frye.

Oregon—Official returns give the Social Democracy electors in Oregon the following vote: N. P. J. Folen, 1,464; Joseph Meindl, 1,494; J. Frank Porter, 1,466; C. P. Rutherford, 1,455—an average of 1,470, or nearly 2 per cent of the state vote. This is the first S. D. P. ticket put in the field in the state. We are now getting in on the campaign for 1902. The "first step" and "half loaf" Socialists who voted for Bryan wish now they hadn't, but will do yeoman service from this on for Socialism. Many Socialists voted for McKinley to give him, as they expressed it, rope enough to hang himself, which I have no doubt he will do. We will proceed to organize the state now and have a party that is a party—one that every member will feel proud of. J. D. Stevens.

Comrade Vaclav Mudra was nominated by the Social Democrats for Alderman in the Ninth Ward of Chicago, Saturday night, December 1st.

A meeting of the Social Democrats in the Tenth ward will be held Saturday, Dec. 8, 8 p. m., at Jankovsky's hall, 894 West Twenty-first street, between Leavitt street and Oakley avenue, for nominating candidates for the spring election. R. Pusch.

Branch 5 of Philadelphia had a conference with sympathizers since the election and added thirteen new members to the roll. The branch will have a ball and concert Friday evening, Dec. 28, with "Mother" Jones as speaker.

The first of a series of mass-meetings, to be continued during the winter under the auspices of Branch 5 of Philadelphia, was addressed Nov. 25 by Abraham Cahan of New York. Nearly 700 persons paid 5 cents admission.

State Vote of Missouri

Lipscomb (governor).....5,576
Greenbaum (lieut.-gov.).....6,048
Stripe (secretary).....6,131
Richeson (auditor).....6,129
Brandt (treasurer).....6,128
Delaney (attorney-general).....6,143
Sanderson (supreme judge).....6,045
Debs' vote in state.....6,128

Notice to Social Democrats

The "official notice" of meetings to be held in the various wards of the city of Chicago, under the name of Social Democratic party, and signed by F. G. Strickland and J. B. Smiley, is not issued by the Social Democratic party in Chicago or the city central committee, and carries with it no sanction from branches of the party in this city. Neither the city, county or state committees of the S. D. P. is represented on the so-called "joint committee" in any way. Branches and members will, therefore, treat the matter accordingly. Stand by your branches and Socialism. By order
City Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party.

The National Vote

Official returns are in from only a few States. It will not be possible to give the entire vote in the country until after January 1, 1901, the figures in some States not being obtainable before. The vote in the States that is either official or known to be authentic follows:—

Indiana.....2,347
Illinois.....9,672
Kansas.....1,111
Maine.....881
Montana.....800
Maryland.....908
Missouri.....6,128
North Dakota.....250
New Hampshire.....790
New York.....16,000
Ohio.....4,835
Pennsylvania.....4,831
Wisconsin.....7,250

The Herald's first estimate of 118,000 will prove nearly correct.

Have One Where You Live

Every new branch of the Social Democratic Party is something more than a Friendly Inn—where a weary wanderer may rest. It is something more than a fort, where ammunition is stored to vanquish the armies of error. It is a common school with academic, collegiate and university attachments, where pupils may enter, advance, receive diplomas, and go forth equipped to carry forward socialistic reform. The curriculum is brief but comprehensive. The great fundamental bed-rock fact is taught that capitalism, whether on the land or the sea, is the pirate chief of the world. It matters little or nothing at all how high or

SPECIAL CONVENTION

OFFICIAL CALL

To Members and Branches of the Social Democratic Party, Comrades:

RESPONDING to suggestions from all parts of the country and a demand from many branches, a special National Convention of the Social Democratic party is hereby called, to take place at the national headquarters, 126 Washington street, Chicago, Ill., beginning Tuesday, January 15, 1901, and continuing in session until the work of the convention shall have been completed.

The purpose of this convention will be to make such changes in the laws of the party and to make such other provisions as may be deemed necessary to meet the growing demands of the organization. It is our purpose to enter at once upon a vigorous campaign of agitation, education and organization, so that the party shall be fully equipped to meet the capitalist enemy on the political battle-fields of the future. Now that the presidential campaign is over, our work is fairly begun and must be carried forward with all possible energy without the loss of a single hour.

The basis and other conditions of representation will be the same as at the Indianapolis Convention, and are here incorporated as follows:

First—Each branch shall be entitled to as many representatives as the individual members thereof in good standing may select for that purpose; provided, that each representative shall be entitled to one (1) vote for each member whose signature is attached to his credential; and provided further, that no member shall have his signature attached to more than one credential.

Second—Branches not sending their own representatives may select those of other branches of the same state to represent them; provided, that in each such case the representative shall hold the proper credential with the signatures of members attached as herein provided.

Third—No member shall be qualified to serve as representative or entitled to representation who has not been a member of the party at least thirty (30) days prior to the opening day of the convention.

Fourth—All signatures of members attached to credentials shall be certified to by the chairman or secretary of their respective branches.

Fifth—The national secretary shall furnish each branch with a sufficient number of blank credentials for the purpose herein specified.

Unaffiliated Socialist clubs or societies whose members may desire to connect themselves with the Social Democratic party, are cordially invited to communicate through their proper officials with the Secretary of the National Executive Board, 126 Washington street, Chicago.

This call is issued to all branches of the Social Democratic party in good standing, as shown by the records at 126 Washington street, Chicago, and organized prior to December 15, 1900. The time and place of meeting and other details will be given in the Herald as soon as arrangements are completed.

SEYMOUR STEDMAN, Secretary.

wide may be the flights of the imagination or how profound the depths of logical exploration, the inevitable verdict is the same—capitalism is the curse of mankind. Every branch of the Social Democratic Party is commissioned to teach the great truth and expose the antiquated wrong.

Congressional and Legislative Vote

Following is the vote received by the Socialist candidates in the late election for congress and the state legislature:

For congress:
1st district (Collins).....1,133
2d district (Krump).....1,017
3d district (Driesvoght).....388
4th district (Simons).....710
5th district (Collins).....653
6th district (Bark).....676
7th district (Bartels).....1,483

For state legislature:
1st (Trentz).....38
3d (Johnson).....232
4th (Glaser).....968
6th (Presto).....987
9th (Keidel).....779
11th (Olsen).....2,556
13th (Knickrehm).....1,079
15th (Kamin).....393
19th (Horgan).....701
21st (Baur).....1,057
23d (Vogt).....523

City Central Committee

A regular meeting of the city central committee of the Social Democratic party was held at 52 Dearborn street Wednesday evening, Nov. 28. A good representation of branch delegates was present. The resolutions at the meeting of Sunday, Nov. 25, were approved and adopted unanimously.

A committee was appointed to draw up a circular addressed to all Chicago branches warning them against attempts being made by interlopers under the guise of unionism to disrupt the branch organizations and breed disaffection among the members. Chicago branches should be on their guard against these persons, who are merely seeking notoriety by loudly clamoring for union. They have never succeeded in building up an organization or even starting a single branch of the party. There may be a place for them somewhere in the movement, but it is not in the branches of the Social Democratic party.

The approaching national convention, called for Jan. 15, was discussed and the following committee of reception and entertainment, with the power to add to their number, was chosen: Comrades Edwards, Winnen, Tyl, Foss, Ellen Edwards, Ethel James and Dr. Hawley.

The National Movement

Last week's Herald contained the report of the national campaign committee with its gratifying result showing all bills paid and a small balance left over. The report showed the total receipts of the committee to have been \$3,537.88. Since its publication another report, that of the Springfield committee, has come to hand. The differences between the two are so striking that, for the information of Herald readers, we cannot refrain from making a brief comparison for the purpose of showing, from a purely financial point of view, the utterly flimsy character of the "unionist" claims. Both reports being published, it appears

that the national campaign was made from 126 Washington street, Chicago, and by the forces that co-operated with the national campaign committee at this point. The total amount contributed to the Springfield committee was \$819.90. The Chicago committee printed and sold literature, lithographs and buttons amounting to \$1,140.39; the Springfield expenditure in the same line was \$397.60. The total amount received at Chicago was \$3,537.88, at Springfield, \$1,217.50. The Chicago committee received nearly three times as much money and did ten times as much work as that at Springfield. On with the work for Socialism.

WORK FOR SOCIAL DEMOCRATS IN INDIANA

The Social Democratic members of the city council of Marion, Ind., Comrades Kelley and Croke, are keeping up with great vigor their systematic agitation for public ownership of municipal utilities, and in the limited circle of their opportunities meeting with good success. The last move started by them is one that should be supported by Social Democrats in Indiana wherever there is a local branch. And this they can do by calling the attention of their state representatives to the appended resolution, introduced at a meeting of the Marion city council by Comrade Kelley Nov. 20, and urging favorable consideration for the proposition at the next session of the legislature:

"Whereas, The machinery of production, the products of industry and all the means of life are being rapidly monopolized in the hands of the manufacturers, merchants and members of trusts and trade agreements of various kinds, which are fast reducing the masses to industrial serfdom; and

"Whereas, The welfare of society demands that an avenue of escape from the power of these monopolies should be provided, and that the cost of the necessities of life should not be increased by any element of either monopoly or private profit, or by any such unnecessary waste of labor as results from the present planless method of production and distribution; therefore, be it

"Resolved, By the mayor and common council of the city of Marion, that the legislature of the state of Indiana be, and is hereby petitioned, to make such amendments or pass such laws as will authorize and enable any municipality within this state whose people shall decide by majority vote that they so desire, to issue such bonds as may be necessary to enable them to construct, equip and operate such water, electric, telephone, gas or street railway plants, or such hospitals, bakeries, dairies, laundries or factories of any kind, as they may deem wise and necessary for the production of, and also for the erection, stocking and operating of such stores or systems of distribution as in their judgment are necessary to the most economical production and distribution of such things as they may deem necessary for their comfort."

The above was adopted by a vote of 6 to 1, two republicans and two democrats supporting it.

26 weeks for 20 cents.

Snap Shots

Another campaign is on.

The Herald is on the warpath.

Every comrade should subscribe for The Herald.

The small subscription price of The Herald places it within reach of every comrade.

The Herald makes no compromises. It is first, last and always for the S. D. P.

For 50 cents we send fifty-two numbers of The Herald loaded with facts and arguments to advance the cause of Socialism.

The Social Democratic Party is in the saddle and ready for the new campaign.

It fought for a position in the political arena and secured it.

It is a recognized force and factor in the political thought of the nation.

To perfect its organization and increase its power new branches are demanded.

All that is wanted is for comrades to take hold of the matter in earnest and branches will multiply everywhere throughout the land.

The Herald sends a cheering note

To comrades far and near;

A trumpet call to faithful men

To comrades ever dear:

"Come one, come all, for now's the time,

While Fortune's swelling tide

Is rising grandly everywhere—

Subscribe, subscribe, subscribe!"

Debs' Lecture Course

In answer to numerous inquiries we have to say that Comrade E. V. Debs will deliver a limited number of lectures during the present season. Applications should be sent in as soon as possible as the available dates will be booked in advance.

Labor unions, central bodies, clubs and societies can obtain terms by addressing Comrade Debs at Terre Haute, Ind.

NEW BRANCHES

Illinois, two.
Montana, one.
Texas, one.
Wisconsin, two.
Total, six.

Are you the only Socialist in your town or in your factory? The Social Democratic Herald will furnish you with the best arguments for Socialism to fire at your neighbors and friends and the members of your union. The Herald will give you Socialism up-to-date and supply you with the most telling ammunition for your arguments.

William Jennings Bryan has determined to give his jaws a rest by writing for the press.

The Book You Need

PRINCIPLES OF

Scientific Socialism

By Rev. Charles H. Vail

Author "Modern Socialism" and "National Ownership of Railways."

CONTENTS:

The Industrial Revolution. The Analysis of Value. The Origin of Surplus Value.
The Advantages of Socialism: Production, Distribution, Elimination of Unnecessary Vocations, Prevention of Waste, Elevation of Woman, Proper Care and Training of Children, Efficient Directors, Solution of the Monetary Question, Abolition of Taxation, Simplification of Government, Benefits to Capitalists, Benefits to Laborers.
The Evidence of the Moral Strength of Socialism: Its Spirit and Aim; Abolition of Business Dishonesty; Restriction of Divorce; Prevention of Prostitution; Extermination of Crime; Prevention of Intemperance, Insanity, etc.
Poverty—Its Cause and Cure. Wage Slavery vs. Chattel Slavery. Rent and Interest. The Law of Wages. The Law of Progress. Industrial Depression and Commercial Crises. The Problem of Labor-Saving Machinery.
Popular Economic Errors: That Value is Determined by Capitalist Cost of Production; that the Interests of Laborers and Capitalists are identical; that Labor is Better Off To-day Than Ever Before; that Cheap Prices are Beneficial to Labor; that Foreign Markets are Beneficial to Labor; that Luxury is Beneficial to Labor; that Land Nationalization Would Solve the Social Question; that Extravagance is the Chief Cause of Economic Want; that Socialism Would Thwart Inventions and Improvements; that Socialism Would Destroy Individuality. Conclusion and Index.
12mo, 236 Pages; Paper, 35c; Cloth, \$1.00.

SEND ORDERS TO

THEODORE DEBS, 126 Washington St., CHICAGO.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LIBRARY

Karl Marx, Capital, Cloth.....\$2.00
F. W. Spring, Socialism, from Genesis to Revolution, Cloth.....1.00
Grundland—The Co-operative Commonwealth, Paper......50
August Bebel—Woman: Past, Present and Future, 25
Blatchford—Merrie England......25
Edward Bellamy—Looking Backward......20
Edward Bellamy—Equality, Cloth.....1.25
Lasswell—History of the Commune of 1871.....1.50
Charles Vail—Modern Socialism......1.50
Ashplant—Heterodox Economics and Orthodox Profits......15
Henry D. Lloyd—Wealth Against Common Wealth, 1.50
Volney—The Ruins of Empires......20
Thomas Paine—The Rights of Man......20
Henry George—Social Problems......20
Thomas Ward—The Ancient World......1.50
Adams—President John Smith......25
Richard T. Ely—Socialism and Social Reform.....1.50
Buckner—Man in the Past, Present and Future.....1.50
Chas. H. Vail—Principles of Scientific Socialism.....1.50
Herron—Between Jesus and Caesar......20
Fabian Essays......20
Rogers—Six Centuries of Work and Wages......20
Donnelly—Caesar's Column......20

PAMPHLETS

F. Lasswell—What Is Capital......50
H. M. Hyndman—Socialism and Slavery......50
F. Lasswell—The Workingman's Program......50
Chas. H. Vail—The Industrial Revolution......50

THEODORE DEBS, Secretary Treasurer,
126 Washington Street, Chicago.

Now Ready! 136 Pages!

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

RED BOOK

EDITED BY FREDERIC HEATH

Printed on Plate Paper Handsomely Illustrated

This is an annual publication for Social Democrats who will find it indispensable for reference purposes. This first issue is of special value because of the historical character of its contents. Among the features are:

A HISTORY OF SOCIALISM IN AMERICA
Covering 76 pages, with portraits of Robert Owen, Etienne Cabet, Wilhelm Weitling, etc., etc.

ALBERT BRINSBANE
The first American agitator, with portrait.

A TRIP TO GIRARD
By Wayfarer, with view of Appeal to Reason office.

KARL MARX ON THE SINGLE TAX

MACHINE vs. HAND LABOR
Compiled from government reports by Lester Ludoff.

SHORTER PIECES
Labor Conflicts in 1899, Grundland, Grant Allen, Chronology for 1899, Directory of Social Democrats, Socialist Cyclopedia of 1899, "Golden Rule" May, Prof. Herron's Cam, Social Democratic Platforms, Etc.

BIOGRAPHIES OF WELL KNOWN SOCIAL DEMOCRATS. Twenty in all.

ELECTION STATISTICS
Covering the Socialist movement down to the present year. A valuable reference.

A SOCIALIST PORTRAIT GALLERY
Comprising seventeen likenesses of leading workers in the movement, distributed through the book.

Sent postpaid on receipt of price, 15 CENTS.

DEBS PUBLISHING CO.

TERRE HAUTE, IND.

TWO GREAT SPEECHES

Should be Read by Socialists Everywhere

and Put into the Homes of Non-Socialists

Delivered at Central Music Hall, Chicago, Saturday, September 29, 1900, by

EUGENE V. DEBS

AND

PROF. GEO. D. HERRON

A Splendid Campaign Document

Sixteen Page Pamphlet, Price, Five Cents

One Hundred, \$2.00

Address, 126 Washington St., Chicago

MAPLE CITY

IT HAS NO EQUAL

WHITE BAR

SELF-WASHING

SOAP

MONMOUTH ILLINOIS

HENRY LARSON

SALESMAN

76-82 PACIFIC AVENUE - CHICAGO

SPRAVEDLNOST

(JUSTICE)

BOHEMIAN WEEKLY PUBLISHED BY THE BOHEMIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC BRANCHES OF CHICAGO

Subscription, \$1.50 a year

Address, 700-702 Loomis Street, Chicago, Ill.

The Herald will be sent to any address in the United States 26 weeks for 20 cents.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

THIRD YEAR. No. 26.

CHICAGO, ILL., U. S. A., SATURDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1900.

Whole No. 128.

NEW CIVILIZATION SOCIALISTS DEMAND

Civilization of Capitalism Based on
War—Every "Enlightened"
Christian Nation in the
World Supports It

CIVILIZATION OF THE SHOTGUN

The Standing-Army Civilization of Capitalist
Christendom is Doomed before the
Onward March of Socialism

By Max Mehnard

Socialists demand a new civilization, or a better civilization. The civilization we now have may be good enough in spots, like a desert; here and there may be found an oasis, but generally, it is a conspicuous failure. The fact is universally recognized, and all sorts of remedies are proposed for glaring and humiliating defects. The church thunders its anathemas; the schools, from the kindergarten to the university, wrestle with the subject; the press, in a thousand ways, confirms the allegation. This has been going on until our civilization resembles a beggar's clothing—an unsightly mass of patch work.

The nations of the world have been classified as savage, barbarous, semi-civilized and civilized, the climax being "enlightened" or "Christianized." Hence the term, "Christian civilization," the best, the ultima thule of civilization. General Sherman is on record as saying: "War is hell." In our vocabulary there is no word more shuddering than "hell." It stands for all that is horrible in the imagination; and yet, our civilization is conspicuously a civilization of war, represented by standing armies—war machines constructed for slaughter and for the inauguration of hell upon earth.

The peculiar feature of this phase of the subject is that these standing armies, these human slaughtering machines, are constructed, perfected and equipped for the inauguration of hell upon earth by the most enlightened Christian nations in the world. The nations of Europe, excepting the Turks, claim to have achieved the most advanced position attainable in Christian civilization, and yet, beyond all controversy, it is a civilization which rests for security upon standing armies, numbering 5,000,000 officers and men, ready at the word of command to inaugurate hell in Europe or elsewhere, as emergencies may require.

Whatever may be the boast of European nations, in the way of advanced civilization, we of the United States entertain the idea that American civilization is superior to anything in that line the world has known. Nevertheless, we are confronted with the fact that the United States has caught the European contagious craze for standing armies as a means of achieving largest results in Christian civilization, and we are to have more soldiers and more guns and a more perfect and better equipped war machine. Notwithstanding this, Socialists maintain that a civilization dependent upon guns for support is beyond all the power of hyperbole the most satanic conceivable.

The grand old poet prophet, Isaiah, from his mount of vision, saw a time when "the nations would beat their swords into ploughshares, their spears into pruning hooks and learn war no more." It is not required to eulogize God's most renowned prophet. He was not a crank, nor a victim of delusion. With him it was "thus saith the Lord." He sounded the keynote of Socialism—a civilization without a standing army to support it. His vision was clear. In due time Jesus Christ came and laid the foundations of a new and a better civilization, preached it and fell a martyr to his mission. It was a good thing. The devil saw it at a glance, adopted and corrupted it, and has got it where, aided by standing armies and other satanic devices, he controls it for his own glory. But the devil, with all the assistance he can command from his collaborators and colporteurs, has not been able to destroy man's faith in himself, his faith in God, nor God's faith in man. The foundation which Christ laid of a new and a better civilization remains intact.

Socialism sees and grasps its opportunity. It comprehends conditions and possibilities. It believes that all things right and just, and of good report are attainable. The obstacle in the way of success is error. To tear it up by the roots and destroy it, Socialists know is a herculean task, which they do not

underestimate. It is a work they have undertaken and its magnitude creates neither dismay nor demoralization. Wherever they find a upas tree, spreading poison, they will hew it down. They will accept all the responsibilities of their sphere of influence. They will send forth a never ending army of iconoclastic ideas, commissioned to tear down the idols of error, regardless of who erected them or who worships them. They believe that Truth, crushed to earth, shall rise panoplied for ceaseless war, and that the "eternal years of God" are pledged for his victory. When the Czar of Russia, the most powerful autocrat in the world, called a convention of the nations to discuss arbitration instead of war; for the settlement of controversies between nations and the disbandment of standing armies, he heralded a colossal stride in the advancement of the principles of Socialism. Such was not the czar's intention. He simply yielded, without knowing why, to Socialistic ideas abroad in the world, more potent than all the autocracies, aristocracies and plutocracies in all the earth combined. The convention of the nations called by the czar, is conclusive to men who have the presence to see coming events, that the standing army civilization of the present and the past is doomed. That Isaiah saw it with Godlike vision, and that Christ laid the foundations of a better civilization deep and strong in the minds of men is conceded. Upon this foundation Socialists are now building a new and a better civilization than the world has hitherto known—a civilization from which standing armies, human slaughtering machines, shall be eliminated, and the nations "learning war no more" shall be redeemed from the multiplied curses of the past and the present civilization to enjoy the fruitions of universal peace and happiness.

Sincere, They Say, But Erratic

The Indianapolis Journal (Rep.) has the following reference to Eugene V. Debs. It is well that the Journal has Comrade Debs' words on record in its own office, as it will thus be able readily to recall them when they come true: "Eugene V. Debs, Social Democratic candidate for president, received about 100,000 votes. This does not count much in a popular vote of 15,000,000, but it represents a phase of current thought. In 1824 Andrew Jackson was elected president by a popular vote of 155,872, and even with that small vote had a plurality of 50,551 over John Q. Adams, the next highest candidate. Mr. Debs need not be ashamed of his vote numerically. As for his principles, the Journal believes he is a sincere but erratic man. He says that the Republican party having triumphed, the 'trusts will run riot in the spoils of conquest,' and he predicts that when the development of capitalism reaches its greatest momentum in the second McKinley administration consumption will not keep pace with production and a crash will come. 'Then,' says he, 'the working class will get in full measure what they voted for.' There will be glutted markets, paralyzed factories, silent mills, deserted mines, enforced idleness, reduced wages, strikes, lockouts, injunctions, soldiers and the funerals of workmen in rapid succession. There will be no work for the hand, and the brain will have a chance." This is a dark view and the Journal thinks a very erroneous one. The general opinion among the most sagacious business men of the country is that it has taken a new lease of prosperity and is entering on a longer period of good times than usual. Mr. Debs is too bright a man to become a chronic croaker. He should join the procession of prosperity."

Millerand's Bill on Strikes

The bill on strikes, which M. Millerand, the French Minister of Commerce, has been preparing, has just been presented to the Chamber of Deputies. It provides that in every factory employing fifty or more men a printed notice shall be posted which shall state whether or not arbitration is one of the conditions of employment. In case of the affirmative—and all state contracts will require this—the men are to elect delegates, who will submit any complaints or demands to the employer, and, failing an agreement, both sides may nominate arbitrators.

If, on the other hand, the employer should refuse to do this, the men may resolve by secret ballot on a strike, but the votes of a majority of those present and one-third of the men employed are necessary. There must also be a weekly vote to decide on the continuance or cessation of the strike.

Here comes the New York Times with a reference to the "new" Socialism and the Chicago Chronicle declaring Socialism is not "new." These capitalist pressmen should be given a lay-off with an injunction to post up.

MERLIN'S MIXTURE

Charles W. Cannon of J. J. Revere, Mass.

THE COMMONWEALTH OF MAN

Our humanity's expanding
Into truer, higher life,
Causes now mankind's demanding
Freedom from the slavish strife.

It is not by idle chancing
That the present path is trod,
But the steady, sure advancing
Of the fact against the fraud.

'Tis the gradual fulfilling
Of life's highest wish and aim,
And by mighty Labor's willing
To be free in more than name.

For the sequel to life's pages
Is a nobler human plan;
The fruition of the ages
Is the Commonwealth of Man.

SOCIALISM IS INEVITABLE

So many learned fools are constantly referring to Socialism as though it were a quack medicine or a political invention or a fool fad.

Albert H. Washburn, in debating a few nights ago in Brockton, said: "The kernel of historical and modern Socialism is the leveling down of the whole social area." In other words, Socialism is simply a great social steam-roller, crushing down all jutting ambitions and reducing everything to a dead level.

Instead, Socialism is the scientific sequel to present conditions. It is the full-formed fruit of the leaf of competition and the blossom of commercial combination. It is the inevitable outcome of industrial evolution.

All that Socialists can do is to prepare the people for its incoming. We seek to warn the blind conservatives who stand on the track of progress when the train is coming. We don't bring the train. We only try to keep the track clear.

ALLIED FOES

Tonight's report of the opening of congress bears the headlines: "Political Foes Meet as Friends," "Hanna and Jones Shake Hands."

The outer form in this case was symbolic of the inner fact. That handshake was a true emblem of the class alliance of party foes. Hanna and Jones fight for the spoils, but unite in their kindred capacity as spoilsmen.

The republican and democratic parties are but the two mouths of the hydra-headed serpent of capitalism. One has gold teeth and the other silver, but the same stomach and after-election tail.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

Austria.—At Gratz at an election for the municipal council seven Socialists received a large number of votes, but as they did not receive half the number of votes given, plus one, a second ballot is necessary.

At Mariburg all the Socialist candidates for the municipal council were elected.

Germany.—Three Socialists have been re-elected by an increased majority to the municipal council at Magdeburg.

The Socialists have gained seats in the municipal councils of Dessau, Frankfurt and Frankhausen.

The Socialists called attention in the Reichstag to the circular issued by the ministry of the interior, asking manufacturers for subscriptions in order to create an agitation in favor of the bill which proposed to prohibit workmen from agitating in favor of strikes. The chancellor was good enough to admit that this circularizing was not the thing, but he declined to punish those who had so acted; in fact, they were "not guilty," but they must not do it again.

Switzerland.—The Radicals and Socialists had a joint list of candidates for the election which has just taken place in the Canton of Geneva, and they have been able to secure their return. A Socialist is also a member of the governing body in that canton.

The Socialist Congress which has just been held at Olten, has just reorganized the party. The town of Zurich has been fixed on as the headquarters of the party. The following have been elected as representatives on the International Committee: Feuerholz, Fauquez and Reimann.

The Feudal Barons of To-Day

In his preface to the "Capital," Marx describes England as the classic land of capital. When he wrote his great work that was undoubtedly true, and it was for that reason that for his masterly analysis of the capitalist system of production he took the conditions existing in this country, where that system had reached its highest development. But the balance has shifted somewhat since Marx wrote; the ideal of the old Free Traders, that England would always be the workshop or factory of

You lose your senses and take your choice.

The republican gander and the democratic goose, "in convention assembled," create and hatch out the foul bird of conspiracy against labor's rights.

Hanna and Jones have been shaking the political dice. Whichever had won in the recent election, we would have lost. To us it was a choice of masters.

POCKETING THE PRIZE

And now that the game has been played, the winner forthwith proceeds to pocket the pot.

In the pre-election days the republican leaders were engaged in prizing the pockets of the poor, and suggesting that they should be lined with 100-cent gold pieces. But now these gamblers are engaged in pocketing the prize of the poor and levying tribute on them for the strenuous expenditure of campaign talk.

Prices are going up everywhere. On scores of articles prices have risen. The republicans promised to solve the bread and butter question. They have already solved the butter question by lifting the price out of sight.

And on the other hand, wages are going down. In a Brookfield shoe factory wages were this week cut 25 per cent.

As MacCartney said last Sunday, the full dinner pail has been put on the shelf for four years more.

THE LABOR DONKEY

So long as an American workingman is an ass, he may expect to be ridden. Let him prune his ears, so that they may not be tickled by every capitalistic compliment on election week.

Let him cease his braying about liberty, so that every passing spellbinder may not detect his breed and buckle his harness on tighter. Let him refuse to eat the thistles of wage slavery, so that he may deserve and receive his rightful clover.

Let him remember, at least, that his father was a revolutionary mule, and had the courage to kick himself free from royalist traces when the tax whip bit too hard.

But better, let us evolve from the donkeyhood of old-party allegiance into the manhood of Socialist independence. Then, if McKinley wants his presidential donkey chariot, let him go to Sulu and borrow that of his fellow potentate there.

the world with all the other nations supplying her with raw material and taking her manufactured goods, has long been exploded. To-day all nations appear to be aspiring to make their countries into workshops and factories, and our customers have become our competitors. No longer can England be called the classic land of capital, for that proud name now belongs to the great Republic across the Atlantic, that glorious and triumphant democracy of the west, where all men are free and equal, where there is neither monarch, nor peer, nor prelate, but gold is god, and the almighty dollar rules the roost. In America to-day we see the development of capitalism at a higher point and progressing at a greater rate of progress than in any other country in the world. There we find the last stage of capitalist evolution rapidly being attained and free and unfettered competition working out its logical end and inevitable destruction in universal monopoly. In a recent article in these pages our comrade Hyndman pointed out some of the striking facts of industrialism in the United States, showing how every industry there is coming under the control of the trusts, and how through these mammoth combinations of capital a mere handful of individuals practically hold the whole wealth and wealth-producing power of the states in their hands and under their control. These men are the feudal lords of our time; they are the robber barons of to-day.—Justice (London, Eng.).

Socialism and Trades Unions

The attitude of the Social Democratic Federation of Great Britain towards trades unions is the same as that of the Social Democratic party. The following resolution was adopted by the English comrades at the annual conference of 1897:

"This conference counsels all members of the S. D. F., as far as possible, to become members of their respective trade unions, and to work harmoniously with trade unionists and co-operators as representing organizations having for their object the improvement of the status of the workers, whilst nevertheless insisting upon the fact that in the socialization of the means of production, distribution and exchange, lies the only hope of permanently bettering the condition of the wage-earners, and therefore claims the political support of all trade unionists and co-operators as a means towards this end."

SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE SOCIAL EVIL

Relation of Prostitution to Capitalist
Production—The Female Prole-
tarian the Slave of a Slave—
An Ancient Guild

TASK OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

The Modern Proletarian Magdalene is Driven
to Her Fate by the Conditions Prevail-
ing in Capitalist Society

By Isador Ladoff

It is not easy to cure a deep-rooted organic disease, even when the patient is fully aware of his ailment and patiently submits to any treatment prescribed by the expert physician or surgeon. The task is indisputably harder, however, when the patient is happily, or rather unfortunately, unconscious of his own precarious condition and does not consider himself sick at all, and scorns the idea of any necessity for him to undergo a systematic course of medical treatment.

It is not easy to free slaves, conscious of their slavery; it is, however, an indisputably harder task to free slaves who were born, raised and live in the illusion of being free men.

And this is exactly the case with the American proletariat. An European workingman knows that he cannot always get or retain his "job"; that even if he is fortunate enough to have a steady job, he is compelled to consume margarine instead of butter, and consider himself happy to have meat on his holiday table. The average American workingman, however, is still imagining that the "jobs" are ready for him as soon as "prosperity" sets in, and that prosperity may be brought about by professional politicians of one or another of the old parties. He scorns the idea of being a slave because he does not see and feel his chains with his eyes and hands, like Thomas, the doubter, the wounds on the body of Jesus Christ. The American proletariat is still living in the illusion that he may by dint of perseverance and a turn of good luck become a capitalist himself and then treat his fellow workers just in the same way as he is treated by his master. He is himself a capitalist in spirit, his ethics and philosophy of life are those of his masters. If he objects to capitalistic rule at all; he does it on narrow, personal grounds. He would like to be the exploiter himself, and has little if any objection to exploitation itself. We know these are hard assertions. But truth is more important than the friendship of Plato.

The task of Social Democracy is to open the eyes of the blind proletariat of the United States to its actual condition, to make it feel and realize the weight of its chains and to replace its capitalistic philosophy of life and code of ethics. Until this is accomplished, the Social Democratic movement cannot expect to be a power in the land. The best means to accomplish it is to prove that Social Democracy is not a theory but a condition, to use the hard facts of actual life as an illustration of the real condition of the proletariat, to allow the modern Thomas the doubter to touch with his hands the bleeding wounds of his own class, of his own brothers, sisters, wives and children.

If the male proletarian is a slave, the female proletarian is a slave of slaves. If the male proletarian is compelled to sell his working power, his muscles, nerves and blood to the capitalist or starve; if he is degraded to a simple machine producing wealth for somebody else, nay, to a mere appendage of a dead machine—his mother, sister, sweetheart or wife, under similar conditions, is frequently compelled to drop lower even than that, to lose even all the dignity of an animal and sell her affections for the privilege of leading the miserable vegetation (it cannot be called life) of a sexual slave, of a prostitute. Prostitution is the direct consequence of mercantilism, of a state of society in which human beings are considered as a mere commodity, salable and purchasable for money, like any other commodity. Prostitutes are proletarians in the first instance and prostitution is a phenomenon of social pathology due to the same causes that produce the proletarian class.

Let us now throw a retrospective glance at the development of the so-called social evil. At the period of decadence of Greece and Rome, the institution of slavery was shaken and mer-

(Continued on Third page)

Social Democratic Herald

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board
FREDERIC HEATH Chairman
EYMOUR STEWART Secretary
EUGENE V. DEBS
VICTOR L. BRONKHORST
CORINNE L. BROWN

Terms of Subscription.—One year, \$5.00. Six months, \$3.00. No papers sent to any one on credit. If without having subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and no bill will follow. Foreign subscriptions \$10.00.

Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

A. S. EDWARDS, Editor
THEODORE DEBS, National Secy-Treas.
126 Washington St., Chicago.

128 is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 129 your subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, DEC. 15, 1900.

Subsidizing the Rich

The complete subservience of the American congress to capitalistic influence and domination is illustrated in the proposed subsidy bill for the benefit of mine-owners and ship-builders now before the senate. True to their class interest and that of their masters, the advocates of this enormity propose to mulct the people of the United States in the sum of \$9,000,000 annually for twenty years. The total amount of this colossal steal will be \$180,000,000. Not a single man could be named among the prospective beneficiaries who is not rich; not one of them but is an exploiter in some form sanctified by law, of the labor power of this country; not one whose patriotism is not of the highest and whose commercialism is not of the basest sort. Patriotism pays, especially when the patriot is in on the ground floor with plunder of \$9,000,000 a year. Patriotism for revenue, filched from the pockets of the producers of the land, is virtue of a high order.

One of the arguments constantly reiterated against Socialism is that the state should not do for the individual anything the individual can do for himself. Here we have an instance where the rich, able to build ships if they want them, with one hand throttle justice in the highest legislative body of the land and with the other rifle the public treasury for individual profit under the patriotic cry of "an American merchant marine."

Class distinctions and the class struggle, upon which Socialists insist as a necessary and inevitable condition of the capitalist system, are denied. Yet here we have legislation solely in the interest of a class; a proposal to give that class added facilities and power to what it already enjoys to exploit a people overburdened with the effects of infamous class legislation.

Subsidize the rich—the people will pay. After all, why shouldn't they pay? They believe in the rich and don't know how they could get along without them. The people have voted for state aid for the rich. Therefore, gentlemen of the senate, subsidize private interests, "the people be —!"

Socialism and the "Democracy"

Again returning to the subject of Socialism and the democratic party, because it is at this time one of paramount importance, engaging the attention of large numbers of people and forcing itself into discussion by Democratic editors throughout the country, we desire to call the attention of our readers and through them that of so-called Socialists, who supported Mr. Bryan, to an editorial article in this paper which appeared in the Chronicle of Chicago, December 2. The Chronicle is a representative Democratic newspaper. The article will be found under the caption "Democracy and Socialism."

A careful perusal of this article must satisfy every Socialist, whether his support was given to the Social Democratic ticket in the late election or to Mr. Bryan, that all that has been said in the columns of the Herald in criticism of Bryan and his "socialistic" friends was entirely justified. Now that the alliance which, as the Chronicle editorial points out, was dishonest, between the place-seeking Democracy and those claiming to be Socialists is vanishing and there are signs everywhere of great acquisitions to Socialism, it is to be hoped that such frank confession as the leading Democratic organs are making will have proper and due effect where there is now much confusion.

Two passages in the Chronicle article call for special notice. "If the Kansas City ticket," it says, "had swept the country and carried with it a two-thirds majority in both houses of congress there would have been no 16 to 1 silver legislation. THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN NO STATE OWNERSHIP OF PUBLIC UTILITIES." There would have been no initiative and referendum. There would have been NOTHING AT ALL IN THE LINE OF RADICAL OR SOCIALISTIC LEGISLATION, for the real Democrats would have been sufficiently numerous to defeat it."

To the real Socialist who gave a vote to Bryan—if such is conceivable—this declaration of a leading Democratic organ must come as a severe shock. To be told that the mild reform of transferring a few public utilities from private to state ownership would have been prevented by "real Democrats," reveals the utter insincerity of campaign claims and promises and stamps the journalists and politicians who made them as dishonest. When the Kansas City platform appeared containing quite an inconsequential and absurd provision for the initiative and referendum, everybody with a grain of political acumen and very slight knowledge of the capacity for deceit and trickery inherent in the Democratic party, understood that it was put there solely for the purpose of catching the votes of reform gudgeons.

It is well for an honest and uncompromising Socialism that the mantle of deception has dropped. There is no longer excuse for a Socialist to isolate himself from the Socialist movement by dallying with a capitalist party that holds out false and alluring promises of taking "first steps" towards Socialism.

The second point worthy of brief notice is the assertion by the Chronicle that Socialism is not new, has been tried by many people under varying conditions and has everywhere failed. All this is, of course, the veriest nonsense, quite worthy, however, of an organ of capitalism. There are some writers for daily newspapers who understand Socialism, but the Chronicle writer is not one of them. The latter shows an almost complete ignorance of the subject when he essays to predicate the failure of Socialism upon the disastrous outcome of isolated co-operative and communistic enterprises. None of these were examples of Socialism, few of them ever claimed to be. Socialism is inconceivable except as the evolutionary successor of capitalist production. It has never at any time existed anywhere in the world. It can not exist in a capitalist state.

The Massachusetts Elections

A year ago, with unity in the ranks of the Social Democratic party at Haverhill, Mass., with the moral and financial support of comrades throughout the country, including the national executive board and the Herald, John C. Chase was re-elected mayor of that city, receiving a total vote of 3,543, or 1,250 more than at the election the year before and a clear majority of 215. The combination against the Social Democratic party a year ago was quite as strong as this year; that is to say, as Republicans, Democrats and Prohibitionists were united against the Socialists last year, so were they in 1900; the local conditions imposed upon the campaign and election by the old parties were nearly identical. There was no large increase in the general vote either. In 1899 the grand total was 6,930; this year, 7,073, only 143 more. Yet Chase is defeated. And this is not all. A year ago the united Social Democrats of Haverhill elected Comrades Flanders, Bean and Scates from their respective wards as members of the aldermanic board, the two former having then served one year in that body. This year not only is Chase defeated by 1,077 votes, but all the aldermanic candidates are beaten as well, and the fine representation our party had in the city council of Haverhill has been reduced to two councilmen. When it is remembered that the material conditions and old-party opposition influencing the election were practically identical in both years, that there was only a paltry increase of 143 in the total vote cast, the causes for defeat at Haverhill this year can be found only in the injection into the movement of a discordant and destructive element since a year ago.

There is nothing in the Haverhill defeat to discourage loyal Social Democrats. There is a cause the existence of which is to be deplored in this instance and avoided in the future elsewhere.

At Brockton a year ago Charles H. Coulter, candidate of the party for mayor, received 3,394 votes in a total of 7,111, and was elected. This year, with the same opposition and practically the same support, Coulter was given 2,922 votes in a total of 7,944 and is re-elected. In Brockton there was a large increase in the total vote over 1899, amounting to 833, and despite this and the additional fact that the Democrats gave considerable support to the Republican candidate, Coulter is again mayor of Brockton, much to the satisfaction of Social Democrats everywhere.

A Correction

In the make-up of The Herald last week a line was dropped from the article by Comrade Eugene V. Debs on "Independent Socialists". The error occurred in the second paragraph. The paragraph should have read as follows: "The real struggle of Socialism is to DEVELOP THE POLITICAL PARTY THAT SHALL establish the co-operative Commonwealth". The words in capitals were omitted.

An employment agency sign in Chicago reads: "Wanted, two hundred men to go into the woods." And thousands of men in Chicago, as elsewhere, are struggling to get out of the woods.

NOTES AND COMMENT

It is stated that when the census figures are compiled, it will be seen that the wealth of the United States aggregates ninety billions (\$90,000,000,000). If this wealth were equally distributed upon the basis of 75,000,000 population, each individual would have on an average of \$1,200. But the distribution is about as follows: Five per cent of the population, 3,750,000, representing the upper crust of capitalism, gets \$50,000,000,000, or an average of \$13,000 each; 10 per cent of the population, 7,500,000, representing the second degree of capitalism, gets \$30,000,000,000, or an average of \$4,000 each. The remaining 85 per cent of population, 63,750,000, gets \$10,000,000,000 of the wealth of the country, averaging \$150 each. Socialism contends for a more equitable distribution of wealth, and the time is near at hand when its mission of justice and fair play will be universally recognized.

Henry Clews, capitalist and the keenest stock gambler in Wall street, who has a mansion in New York and a chateau at Newport, says a college training is not likely to make a good business man, and that the "sons of independent gentlemen who have expectations make poor clerks." Stock gambling requires nerve. It is a game played by sharks and sharpers, in which loaded dice, marked cards and other cheating devices are introduced. Clews is the recognized leader of the gang in Wall street.

We have just received from the International Publishing Co. of New York, three more of the always well chosen booklets of that company. These latest are "Red Socialism" and "The Living Wage," by Blatchford, and "A Socialist's View of Religion and the Churches," by Tom Mann. The address of the publishing house is 23 Duane Street, New York.

An old dehorned ram, pleading the cause of sheep, before a syndicate of hungry wolves, fairly illustrates the folly of modern methods for abating the ravenous greed of capitalism in its pursuit of wage-earners. Socialism is the only power under heaven that can extract the fangs of capitalism or give the beast the lockjaw.

Socialists, more than any other party, sect or order, delves, explores and investigates the welfare of man. They do not "presume God to scan," but they scrutinize the devil, capitalism and other one-rules of man, particularly those who rob workmen of their tools, and then rob them of one-half of their earnings.

There was never suggested a lower or more swinish estimate of workmen than the "full dinner pail." It may be true that a man must eat to live, but the capitalistic idea is that a working-man lives to eat. Their motto is, "Feed him and fleece him."

James Bryce, the noted English writer, author of "The American Commonwealth," includes in his selection of the ten greatest books of the century Karl Marx's "Das Kapital," and places it fifth in his list. Hegel's "History of Philosophy" is third.

For a country like the United States, in which according to figures, prosperity is overflowing in all directions, strikes are in the nature of rebutting testimony. The reason is that the boasted prosperity does not benefit those who create it.

Arrangements are being perfected in Washington to dedicate the new century to God at midnight, December 31, 1900. God may object to the dedication if the devil is to run the new century as those of the past have been managed.

Just think of it! For the sum of 50 cents a subscriber receives fifty-two numbers of the Social Democratic Herald, less than one cent a number. Socialists demand ideas, and the Herald keeps them in stock for its readers.

The Union, the organ of organized labor in Indiana, under the management of Ed. Gould, is of the opinion that the retirement of several of the officers of the American Federation of Labor would help the cause immensely.

Socialists contemplate men as having brains, intellect, ambitions and aspirations, for the gratification of which something more than a "full dinner pail" is required.

Just now, as an evidence of national prosperity, capitalists refer to workmen as having "full dinner pails," as if that were sufficient compensation for a life of toil.

A "War Song Concert" in Chicago, a few nights ago was given under the auspices of a Church of Christ.

Capitalism killed chivalry. Example: The treatment of the Boers by the "civilized" British.

Tribute to Martin Irons

By Eugene V. Debs

It was in the year 1886 that Martin Irons, as the chairman of the executive board of the Knights of Labor of the Gould southwest railway system, defied capitalist tyranny, and from that hour he was doomed. All the power of capitalism combined to crush him, and when at last he succumbed to overwhelming odds, he was hounded from place to place until he was ragged and footsore and the pangs of hunger gnawed at his vitals.

For fourteen long years he fought single-handed the battle of persecution. He tramped far, and among strangers, under an assumed name, sought to earn enough to get bread. But he was tracked like a beast and driven from shelter. For this "poor wanderer of a stormy day," there was no pity. He had stood between his class and their oppressors—he was brave and would not flinch; he was honest and would not sell; this was his crime and he must die.

Martin Irons came to this country from Scotland a child. He was friendless, penniless, alone. At an early age he became a machinist. For years he worked at his trade. He had a clear head and a warm heart. He saw and felt the injustice suffered by his class. Three reductions in wages in rapid succession fired his blood. He resolved to resist. He appealed to his fellow-workers. When the great strike came Martin Irons was its central figure. The men knew they could trust him. They were not mistaken.

When at the darkest hour Jay Gould sent word to Martin Irons that he wished to see him, the answer came, "I am in Kansas City." Gould did not have gold enough to buy Irons. This was his greatest crime. The press united in fiercest denunciation. Every lie that malignity could conceive was coined and circulated. In the popular mind Martin Irons was the blackest-hearted villain that ever went unhung. Pinkerton blood hounds were on his track night and day. But through it all this honest, fearless, high-minded workman stood immovable.

The courts and soldiers responded to the command of their masters, the railroads, the strike was crushed and the workmen beaten.

Martin Irons had served, suffered for and honored his class. But he had lost. His class turned against him and joined in the execration of the enemy. This pained him more than all else. But he bore even this without a murmur, and if ever a despairing sigh was wrung from him it was when he was alone.

And thus it has been all along—the highway of the centuries, from Jesus Christ to Martin Irons.

Let it not be said that Irons was not crucified. For fourteen years he was nailed to the cross and no martyr to humanity ever bore his crucifixion with manlier fortitude.

He stood the taunts and jeers and all the bitter mockery of fate with patient heroism, and even when the poor, dumb brutes whose wounds and bruises he would have swathed with his heartstrings, turned upon and rent him, pity sealed his lips and silent suffering wrought for him a martyr's crown.

Martin Irons was hated by all who were too ignorant or base to understand him. He died despised, yet will he live beloved.

No president of the United States gave or tendered him a public office in testimony of his service to the working class. The kind of service he rendered was too honest to be respectable, too human to be popular.

The blow he struck for his class will preserve his memory. In the great struggle for emancipation he nobly did his share, and the history of labor cannot be written without his name.

He was an agitator and as such shared the common fate of all. Jesus Christ, Joan of Arc, Elijah Lovejoy, John Brown, Albert Parsons and many others set the same example and paid the same penalty.

For the reason that he was a despised agitator and shunned of men too mean and sordid to conceive the lofty motive that inspired him, he will be remembered with tenderness and love long after the last of his detractors shall have mouldered in a forgotten grave.

It was in April, 1899, in Waco, Texas, that I last pressed this comrade's hand. He bore the traces of poverty and broken health, but his spirit was intrepid as when he struck the shield of Hoxie thirteen years before; and when he spoke of Socialism he seemed transformed and all the smouldering fires within him blazed once more from his sunken eyes.

I was pained but not surprised when I read that he had "died penniless in an obscure Texas town." It is his glory and society's shame that he died that way.

His weary body has found rest and the grand-children of the men and women he struggled, suffered and died for will weave chaplets where he sleeps.

His epitaph might read: "For standing bravely in defense of the working class, he was put to death by slow torture."

Martin Irons was an honest, courageous, manly man. The world numbers one less since he has left it. Brave comrade, love and farewell!

DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM

[From Chicago Chronicle]

The various factions of radicals and extremists which were affiliated more or less closely with the Democratic party during the late campaign are preparing to hold conferences for the purpose of arranging for independent action.

The sign is an exceedingly wholesome one. If it be accompanied by similar indications in the right quarter that the Democrats also appreciate the importance of appearing before the people in their true colors there will be a distinct gain for honesty and candor in politics.

It is an instructive fact that the leaders of the radical factions who have called these meetings express themselves without reserve as quite as hostile to the Democratic party as they are to the Republican party. The Socialists of the West, the new radical party of Boston and the middle-of-the-road Populists have spoken already, and there are others yet to be heard from.

All of these organizations, by whatever name designated, are socialistic and, therefore, naturally antagonistic to the Democratic theory of government. In matters of principle they are much more in harmony with Republicanism than they are with Democracy. Their quarrel with Republicanism is not as to principles, but as to their application.

The Republican party is Socialistic in its protectionism. The true Socialists would extend the same idea to many other classes of society, particularly to the poor and the idle. The Republican party declares it to be a proper function of government to stimulate and encourage manufacturers. The true Socialists hold it to be equally the province of government to relieve the people of the management of most of their activities, to conduct them in their name and to do for the individual many of the things which he has been in the habit of doing for himself.

While there is some resemblance between the economics of the Republicans and those of the Socialists, there is absolutely no common ground on which Socialists and well-trained Democrats can stand. They are at the two extremes. Their differences are irreconcilable. If one conquers the other must go down, whether they chance to be acting together for the moment or not.

The recent alliance between these parties was dishonest, because even if the fusion had been successful at the polls it would have fallen to pieces as soon as it attempted to legislate. If the Kansas City ticket had swept the country and carried with it a two-thirds majority in both houses of congress there would have been no 16 to 1 silver legislation. There would have been no state ownership of "public utilities." There would have been no initiative and referendum. There would have been nothing at all in the line of radical and socialistic legislation, for the real Democrats would have been sufficiently numerous to defeat it.

Probably it is the recognition of this fact which is causing the present movement on the part of the radicals. They know that oil and water will not mix. It is not due to any fault on the part of the Populists or to any fault on the part of the Democrats that they are not cohesive. They are going in different directions. The fault is on the part of their leaders, who for purposes of success merely brought together elements which by all the laws of God and man are destined to remain apart forever.

There are enough Socialists and other radicals in this country to form a political party. They may find it difficult to agree as to any well-defined line of action, for they embrace men whose views are benevolent and men whose views are destructive, but the necessities of political action should enable them to come together in a common cause much more easily than they can arrange fusions with parties which agree with them in nothing.

It does not seem to be the law of Socialism to grow. If it were we should have had a Socialistic world long ago. The doctrine is as old as civilization. It has not been improved upon. It has been put into practice in many places and by many widely different people and classes of people, but everywhere and always it has been abandoned as a failure. It has constructed nothing which has endured. It has exalted government. It has debased the individual. It is, therefore, at war with a principle which is almost axiomatic that the elevation of the race cannot be accomplished as a result of legislation by wholesale, but must come about through the toilsome processes of individual improvement acting upon the body of the people and through them upon the state.

If it were not for this record of failure—failure which of late years has been confined chiefly to attempts to effect political and other organizations—it would be supposed that a Socialistic party of some magnitude might be a possibility in this country. Perhaps there may be such a party for a campaign or two, and it may for a time be able to make a respectable contest for supremacy. If such a party should appear it is to the Democratic party that the people must look for its overthrow.

Most of the Socialistic elements now in evidence here are offshoots of Republicanism. This is emphatically true of the Populists, 99 per cent of whom never voted a Democratic ticket. It is very largely true of the Socialistic forces in the great cities. If the movement is to grow it must draw its strength from the Republicans, whose excesses in the line of governmental favoritism are well calculated to make Democrats out of some of their followers and Socialists out of others whose Americanism is not so well grounded.

Judged by its history Socialism is not likely to become formidable. If it should develop strength and purpose sufficient to make it a serious menace to our institutions the Democracy should be the organization to give it battle. It carries the banners of personal liberty and individualism. It has the principles which, if honestly and bravely set forth, must triumph over the delusions of Socialism as they have triumphed over the power of tyranny.

The separation of these radicals from the Democrats, which has been so well begun, should continue to the end. It was inevitable from the beginning.

Weylerism in Cuba helped to bring about the war with Spain. Weyler corralled Cubans, men women and children, and starved them to death, and with his army tried to kill Cuban patriots who wanted to be free and independent. Weylerism is now popular in South Africa with the British, and is suggested as a good thing to civilize and Christianize Filipinos. Christian civilization in time may hope to equal that of the Chinese boxers, or the Apache Indians.

GROUND WORK OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

Various, Distinct Eras in the March
of Human Progress Noted—The
Development of Capitalist
System of Production

THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO

Evolution of Capitalism and the Goal to
Which It Inevitably Tends—Unerring
Forecasts of Marx and Engels

By James O'Neal

When the subjection of the formerly independent producer to the position of a wage laborer is accomplished, the surplus value wrung from the laborer is capitalized for the purpose of crushing other capitalists. To quote Marx: "As soon as this process of transformation has sufficiently decomposed the old society from top to bottom; as soon as the laborers are turned into proletarians, their means of labor into capital; as soon as the capitalist mode of production stands on its own feet; then the further socialization of labor and further transformation of the land and other means of production into socially exploited and, therefore, common means of production, as well as the further expropriation of private proprietors, take a new form. That which is now to be expropriated is no longer the laborer working for himself, but the capitalist exploiting many laborers. This expropriation is accomplished by the action of the imminent laws of capitalistic production itself, by the centralization of capital." These "imminent laws" are inseparable from capitalist society. The capitalist, like all others in modern society, is engaged in the struggle for existence and endeavors to secure for himself and family wealth for their enjoyment. No limits are set to the amount he may accumulate, for to do so would be to strike at the very root of the system—that is, private monopoly. Allow the state to interfere, and it ceases to be PRIVATE property. Hence they are engaged in the struggle for control of the markets, and the weaker ones go to the wall and fall into the ranks of the laborers. Competition forces them to combine and gives those in the combination added strength and, by reducing expenses to a minimum, enables them to produce cheaper and to undertake enterprises which would be impossible prior to the combination. This combination renders the subjection of the laborers complete. Their labor power is reduced to the plane of merchandise, whose value is determined like the value of any other commodity, its cost of production and reproduction.

At this stage of development the classes are very sharply defined. On the one hand the capitalist class with the means of production (raw materials, machinery, etc.) in their possession; on the other hand the laborers with their vital force for sale. One buys it, the other sells it. Owners of tools and users of tools. Exploiters and exploited. Rulers and ruled. With this quantitative increase of capital at this stage came also a qualitative change in its form. The former independent, isolated and individual method of production is supplanted by social production and co-operative labor in the factory. The centralization process continues. To quote Marx again: "Hand in hand with this centralization, or this expropriation of many capitalists by few, develop, on an ever-extending scale, the co-operative form of the labor process, the conscious technical application of science, the methodical cultivation of the soil, the transformation of the instruments of labor into instruments of labor only usable in common, the economizing of all means of production by their use as the means of production of combined, socialized labor, the entanglement of all peoples in the net of the world market, and with this, the international character of the capitalist regime." These words, written in 1867, sound more like a prophecy than the deductions of a man engaged in analyzing the development of capitalist society. As this centralization of the wealth productive forces of society continues the condition of the laborers grows worse. They have but one commodity for sale, their labor power, which is sold in advance by the day, week or month, and as it is inseparable from themselves they are sold with it. Its price fluctuates around the subsistence point and is held there by competition for jobs. The sale is not a voluntary one, but a forced one, due to their position in society. Unlike other commodities, they cannot send other commodities, they cannot send samples of it to the prospective buyer for his inspection, nor can they hold it from the market and await a raise in price; they are "free men" (?) who MUST sell, for on its sale depends the life of themselves, wives and little ones. As Prof. Davidson well said:

"The laborer must sell today; the employer need not buy until tomorrow. To the master it is only a question of profits; to the laborer it is a question of LIFE."

As capitalism develops, the small capitalist is gradually forced into bankruptcy by a more powerful opponent, and these gradually swell the ranks of the workers, and the introduction of more improved machinery, the further division and subdivision of labor play their part in increasing their numbers and consequently the ranks of the unemployed. Thus the number of those of whom capitalist MUST BUY labor power is decreased, while the number of the laborers who MUST SELL AND NO MARKET FOR ITS SALE INCREASES. This competition between the unemployed for jobs, between those who MUST sell and NO BUYERS, drives wages to the subsistence point. The assertion that they should save up something for a rainy day and go into business is mockery when thousands with years of experience constantly fail. How, then (granting that they could save), could they hope to succeed with no experience at all? The constant introduction of machinery transfers the skill of the workers to the machine and reduces them to a common level. This reduction and the massing of them in the large factories promotes a fraternal bond of solidarity among them. A spirit of class consciousness is developed, a consciousness of their subservience to the class who own the means by which wealth is produced and by which the surplus values of their toil is wrung from them. Meantime the development of industry produces periodical crises and the workers are thrown aside like squeezed lemons. They are told by the "learned" that they have produced too much, and they go home to see if it is true. They find the larder empty and are at a loss to determine which is correct, their failure to save or the production of too much. Some ascribe it to the absence of white metal instead of yellow, as a means of exchange, while Prof. Jevons in England had to leave the domain of earthly things to seek an explanation of the paradox of want and misery amid abundance, and thought he found it in the spots on the sun. Yet none of these could answer the simple problem propounded to them by the Socialist, which is, how can industrial crises be avoided when the purchasing power of the greatest class in society, the laborers, is less than 17 per cent of the products on the market? Wealth is centralized at one pole of society and population at the other. This centralization revolutionizes the industrial basis of capitalism and contains within it the elements for the solution of the problem. Industry has been socialized through capitalist organization, but its benefits are appropriated by a class. The instruments are of such a magnitude and character that they are only capable of being used in common by great masses of laborers co-operatively arranged. In other words, the industrial basis necessary for the Socialist society—that is, socialized production and co-operative labor—have been developed by the warring forces in the bosom of the capitalist society, and the new order is struggling to burst the capitalistic garment in which it is enveloped.

The old order is no longer adapted to the productive forces which it has evolved. It must be annihilated, it will be annihilated. Marx describes this period in the following passage: "Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital, who usurp and monopolize all advantages of this process of transformation, grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation; but with this, too, grows the revolt of the working class, a class always increasing in numbers and disciplined, united, organized by the very mechanism of the process of capitalistic production itself. The monopoly of capital becomes a fetter upon the mode of production, which has sprung up and flourished along and under it. Centralization of the means of production and socialization of labor at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. This integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated." In other words, capitalism is pregnant with a new social order. It has entered the stage of decay and dissolution, which always presages the destruction of an old and the birth of a new society.

(To be continued.)

The Herald, in proportion as its subscribers increase in numbers, will be able to do more and better work in promoting the cause dear to every Socialist. Think of it, comrades, and send along the names.

Every new branch of the Social Democratic party indicates the growth of the cause of Socialism. It is a landmark in the march of new ideas, a monumental expression of faith in man.

A new subscriber for the Herald is a new force in the battle for better conditions.

The Taproot of Crime

Bishop Potter of the Episcopal church spoke at a meeting in New Haven, Conn., Dec. 6, his subject being "Wealth and Commonwealth." "I choose this subject because of its paramount importance," he said. "Divorce, crime, corruption in all our cities have one root, the lust of money. The one eager, dominant hunger which salutes us from one end to another of our broad land is the passion, the hunger, the greed of gain."

"Go where you may, talk with whom you will—with clergymen estimating the promise of field for spiritual labor, with women rating the claims of other women upon their social recognition, with the heads of great universities paralyzed with fright lest the indiscretions of some plain-spoken professor who tells his age the truth in an hour when it sorely needs to hear it shall cut down the revenues of the college—it is no matter, the commercial question is at the bottom of it and decides usually all the others."

"We read the other day of a woman at the horse show whose attire was a dress made of the skins of unborn lambs. What do you think of such a thing? Is not this a relic of barbarism?"

"What would be the effect of a company of men and women of recognized leadership should bind themselves together to illustrate in their habit of life simplicity of attire, inexpensiveness in their dwellings, and should further bind themselves to discourage the habit of excessive accumulation? For myself, I believe that such a suggestion would attract far greater numbers than most of us believe."

A Guiding Hand Needed

While a man so able and impartial as James Bryce of England includes in the ten greatest works of the century Karl Marx's "Capital," the importance of Socialist literature in general calls out the following from the New York Times:

"There is need for a competent examination of the teachings of the new Socialism. Most of those who teach it fail to carry out their theories logically to their consequences. Perhaps they lack the gift of scientific imagination to picture forth what would happen if their doctrines should come to be controlling. Students of the science, however, would be grateful for the help of a strong hand to guide them in the maze of new and untried theories that confront them at every turn."

The school of writers who have been happily described as professional friends of man have taught the world some truths that it could ill afford to ignore. One of them is that human labor can no longer be considered as a mere commodity to be governed by the ruthless law of demand and supply. But along with the truths there is much matter that we do not know to be true. Many thinkers hold it to be quite untrue. The body of this economic literature is now sufficiently great to repay a systematic examination and review.

SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE SOCIAL EVIL

(Continued from First Page)

cantilism first in the history of the west raised its head. Indigenous women appeared who were dependent for their existence on their sexual nature. The first professional prostitutes were "freed slaves." Prostitution or sexual slavery was at once recognized as a social institution. In the middle ages the class of prostitutes was organized into a guild or trade union, and enjoyed legal recognition in the person of a yearly elected "queen" of prostitutes. This queen was duly sworn in by the government and empowered to prosecute all "scab" prostitutes. At that period the rule of the male over the female in human society was in full sway, and even the fathers, brothers and sons of proletarian women looked with complacency on such institutions as jus primae noctes. The alleged infidelity of a wife was punished by compulsory prostitution for life. Municipalities engaged in the business of running houses of ill fame. Even some of the popes of Rome kept houses of ill fame, from which they derived a part of their princely income (Sixtus IV., for instance). Rome never was especially scrupulous about the source of the money flowing to it, as may be best illustrated by the proverb, "non olet" ("it does not smell")—that means the ill-gotten money.

The rapid spread of protestantism and syphilis put an end to the, so to speak, institutional period of sexual slavery. The discovery of America and the general development of international commerce ushered in the most typical and perfect form of commercialism—our modern industrial or capitalistic era. More perfect methods were applied to the trade with human flesh called prostitution. Sexual slavery turned into a regular branch of international trade. Hundreds of thousands of "free proletarian women" are enticed by professional agents into dismal abodes of vice, standing under the official or secret protection of the police, and kept there in order to eke out a miserable existence for themselves and create fortunes for their "employers." These professional agents travel from one end of the globe

to the other in search for fresh sexual slaves, destined to take the place of the rapidly used up old ones. The demand for additional bands of slaves in some localities where there is a prospect of an increased influx, even if temporarily only, of people is eagerly watched by these agents and met by them promptly, as in the case of army manoeuvres or fairs.

Where do all the professional prostitutes come from? This is a highly interesting question. Any one knowing the nature of women, not from the point of view of a man whose mind is poisoned with ideas belonging to the pestilential atmosphere of sexual profligacy, but from the point of view of a son, brother or husband, will admit that no innocent woman will take refuge in professional prostitution, even under the pressure of the direst need; that an honest woman, brought up in the pure atmosphere of love and devotion, will prefer suicide to sexual slavery. Actually, the professional prostitute has fallen gradually on the inclined plane of professional vice till she reached a stage where there is no hope for her to a decent life. Economic conditions compel the proletarian to send his own daughters, mostly before they reach maturity, into the industrial field, where she competes with him. She succeeds in lowering his earnings, but gets herself wages that are ridiculously insufficient to cover her most urgent needs. The young girl knows little of the perfdy of life, nothing of the beastly meanness of the male animal lurking in almost every man. She is young and beautiful. She wants to live and enjoy life as her more fortunate sisters do. Her earnings do not allow her even to dress herself decently. Her cousin proletarian, with whom she works, cannot afford to marry her, although he loves her dearly. Suppose she works in some of the mammoth department stores. The manager notices that she is poorly dressed and thinks that this may hurt his trade. He tells her that she must dress better or quit the job. "But I do not earn enough to pay even my board," answers the girl in despair. "Have you no man friend

who will help you?" is the cynical suggestion of the manager, who is maybe himself not disinclined to be for awhile this friend in need. But then, there is a whole class of professional and unprofessional young men who want to live and enjoy life, but cannot afford to keep up a family on a standard corresponding to their ideal of living decently. The proletarian girl has no trouble to find a friend, and get along for a while in the bliss of the "first love," at least on her part. The friend betrays her. She loses faith in human nature, turns cynical, and after a few such experiences engages in prostitution as a "side line." Then, little by little, the "side line" turns into a regular profession, and she is lost.

Who will dare to throw a stone at the modern proletarian Magdalene? Did we not, as members of the present society, deliberately drive her to her fate? Is the prostitute not punished enough by her fate to need our phariseic compassion and charity? This unfortunate daughter of the proletariat wants justice, not charity! Is the capitalistic class any more moral than the class of proletarians? Is not commercialism permeating all the philosophy of life of the middle class? Does not the matrimonial market of the "higher classes" bear a purely commercial aspect? Do not young men or women of the so-called "respectable families" look chiefly for pecuniary advantages in their matrimonial affairs? Are not many matrimonial unions sanctified by law and church more than prostitution, because there is no element of dire need as an excuse, eliminated?

Proletarians! Is your sister, daughter and sweetheart in danger under the present economic system? Save them from sexual slavery by abolishing the system enslaving your own class.

During the past ten years the United States has coined 122,783,050 standard silver dollars, making a clear profit of about \$61,000,000, and on the face of every dollar stamped the motto: "In God we trust." Rockefeller's motto engraved upon his tanks and pipes is similar.

A PRIMER OF SOCIALISM

A 32-page pamphlet which contains in addition to the "Primer of Socialism," by G. C. Clemens, "Socializing a State," by the late Laurence Gronlund, and "Economic Terms and Phrases," by A. P. Haze.

One of the strongest pamphlets for propaganda yet issued. A splendid vote-maker, and thousands should be circulated before election.

PER COPY, 5 CENTS—PER 100, \$1.50

Address, Debs Publishing Co.
Terre Haute, Indiana.

BRANCH SUPPLIES

Membership Cards (per 100)..... 1.00
Membership Applications (100)..... .25
Constitutions (each)..... .03

Send orders with cash to Theodore Debs,
126 Washington Street, Chicago. No supplies sent on credit.

LOCAL BRANCHES

Notices of Branch Meetings Inserted for
25 Cents per Month

CALIFORNIA

Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evening, commencing at 8. Admission free. Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening.
Membership, Social Dem. of: I paid free to each member, 25 cents per month.
Apply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk Street.

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 8 o'clock at Woodmen's Hall, 1254 Spring St. J. Frank, 100 Dayton Ave., Secretary.
Branch No. 2, San Francisco (German). Holds business meeting first Sunday each month, at 1 o'clock p. m., at 117 Turk Street. Agitation meeting on third Sunday evening, same place, to which public is invited. August F. Mayer, secretary, 1408 Polk Street.

CHICAGO

Branch No. 1, Denver, meets every Sunday at 8:30 p. m. at 1715 California Ave., Chas. M. Davis, Secretary, 1629 17th Street.
Branch No. 2, Goldfield, meets every Sunday at 7:30 p. m. at City Hall. Chas. La Camp, Secretary.

CONNECTICUT

The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at 8 p. m. at P. S. Hall, 280 Main St., Hartford. Louis Scialoja, Sec., 26 Spring St., Rockville, Conn.
Branch No. 3, New Haven, meets every Wednesday evening at 8 p. m. at Ansonia Hall. C. Volner, Sec.
Branch No. 4, Rockville, Conn., meets first and third Thursdays at Turn Hall meeting room, Village Street. Secretary, Richard Niederwieser, Box 160.

ILLINOIS

Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 53 Dearborn St.
Branch No. 1, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening. Thomas Kirwin, Secretary, 2504 Westworth Ave.
Branch No. 2 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets first and third Saturdays at 8 p. m. at Nagl's Hall, 525 Blue Island Ave.

Branch No. 3 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Mondays at 8 p. m. in Dunder's place, 1080 W. 12th place. Joseph Dunder, Secretary.
Branch No. 5, Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays of each month at Pinar's Hall, corner Centre Ave. and 19th St. Jot. Cerny, Sec., 536 W. 18th St.

Branch No. 6, Chicago, meets at Adolph Jankowski's place, 184 West 21st Street, every other Saturday in the month. A. Geisler, Sec., 726 W. 20th Street.
Branch No. 8 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays at 8 p. m. at 8025 Lincoln Street. J. A. Ambros, Secretary, 680 Wood Street.

Branch No. 9, Chicago, meets at 1145 W. 63rd St., first and third Sundays at 8 p. m. Gus Larson, Secretary, 6243 Center Avenue.

INDIANA

Branch No. 4, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month at Betschew's Hall, corner Market and Noble Sts. Address all communications to the Sec. of State Executive Board, Thomas Cation, 506 Warren Ave.

IOWA

Branch No. 2, Hitegan, meets every fourth Friday in the month at opera house. James Baxter, chairman, Wm. Truman, secretary, Box 151.

KENTUCKY

Branch No. 4, Bellows, meets 1st and 3rd Sunday, at 2 p. m. and 2nd and 4th Wednesday at 8 p. m. at 21 Fairfield Ave. We will aim to make it interesting for all. Henry Listerman, Sec., 126 Foote Ave.

MASSACHUSETTS

Branch No. 2, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at Springfield Turner Hall. Carl Schwabe, Organizer, 24 Jackson St.
Branch No. 3, Lynn, permanent headquarters, 71 Monroe St. Business meeting every Monday night at 7:30. Open house. Public invited. Harry Gotimer, Sec., 22 Essex St.

Branch No. 5, Brockton, meets Friday nights at 8 p. m. for business at Brockton Hall, corner Market and Main and Center Sts. Every comrade is expected to attend one meeting a month. Mrs. Annie Berworth, Secretary, 21 Prospect St.
Branch No. 10, Roxbury, Mass., meets at 24 Warren St., 1st and 3rd Fridays of every month. Public invited.

MICHIGAN

Branch No. 1, Battle Creek, Mich., meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of each month, at 8 p. m. at 10 W. Main Street, in the International Congress Hall. All are cordially invited. L. C. Rogers, Secretary.

MINNESOTA

Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Gesswein, on Main St. A. Kingsbury, Secretary.

MISSOURI

Branch No. 7, Kansas City, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1800 Union Ave. G. J. Storz, Secretary, 1280 W. 9th St.

MONTANA

Branch No. 1, Butte, meets every Thursday, at 8:30 p. m., Engineers' Hall, Owsley Block, G. Frankel, Sec. 71 E. Park Street.

Branch No. 2 meets first and third Sundays of each month at G. W. Wood's home, Chico, Mont.

NEW JERSEY

Branch No. 1, Secretary, Michael W. Schor, 37 Livingston St.

Branch No. 5, Camden, N. J., meets every 3rd Sunday of the month. For particulars address Paul Eberding, 1206 Knight's Avenue.

Branch No. 2 (German) Newark, meets every third Saturday, at International Hall, 7 Bedford St. Hans Hartwig, Secretary, 7 Bedford St.

Branch No. 6 (German), Paterson, N. J., meets first and third Mondays at 8 p. m. at Halveta Hall, 34-36 Van Houten St. Karl Lardner, Secretary, 34 Edmond St.

NEW YORK

The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York, meets every second Tuesday at 4th St. E. Street, Windsor Hall. James Altman, Secretary, 22 Suffolk St. Care of "Forward."

East Side Branch No. 1, New York, meets every first and third Thursdays at 113 Clinton St. A. Guyer, Secretary, 125 Suffolk St.

Branch No. 5 Brooklyn, New York, meets every Saturday at 8 p. m. at 56 Moore St. Visitors welcome. Comrade desiring to organize should communicate with Secretary Sol. Freeman, 190 Soerum St.

Branch No. 8, Buffalo, N. Y.—Persons desiring to join this branch will call or communicate with Tom Fittos, 119 Congress Street.

Branch No. 10, New York, meets every Friday, at 8 p. m., 200 E. Broadway. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Organizer, Joseph Williams, 56 Henry St.

OHIO

Branch No. 4, Cincinnati, meets at Richelien Hall southeast corner 9th and Plum Sts., every Sunday at 3 p. m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Joe Jasin, Secretary, 1410 Central Avenue.

OREGON

Branch No. 1, Portland, meets every Monday night at Washington Hotel, Cor. 3d and Fifth Sts. Every body invited. T. C. Wendland, chairman; Mrs. N. E. Fortsch, secretary.

PENNSYLVANIA

Branch No. 1, Philadelphia, meets every Monday, at 8 p. m., at 423 E. 3rd Street, until further notice.

Branch No. 4, Coatesville, meets every second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at 11 E. of L. Hall. Chas. Knispel, Chairman; L. H. Morris, Secretary, 2nd Coatesville, Treasurer.

Branch No. 5, Philadelphia, meets first Friday of each month—Executive meets every Sunday morning at 8 D. P. Club Rooms, at 423 E. Third St. Organizer, M. Gillis, 1007 B. Third St.

Branch No. 10, Williamsport, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2 p. m. in Social Labor Hall, No. 26 East 3d St. G. B. Smith, chairman; Jno. Lyon, secretary, 743 Second St. Public invited.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee Central Committee, S. D. P., meets second and fourth Mondays of the month at Brewers' Hall, southeast corner Fourth and Chestnut Sts.

Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets at Kaiser's Hall, Fourth Street, between State and Prairie, every second and fourth Thursdays evening.

Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Saturdays in Gastke's Hall, Concordia and Green Bay Ave. Frank Liebsch, secretary.

Branch No. 3, Sheboygan, meets every second Thursdays of the month at Emil Henschel's place, 1011 Michigan Ave. Secretary, Eugene F. Kichenberger, 102 N. 11th Street.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday each month at Malier's Hall, corner 2nd and Brown Sts. George Macerbell, Secretary, 201 3rd St.

Branch No. 5, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at 21 Sigel's Hall, southeast corner Orchard St. and 9th Ave. O. Wild, Secretary, 112 2nd St.

Branch No. 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursdays of each month at Volkmar's Hall, 11 and Center St., 8 p. m. Secretary, Randolph Leosch, 112 2nd St.

Branch No. 13, Milwaukee, meets second and fourth Wednesdays of each month, at 834 Clark Street. Henry Harshbarger, Sec., 1074 7th Street.

The Haverhill Defeat

Nothing so plainly betrays the secret fear which preys on the capitalistic politician as the eagerness with which he seizes on any apparent defeat of the Socialists. Hence the satisfaction with which the capitalistic press announces the election of a republican mayor of Haverhill. As if a few aldermen and a mayor could retard the steady march of our vote, increasing as it does on an average 50 per cent every year. Or, as if one small provincial town bore any larger proportion to the cause of international Socialism than a ripple on the Merrimac bears to the Atlantic ocean.

However, since in the near future we are likely to have many Haverhills in different parts of the country, it may be useful to analyze the causes which led to the loss of this first American town, except Sheboygan, Wis., that ever elected Socialist officials. The writer enjoyed the privilege of taking some part in the stirring municipal campaign of 1899 in Haverhill. At that time the republicans and democrats put up a united ticket against the Social Democrats. Money was freely used. A railway corporation sent the anti-Socialist campaign committee a contribution of \$30,000. Yet, in spite of all their efforts, the S. D. P. won the day and Mayor Chase was re-elected by a majority of 215.

This year the two old parties did not combine, but the republicans and democrats ran separate tickets. The conditions apparently were more favorable, than ever for a Socialist victory. The Socialists of Haverhill, no doubt, worked as earnestly as in last year's campaign. Yet Mayor Chase is defeated by a plurality of 1,077, and not one single Socialist is returned to the board of aldermen.

How, then, can we account for such a sudden change? There seems to be but one explanation.

The most flourishing branch, it it is cut from the parent tree, withers in a few hours: The sturdiest arm, if amputated from the body, loses its strength forever.

One year ago the whole Social Democratic party stood behind the comrades of Haverhill. From Wisconsin, from New York, from the most widely scattered places, contributions poured in to the campaign fund, till it reached over \$1,200. This is a large sum to be expended in a small town upon a Socialist campaign, in which all the work is voluntary, and therefore the total proceeds can be used for literature and to defray the expenses of public meetings.

But, the mere value in dollars and cents was a small part of the benefit derived from this fund. Its moral effect was a thousandfold greater. Never can I forget the thrill of comradeship and brotherhood which these contributions carried with them, coming some from the tenements of the east side of New York, some from the labor unions of Milwaukee, and all freighted with the spirit of loving self-sacrifice.

In other ways the members of the S. D. P. testified their sympathy. Eugene V. Debs, with one of his thrilling speeches, turned the whole course of the campaign and changed it from a defensive to an aggressive one. The whole party was watching Haverhill. Who could not work well and hopefully with such comrades behind?

But in 1900 Haverhill saw fit to cut herself off from all these sources of moral and material aid. By severing her connection with the Social Democratic party she asserted her ability to rely on her own resources, with such little assistance as she might receive from the small body at Springfield, with which she allied herself. The result has been disastrous to her and needs no comment.

We say this in no spirit of criticism of the Haverhill comrades, who, we may concede, acted according to their best judgment. But there are other localities which stand aloof from the national organization, and for their sakes the warning and the lesson should not pass unnoticed. For if Haverhill, which had twice elected Social Democratic mayor, aldermen and councilmen, proved so weak as soon as she discovered herself from the central organization, how can younger and smaller branches expect to flourish without the support of the parent stem?

In selfish isolation, or in affiliation with a small faction, can never come the strength the magnetism and the courage which belong to a large and enthusiastic organization. Those Socialists who persist in standing apart will surely see their efforts fail and their little organizations pine away or perish in an enemy's country when they have lagged behind the rest of the army.

Come, comrades! Come, brothers! Join hands with us. Singly we are the laughing-stock of the world. Singly we are the sport of the politician and the fools of an idle dream.

But welded together in the bonds of comradeship, we shall feel the vital impulses, the energy and the confidence emanating from our national center and from each other; and our true and tried organization will march on conquering and to conquer.

E. H. T.

The "Study of Mankind" stands first in the curriculum of the University of Socialism.

SPECIAL CONVENTION

OFFICIAL CALL

To Members and Branches of the Social Democratic Party, Comrades:

RESPONDING to suggestions from all parts of the country and a demand from many branches, a special National Convention of the Social Democratic party is hereby called, to take place at the national headquarters, 126 Washington street, Chicago, Ill., beginning Tuesday, January 15, 1901, and continuing in session until the work of the convention shall have been completed.

The purpose of this convention will be to make such changes in the laws of the party and to make such other provisions as may be deemed necessary to meet the growing demands of the organization. It is our purpose to enter at once upon a vigorous campaign of agitation, education and organization, so that the party shall be fully equipped to meet the capitalist enemy on the political battle-fields of the future. Now that the presidential campaign is over, our work is fairly begun and must be carried forward with all possible energy without the loss of a single hour.

The basis and other conditions of representation will be the same as at the Indianapolis Convention, and are here incorporated as follows:

First—Each branch shall be entitled to as many representatives as the individual members thereof in good standing may select for that purpose; provided, that each representative shall be entitled to one (1) vote for each member whose signature is attached to his credential; and provided further, that no member shall have his signature attached to more than one credential.

Second—Branches not sending their own representatives may select those of other branches of the same state to represent them; provided, that in each such case the representative shall hold the proper credential with the signatures of members attached as herein provided.

Third—No member shall be qualified to serve as representative or entitled to representation who has not been a member of the party at least thirty (30) days prior to the opening day of the convention.

Fourth—All signatures of members attached to credentials shall be certified to by the chairman or secretary of their respective branches.

Fifth—The national secretary shall furnish each branch with a sufficient number of blank credentials for the purpose herein specified.

Unaffiliated Socialist clubs or societies whose members may desire to connect themselves with the Social Democratic party, are cordially invited to communicate through their proper officials with the Secretary of the National Executive Board, 126 Washington street, Chicago.

This call is issued to all branches of the Social Democratic party in good standing, as shown by the records at 126 Washington street, Chicago, and organized prior to December 15, 1900: The time and place of meeting and other details will be given in the Herald as soon as arrangements are completed.

SEYMOUR STEDMAN, Secretary.

NOTES FROM THE FIELD

Two new branches of the S. D. P. were organized in New Hampshire in November.

Branch 4 of Utah is arranging for a masquerade ball on Christmas eve, the proceeds to go to the lecture fund.

A new Socialist paper comes to our table from Evansville, Ind. It is named Justice and is bright and attractive.

A delegate convention of the Socialist party of Oklahoma has been called to assemble December 26th at the City of Guthrie.

Comrade Guy H. Lockwood is planning to take the road next spring for Socialism with an automobile. We wish him success.

The official vote credited to the Socialists of Oklahoma is 815. That is the nucleus of what will develop into a conquering army in a few years.

Comrade Krieger, Rockville, Conn., writes that the vote at the city election was 171, distributed in wards as follows: Second, 22; Third, 29; Fourth, 120.

Branch 4, Cincinnati, at a meeting held November 25, adopted a resolution favoring the calling of a national convention and encouraging an effort for "union."

Hyde Park, Mass., showed an active interest in the Socialist cause by polling 73 straight votes for presidential electors, 86 for congressman and 146 for state senate.

A contribution of 25 cents to the campaign fund has been received from Comrade Center, New York, which added to the amount already reported, makes a total of \$2,176.50.

In the Tenth ward last Saturday night, branches 3, 6 and 19 of the Social Democratic party nominated Comrade Rudolph Pusch for alderman. Comrade Pusch has been a faithful worker in the movement.

Branch 12 (German) of San Francisco is in a flourishing condition and doing effective work. At every meeting new members are enrolled. The comrades are grathly at the interest shown in meetings since the election.

Tuesday evening, Dec. 18, at the Bohemian hall, corner Twelfth and Vine streets, the Bohemian Social Democrats of Milwaukee will hold a meeting to be addressed by Comrade Jaroslav Fousek, a member of the Racine branch.

The city elections in Washington have served again to accentuate the growth of Socialism. At Fairhaven John Cloak, Social Democratic candidate for Mayor, received 267 votes against 302 for his Republican opponent supported by Democrats. At New Whatcom, E. Lux (S. D.) polled for mayor 441 votes against 560 for the Republican, who also got Democratic support.

The regular Social Democrats in the Eight ward, Chicago, nominated Comrade Nerad for alderman Monday night. The nominee is well known and highly respected, and the comrades have done themselves credit in the selection.

The growth in membership of our branches since the election is remarkable and significant. A number of large increases have been reported, and all tend to show the healthy state of the party and to insure its rapid development. Among the late reports is that of one branch at Burlington, Iowa, where forty-one new members were admitted in two weeks. The year about to begin is to be a record-breaker for our party.

Fitchburg Forges Ahead

Branches all over the country are active and adding to their membership rolls. Since the 5th of November the loyal branch at Fitchburg, Mass., has taken in 34 new members. The comrades are greatly encouraged; they are united and harmonious, conditions which are manifest in the splendid vote, 547, cast in favor of Comrade Rice for mayor.

Correction

Referring to the item in the campaign committees report "for advertising, etc., in the Appeal and Herald," it should be noted that the campaign committee had exclusive control of the entire fourth page of the Herald. It should also be mentioned that the total bill contracted with the Appeal to Reason was \$258, of which the Appeal threw off \$213.50, receiving from this committee \$64.50 in full payment.

I wish also to acknowledge omitting the valuable services to the committee of Mrs. A. S. Edwards, which were gratuitously furnished it during the campaign.

Seymour Stedman.

Action of "Unionists" Repudiated

The course now being pursued by regular branches of the Social Democratic party shows resolution and a clear understanding of present conditions in the movement in Chicago. Last Sunday afternoon a meeting of Branch 4, Illinois, was held at Comrade Conrad's, West Ohio street, and the following resolution unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That this meeting of Branch 4 of the Social Democratic party takes cognizance of a call for a meeting in the Thirteenth ward under the name "Social Democratic party," for the purpose of nominating an alderman; said call appeared in the Chicago Evening News and the Workers' Call, was issued and signed by F. G. Strickland and J. B. Smiley and claimed to represent the Social Democratic party; it was not issued by the Social Democratic party and the persons who attached their names to it had no authority or right to use the name; we, therefore, repudiate, in the name of the Social Democratic party, any and all action taken at said meeting and order this resolution printed in the Social Democratic Herald.

The next business meeting of Branch 4 will be held at the same place in the afternoon of the first Sunday in January, when a full attendance of all members is desired.

NEW BRANCHES

Illinois, three.
Missouri, one.
Montana, one.
Total, five.

The Social Democratic party, with 100,000 men good and true, is invincible.

In the lexicon of socialism the cowardly words "fear" and "fail" do not appear.

Nothing succeeds like success. The way to have a new branch of the Social Democratic party is to go out and organize it.

The Social Democratic party has a flag. It is the "Flag of the free heart's hope and home By angel hands to valor given."

Now is the time for soldiers of the Social Democratic party and army to plant it on highlands and lowlands and the plains of the country, in city, town and village, rally around it, fling it to the breeze and standing by it, ask: "Who shall haul it down?"

A good place to get the Herald is in your barber shop. It will be seen and read. It is just what Socialists want and non-Socialists will subscribe for. Give them a chance to see it.

C. L. Shamp, secretary of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen has come out for Socialism. He has had his ear to the ground and is through with old party politics.

A branch of the Social Democratic party is something in the nature of a dynamo to light and keep burning the lamp of Socialism. Increase their size and you add to the illuminating power of the lamps.

The Herald wants 20,000 subscribers as a Christmas gift.

Are You a Crusader

A subscriber to the Social Democratic Herald becomes at once an active soldier in an army of crusaders pledged to remedy the deplorable conditions which our civilization has planted and cultivated. Unlike the crusaders who organized armies to rescue the Holy Land from the grasp of Mohammedans, he does not enlist to rescue a tomb, a shrine nor a temple, but men, women and children from present and impending misfortune.

The Socialist who subscribes for the Herald will not be dazed by the spectacular exhibitors of wealth nor will he be cajoled by its siren song.

He is not to be classed with cynics of the Diogenes school of philosophy, with pessimists nor with optimists, holding that some higher power than man orders things. He believes that Socialists can order things by the overmastering genius of truth and the commanding power of reason.

He believes the Social Democratic Herald is helping the cause of emancipation from degrading environments. He is right. We hail every subscriber to the Herald as a helper in a cause which calls into action the noblest attributes of human nature.

The Book You Need

PRINCIPLES OF

Scientific Socialism

By Rev. Charles H. Vail

Author "Modern Socialism" and "National Ownership of Railways."

CONTENTS:

The Industrial Revolution. The Analysis of Value. The Origin of Surplus Value. The Advantages of Socialism: Production, Distribution, Elimination of Useless Vocations, Prevention of Waste, Elevation of Woman, Proper Care and Training of Children, Efficient Directors, Solution of the Monetary Question, Abolition of Taxation, Simplification of Government, Benefits to Capitalists, Benefits to Laborers. The Evidences of the Moral Strength of Socialism: Its Spirit and Aim; Abolition of Business Dishonesty; Restriction of Divorce; Prevention of Prostitution; Elimination of Crime; Prevention of Intemperance, Inequality, etc. Poverty—Its Cause and Cure. Wage Slavery vs. Chattel Slavery. Rent and Interest. The Law of Wages. The Law of Progress. Industrial Depression and Commercial Crises. The Problem of Labor-Saving Machinery. Popular Economic Errors: That Value is Determined by Capitalist Cost of Production; that the Interests of Laborers and Capitalists are identical; that Labor is Better Off To-day Than Ever Before; that Cheap Prices are Beneficial to Labor; that Foreign Markets are Beneficial to Labor; that Luxury is Beneficial to Labor; that Land Nationalization Would Solve the Social Question; that Extravagance is the Chief Cause of Economic Want; that Socialism Would Thwart Inventions and Improvements; that Socialism Would Destroy Individuality. Conclusion and Index. 12mo, 226 Pages; Paper, 50c; Cloth, \$1.00.

SEND ORDERS TO

THEODORE DEBS, 126 Washington St. CHICAGO

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LIBRARY

Karl Marx, Capital, Cloth.....\$2.00
F. W. Sprague—Socialism from Genesis to Revolution. Cloth.....1.00
Gronlund—The Co-operative Commonwealth. Paper......50
August Bebel—Woman: Past, Present and Future. Paper......50
Blatchford—Merrie England......50
Edward Bellamy—Looking Backward......50
Edward Bellamy—Equality, Cloth.....1.00
Hobbes—History of the Commonwealth of 1651.....1.00
Charles Vail—Modern Socialism.....1.00
Ashpurt—Heterodox Economics and Orthodox Profits......50
Henry D. Lloyd—Wealth Against Commonwealth.....1.00
Volney—The Ruins of Empires......50
Thomas Paine—The Rights of Man......50
Henry George—Social Problems......50
Osborne Ward—The Ancient Lovers......50
Adams—President John Smith......50
Richard T. Ely—Socialism and Social Reform.....1.00
Buchner—Man in the Past, Present and Future.....1.00
Chas. E. Vail—Principles of Scientific Socialism.....1.00
Harron—Between Jesus and Caesar......50
Fabian Essays......50
Rogers—Six Centuries of Work and Wages......50
Donnelly—Caesar's Column......50

PAMPHLETS

F. Lasalle—What Is Capital......50
H. M. Hyndman—Socialism and Slavery......50
F. Lasalle—The Workingman's Program......50
Chas. H. Vail—The Industrial Revolution......50

THEODORE DEBS, Secretary Treasurer, 126 Washington Street, Chicago.

New Ready!.....126 Pages

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

RED BOOK

EDITED BY FREDERIC HEATH

Printed on Plate Paper. Handsomely Illustrated.

This is an annual publication for Social Democrats who will find it indispensable for reference purposes. This first issue is of especial value because of the historical character of its contents. Among the features are:

A HISTORY OF SOCIALISM IN AMERICA. Covering 76 pages, with portraits of Robert Owen, Etienne Cabet, Wilhelm Weitling, etc., etc.

ALBERT BRUNHANE. The first American agitator, with portrait.

A TRIP TO GIRARD. By Wayfarer, with view of Appeal to Reason office.

KARL MARX ON THE SINGLE TAX. Covering 76 pages, with portraits of Robert Owen, Etienne Cabet, Wilhelm Weitling, etc., etc.

MACHINE VS. HAND LABOR. Compiled from government reports by Linda Ledoff.

SHORTER PIECES. Labor Conflicts in 1899. Gronlund, Grant Allen. Chronology for 1899. Directory of Social Democrats. Socialist Controversies of 1899. The "Golden Rule Mayor." Prof. Herron's Own Social Democratic Platform, Etc.

BIOGRAPHIES OF WELL KNOWN SOCIAL DEMOCRATS. Twenty in all.

ELECTION STATISTICS. Covering the Socialist movement down to the present year. A valuable reference.

A SOCIALIST PORTRAIT GALLERY. Comprising seventeen likenesses of leading workers in the movement, distributed through the book.

Sent postpaid on receipt of price, 15 CENTS.

DEBS PUBLISHING CO.

THREE NAUTE, IND.

TWO GREAT SPEECHES

Should be Read by Socialists Everywhere and Put into the Homes of Non-Socialists

Delivered at Central Music Hall, Chicago, Saturday, September 15, 1900, by

EUGENE V. DEBS

AND

PROF. GEO. D. HERRON

A Splendid Campaign Document

Sixteen Page Pamphlet. Price, Five Cents. One Hundred, \$2.00

Address, 126 Washington St., Chicago

Appeal to Reason

Socialist Weekly with 100,000 subscribers and the number growing with every issue.

Is Unique—Nothing else like it

Will be sent to your address fifty-two weeks for fifty cents. Girard, Kansas

Watch this space for Appeal announcements

SPRAVEDLNOST

(JUSTICE)

BOHEMIAN WEEKLY PUBLISHED BY THE BOHEMIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC BRANCHES OF CHICAGO

Subscription, \$1.50 a year

Address, 700-702 Loomis Street, Chicago, Illinois

The Herald will be sent to any address in the United States 26 weeks for 20 cents.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

THIRD YEAR. No. 27.

CHICAGO, ILL., U. S. A., SATURDAY, DECEMBER 22, 1900.

Whole No. 129.

IMPERIAL MESSAGE OF BILLY THE FIRST

Girth, Weight, Length and Other Dimensions of Twenty-Six Working Days on Wind, Water and Gas

THE GREAT IMPERIAL RAGTAG

How the Revenues Created by Labor Are Expended in Policies of Imperialism by the "Man Who Did It."

By Max Melnard

Emperor Billy's first communication to the republican imperial ragtag contained 21,000 words.

It measures 4 yards and 10 inches in length, and is chuck full of wind, water and gas.

If it took Billy, as reported, twenty-six working days to construct it, it cost the taxpayers of the empire \$160.25 a day, or \$4,166.50.

There are no standards by which Billy's document, except its length, can be measured or weighed.

In these regards there is a wide diversity of opinion.

As to bulk, estimates range all the way from a mole hill to a meeting-house; in weight, from a grain to a grindstone.

If regarded as simply wind, there is enough to blow all the brass bands of creation; if gas, enough to drive Vesuvius out of business; if water, enough to drive all the machinery of capitalistic grist mills in the country.

If it could be metamorphosed into a man, Mark Hanna, for instance, it would have the head of a peacock, the neck of a bulldog, a balloon-shaped abdomen, the legs of a kangaroo and feet requiring No. 25 boots.

In all regards, Billy's message is a wonder. In politics, a horse fiddle; in statesmanship, a jewsharp; in government, a bagpipe, and in imperialism, a whole brass band.

Emperor Billy has got the power and sword—the army and navy—military governor, flags, fustian and feathers, red tape and gold braid, and is as happy as a long-neck clam at high tide.

With his ships and soldiers he untangled the Chinese snarl.

Under his imperial sway Boxers ceased to box. The almond-eyed dowager empress and the pig-tailed emperor of the Celestial empire ran away from Peking in a handcart. The tsung-li-yamen disbanded, and the empire of the United States forged to the front, a "world power"—all of which Emperor Billy tells his Ragtag in his wonderful message.

Under the empire, Billy points out that prosperity is everywhere knee-deep and the tide still rising.

Exports and imports mount up to billions; the balance of trade in favor of our empire is near a billion. Customs and internal revenue receipts show that Emperor Billy's subjects paid taxes last year of more than half a billion, and that of this vast sum labor paid (since only labor creates revenue and pays debts) to support the army and the navy and carry on the imperial war in the Philippine islands, about \$200,000,000.

In this Cheops pyramid of money, represented by imports, exports, balance of trade, customs and internal revenue taxes, with expenditures for army and navy to maintain the empire, millions are piled upon thousands and billions are piled upon millions until the narration of the colossal prosperity reads like a description of an Alpine scenery, when "hills peep o'er hills and Alps on Alps arise." This tickles Emperor Billy. He's the feller what's done it all. He titters like a sparrow and smiles like a forty pounder while shooting Christian civilization into heathen. He laughs like a Niagara and roars like a cyclone as he tells his Ragtag and the world, "I did it."

Moreover, Emperor Billy tells his Ragtag that he's got an army of 100,000, officers and men; with big and small guns to match, besides a navy of big and little ships, with still more in the course of construction.

Of his army he tells his Ragtag he has 60,000 in his Philippine possessions, 6,000 in Cuba, about 2,000 in Porto Rico, the remainder being distributed at home in 58 military posts, to see that capitalism is protected, while filling the dinner pails of its wage slaves with plum pudding and pound cake to make them contented with their lot.

Emperor Billy gives his Ragtag to understand that the war in the Philippine islands will go on until the "niggers" in that colony are all dead or converted by the gospel of the gun.

He does not state how many "nig-

gers" have been slaughtered by his missionary bullets, or have died under the auspices of Christian famine; nor does he tell how many American soldiers have perished while laying the foundations of his empire in the Philippines. That would be small talk for a conquering emperor, decorated in war paint and peacock feathers.

It has been customary from away back to the days of Alexander and Caesar, in great emergencies, to consult the gods and ask for divine guidance. Not so with Emperor Billy. He invokes no assistance in that direction. He waves his scepter under the nose of his Ragtag and shouts:

"I'm the hero the world's-been looking for."

"I'm on top; I'm the whole thing."

"Look at me."

"I have dragged the United States out of a hole."

"I have made it a world power."

"I have established the empire."

"I have placed it in the van of the nations."

"I can straddle a continent."

"I can ride a cyclone."

"I am Emperor Billy!"

"I have established a dynasty."

"I will name my successor—"

"Mark Hanna's the fortunate coon."

"What I want is—"

"More ships, more money and more men—"

"And my Ragtag will give till I holler 'enough'—"

"And say 'Amen!' "

Rah for Billy I!

CHILD LABOR IN THE SOUTH

A bill has been defeated by the Georgia legislature for the protection of children in the factories of that state. This is what might have been expected to occur in a state that is entirely controlled by the bourbon democracy, which believes as much in industrial slavery now as it used to believe in chattel slavery. The sentiments of the democratic leaders have never changed.

One paper asserts that some of the members of the Georgia legislature actually fought the law on the ground that such a law would be injurious to capitalism, and that it is necessary to allow little children to be enslaved that there may be profits made on invested capital. The oppression and robbery of childhood, the degradation of womanhood and the enslavement of manhood are mere incidents in the eyes of those who support the present system.

The cotton factories in the state of Georgia have been paying from 25 per cent to 90 per cent on the invested capital, and under these circumstances the helpless children of the state are to be enslaved by a brutal system of capitalism for the benefit of those who are sucking the lifeblood and grinding their bodies into profits. This is the social hell that affects society which is supported at the ballot box by the fathers of helpless and innocent children. Most church members support the infernal system and place the rights of property above morals, virtue and human souls. No state deserves to be called civilized that does not possess a sufficient amount of virtue to protect helpless children against the brutality of capitalism, and as one newspaper published in Georgia asserts: "The state is disgraced in the eyes of the whole world."

The action of the Georgia legislature in defeating a measure to protect helpless children in the slave pens of that state should convince every workingman and every friend of humanity in the south that the southern bourbons are as much under the influence of capitalism as the republicans are, led by Mark Hanna. There is no difference between them, except the democrats are worse in their actions. There are child labor laws in most of the republican states, which, of course, are poorly executed, while the democrats of Georgia refuse to place a child labor law upon the statute.

All this shows the powerful influence capitalism has over legislation and that the capitalist class own the old parties, boots and breeches. And that there is no hope of a better civilization as long as the working class are fools enough to vote for capitalist parties.

The democrats have been saying much about republican friendship for trusts; while it is notorious that in the south, where the democrats hold the supreme power, there is no protection comparatively to the working class, and so far as I know there has never been a law placed upon the statute books by the democrats of the south protecting children from the greed of capitalism.

This is a sad commentary on the rule of the bourbon democracy, but it is true. —W. E. Farmer in Farmers' Review.

War taxes to the amount of \$40,000,000 are to be reduced by discarding stamps from bank checks and patent medicines. Men of the "dinner pail" will hear the glad tidings with joy unexpressible, particularly that which relates to stamps on bank checks.

MERLIN'S MIXTURE

Charles W. Casson, 401 N. Revere, Minn.

THE MAINSPRING OF FORTUNE

Some ten years ago I was a jeweler and made a living by watching the public. One day a man came in and, producing a watch, placed it on the counter. "It won't go," he said. "I have shaken it, examined it, started it, growled at it, cursed it, but all to no purpose. It won't go."

I took the watch, and after a glance at it, wound it up and gave it to him, going: "He took his departure without any unnecessary delay."

And the great majority of workingmen are like unto him. They find that in the modern times their wheels of fortune have stopped. Loud have been the complaints of "run down" finances, and not without ample excuse.

They have shaken the machine of fortune with strikes, they have denounced it with curb-stone curses. They have done all but one thing: They have forgotten to wind it up by the key of legislative action.

The mainspring of fortune is not broken—it is simply unwound. The machine is intact and capable of producing and keeping good times. But it shall do so only when labor, by using the key, utilizes the machine.

FIXING THE LABOR MOVEMENT

I was in a fellow watchmaker's shop engaged in conversation, when a man walked in. Putting his watch on the showcase, he said it wouldn't go. My friend looked at it and exclaimed: "What! have you been in a railway accident?" "No," said the fellow, surprised. "Well," said the jeweler, "it's a pretty tough case, but if you leave it for a week, I'll try to make something out of it."

He did. After the man left he wound up the watch, marked \$2.75 on the tag and hung it up, ready for delivery.

It was clear robbery, of course. But not a bit more rascally than the methods pursued by the political shops of the period.

Labor, ignorant and credulous, entrusts its case to the hands of the republican political watchmakers. The latter reward the trust displayed by the promise of better times, and then proceed to collect robbery rates.

The labor movement, like that watch movement, depends; for sure and prosperous action, not upon political tinkering from without, but on the right use of industrial power within. Too long have these political knaves "fixed" us to their own advantage. It is high time that we do it ourselves, and to our own advantage.

So long as workingmen permit themselves to be wound up by capitalistic keys, just before election, they may expect to pay the winder afterward.

A CURRENT FALLACY

A third and last illustration culled from the same source. A young woman walked into my store one day, her appearance and manner betraying the fact that she lived in Mosstown, Waybackville. After considerable fumbling, she produced an old English timepiece about the size and value of a small turnip.

Hesitatingly she explained her errand. "This is my dad's old watch. He don't want it any more. So me and sister—we thought, perhaps—we want you to make it into two little ones—for me and her!"

And yet, in these later days, I have found men, and scores of them, who expect that the old political party's clocks can be remade into the new Socialist movement that shall strike the hour of freedom and justice.

Even men like Jones and Parsons and Pomeroy show that, with all their chances of mental improvement, they have still been living on the outskirts of knowledge by asserting the same thing of the democratic party. They have found that they got into too deep water by trusting to the Bryan-deep.

Just as the old silver turnip was worthless in the remaking of a new watch, so the old parties must be discarded in the construction of a just system. For this reason the Social Democratic party has started to make, of new materials and of new design, an organization adapted for its ultimate purpose.

Won't you be a screw, a pinion or a cog in our new machine?

The Democratic Go-Between

In a recent issue of the Inquirer-Sun of this city I find an interview with Hon. Hoke Smith which shows to some extent, at least, that the old parties are beginning to recognize that the real fight in the future will be between the plutocrats and the Socialists.

In this interview he expresses his regrets that Col. Bryan should still stick to the Chicago platform and, at the same

time, he disapproves the suggested reorganization of the Democratic party.

Continuing, he says: "The democratic party should stand between the plutocrat and the Socialist as the party of the constitution and for the people. It has defended the appeals of persons and of property, and should not be led into attack upon either."

Indeed, the powers that be are beginning to see that they must count on Socialism as a governing factor in politics. We are recognized as the enemy of the present industrial system and, if we keep the irons hot for the next four years, we will make the plutocrats, democrats and the whole band of fanning sycophants that follow their wake get a hump on themselves. Yes, we are in it to win; not for the mere sake of winning, as the democrats plainly showed they were in the last campaign, but because we stand for those principles which, when adopted by our government, will make of us a truly happy nation. God speed the day when the truths of Socialism will be thoroughly understood and put into effective operation. W. A. Ross.

Columbus, Ga.

Poverty's Declaration to Labor

Labor—the heritage of man, the payment for his creation.

Labor—the mortgage that burdens human existence, the yoke that encircled the birth of humanity and mocks the tottering form of age to the grave.

Labor—the grim master that beckons on beneath the whip of hunger, starvation and death; the skeleton that rises with the breath of life and flaunts its mocking fingers till earth receives its prey.

Labor—the captive chains that bind the ages of life, the merciless bondsman that shackles nature and defies the hand of time.

Labor—the contract that rocks the cradle and cancels its claim only at the grave; O, the endless play of human strength with oblivion as its climax!

Labor—the uncompromising dictator of toil, the indictor of humanity to manual suffering without justice.

Labor—the relentless tribunal that canopys the haven of the poor and makes poverty their worldly shrine.

Labor—the producer of joy, the dispenser of woe, the sword of the mighty; a yoke for the weak, a plum for the rich, a brand for the poor.

Labor—the prop of the crowned monarch on his throne, meager provider for the peasant's table.

And yet, Labor is essential as the light of day; as the waters kiss and nourish the brookside moss, so Labor lights and nourishes the path of life. Labor is the goddess of the rich, the tyrant of the poor.

The equalization of labor is the fountain of hope; the unjust distribution of wealth is the climax of despair.

Geo. H. Clark.

Evolution Through Organization

Man in his lowest estate is an egotist pure and simple. He acts for himself and for those in whom he feels a selfish and personal interest. As he grows toward a higher degree of intelligence he forms co-partnerships and organizes associations of individuals in order to have the co-operation of a larger number for some specific purpose. It is thus, that in proportion as the intelligence of the race increases the more general will be the tendency to associate and combine. Or, in other words, the tendency is toward co-operation.

Persons representing all of these tendencies are to be found in every community at all times. At the bottom of the scale we have the purely egoistic who prefer to stand alone without any reference to others, never combining with their fellows for any purpose except in most limited degree. Then a little higher in the intellectual scale, men begin to associate their efforts for a common purpose, and still higher in the scale we find these associations more powerful and comprehensive in their purposes. In every association of this kind for a common purpose, the individual member surrenders some portion of his egoism in exchange for the benefits of co-operation.

This tendency to organize, to associate and combine for a common purpose is always an indication of a quickening of the intellectual faculties, and as we go higher in the scale, this tendency will be proportionately accelerated among the people until it includes the entire mass for the benefit of every individual. This, when complete, will be altruism, which is our next step in progress. It is to this grand culmination that this tendency to combine is pointing. One class of people organize and associate their efforts to secure some advantage for themselves and to the extent that it is successful, other classes are compelled to combine for their own protection.—A. O. Grigsby in Equity.

Subscribe for "The Herald"

CRY OF THE POOR TO THE WEALTHY

Impassioned Arraignment of the Capitalist Class of the World by One of the Greatest of French Writers

AN APPEAL FOR JUSTICE.

The Day Foretold When There Will be No More Lords, No More Masters, but Free Men

By Victor Hugo

The poor cry out to the wealthy. The slaves implore the rulers. And as much now as in the days of Spartan Helots. I am one of them, and I add my voice to that multitude that may reach the ears of the rich. Who am I? One of the people. From whence come I? From the bottomless pit. How am I named? I am wretchedness. My lords, I have something to say to you.

My lords, you are placed high. You have power, opulence, pleasure, the sun immovable at your zenith, unlimited authority, enjoyment undivided, a total forgetfulness of others. So be it. But there is something below you. Above you, perhaps. My lords, I impart to you a novelty. The human race exists.

I am he who comes from the depths. My lords, you are the great and the rich. This is perilous. You take advantage of the night. But have a care; there is a great power, the morning. The dawn cannot be vanquished. It will come. It comes. It has within it the dawn of irresistible day.

You, who are the dark clouds of privilege. Be afraid. The true master is about to look out at the door.

What is the father of privilege? Chance. What is his son? Abuse. Neither chance nor abuse is enduring. They have, both of them, an evil tomorrow.

I come to warn you—I come to denounce you in your own bliss. It is made out of the ills of others. Your paradise is made out of the hell of the poor. I come to open before you, the wealthy, the grand azzizes of the poor—that sovereign who is the slave, that convict who is the judge. I am bowed down under what I have to say. Where to begin? I know not. I have picked up in the cruel experience of suffering my vast though struggling pleas. Now what shall I do with them? They overwhelm me and I throw them forth pell mell before me.

I am a diver and I bring up from the depths a pearl, the Truth. I speak because I know. I have experienced. I have seen. Suffering? No, the word is weak. O masters in bliss! Poverty—I have grown up in it; winter—I have shivered in it; famine—I have tasted it; scorn—I have undergone it; the plague—I have had it; shame—I have drank of it.

I felt it requisite that I should come among you. Why? Because of my yesterday's rags. It was in order that my voice might be raised among the satiated, that God commingled me with the hungry. O! have pity! O! you know not this fatal world, whereunto you believe that you belong. So high, you are outside of it. I will tell you what it is.

Abandoned an orphan, alone in boundless creation, I made an entrance into this gloom you call society. The first thing I saw was law, under the form of a gibbet; the second was wealth—your wealth—under the form of a woman dead of cold and hunger; the third was luxury in the shape of a hunted man chained to prison walls; the fourth was your palaces, beneath the shadow of which covered the tramp.

The human race has been made by you slaves and convicts. You have made of this earth a dungeon. Light is wanting, air is wanting, virtue is wanting.

The workers of this world whose fruits you enjoy, live death. There are little girls who begin at eight by prostitution, and end at twenty by old age. Who among you have been to Newcastle-on-Tyne? There are men in mines who chew coal, they fill the stomach and cheat hunger. Look you in Lancashire. Misery everywhere. Are you aware that the Harlech fishermen eat grass when the fishery fails? Are you aware that at Buton-Lazars there are still certain lepers driven into the woods, who are fired at if they come out of their dens? In Peckridge there are no beds in the hovels, and holes are dug in the ground for little children to sleep in; so that in the place of beginning with the cradle, they begin with the tomb.

(Continued on Second Page)

Social Democratic Herald

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board
FREDERICK HEATH Chairman
EDMUND STEPHAN Secretary
EUGENE V. DEBS VICTOR L. BERGEE
CORINNE S. BROWN

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, 50 cents. Six months, 25 cents. No papers sent to any one on credit. If, without having subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and no bill will follow. Foreign subscriptions \$1.00.

Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

A. S. EDWARDS, Editor
THEODORE DEBS, National Sec'y-Treas.
126 Washington St., Chicago.

129 is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 120 your subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, DEC. 22, 1900.

The Agitation Continues

For three months or more the entire country was in the throes of a wild agitation. No one declaimed against the disputes and distraction. Election day came in due time, the people voted, their verdict was declared, and calm reigned in all the storm centers. The republicans want no more agitation, and as for the democrats, for the second time, the victims of a dead issue, they are as silent as the dry bones in Ezekiel's vision. Not so with the Social Democratic party. Unconquered and un intimidated, the election in November affords no reason why agitation should cease, but a thousand reasons why it should continue with increased determination. Thousands of wage workers who maintain their fealty to the democratic party, satisfied that it is powerless to aid them in any struggle for better conditions, will abandon it. They will not join the republican party, thereby inviting a firmer grasp of capitalism upon their throats, but as the true situation dawned upon their minds will cast in their lot with the Social Democratic party. And the more energetic the agitation the greater will be the number of converts.

It has been written that "he who makes two blades of grass grow where before but one was grown is a benefactor of his race." If this is true, and true it is to an extent not easily determined, what should be said of a member of the Social Democratic party who organizes two branches of the party where previously but one existed? Comparisons in this case, at least, are not odious. The man who made two blades of grass grow where before there was only one might, in the lapse of centuries, clothe Sahara in emerald verdure, but the man who founds an additional branch of the Social Democratic party establishes on outpost in the empire of thought and reform and progress of limitless possibilities.

Under the influence of such a citadel of thought and aspiration, evolution from the lower to the higher conceptions of government and man's preordained destiny will go rapidly forward. Crude conception of duty will take on the form of conviction. Conviction will beget courage, courage action, and thus the man who establishes the new branch of the Social Democratic party becomes permanently a benefactor of mankind.

The American Federation of Labor

This great order of federated workers, made up of national and international organizations, state branches, city central labor unions and federal labor unions, claims that 1,000,000 unionists acknowledge its authority, and that during the past year 294,324 workers have been added to its membership.

In closing his report, President Gompers said:

"The enactment of wise and beneficent legislation in the interest of the toiling masses of our country must still be demanded until all the wrongs from which the toilers suffer are abated. We insist upon the enforcement of the rights to which we are entitled. Unless we, as the organized wage-earners of the country, protest against the wrong, and demand the establishment of the right, we shall lose the confidence and respect of the organized, as well as the unorganized, toilers of America, who will hold that we have failed to avail ourselves of all the opportunities which are presented, in order to seek redress through the proper channels. It cannot be denied that much faster and greater progress can be made, and will be made, provided we are firm in our determination to achieve it, unceasing in our efforts and undivided in our course."

The paragraph we have reproduced brings into bold prominence the fact that the condition of labor demands "wise and beneficent legislation." Who is to enact such legislation? Congress and legislators dominated by capitalism? Never, while rivers flow to the sea! Nevertheless, workers nurse the delusion, and conditions remain practically unchanged. The idea seemingly prevails that capitalism will hold a convention made up of delegates from trusts, corporations, banks, syndicates,

land grabbers, etc.—their name is legion—and resolve to abdicate their forts and spike their guns, an event to be hoped for when "Ethiopians change their skin and leopards their spots."

If the legislation of which Mr. Gompers speaks is to come, it will be enacted by the representatives of labor, and since the American Federation of Labor has a million of unionists under its banners it has an opportunity for consolidating the large membership into a labor party, equipped to enact "wise and beneficent" legislation.

Unfortunately, the American Federation of Labor, in its conventions, does not legislate in that direction. The delegates composing its conventions do not realize that labor is powerless while capitalism owns its tools and controls all the opportunities for employment, and that in the wide world there exists no autocracy so cruel and heartless as the autocracy of capitalism.

It is just here that Socialism challenges comparison with all other organizations for the amelioration of the conditions of labor.

It recognizes capitalism as labor's chief enemy, and plants itself defiantly in its spoliating pathway. Its allegations are undisturbed. Its logic has all the force of axiomatic truth. It organizes for battle. It abandons the old trail, in which the tracks all point inward toward the slaughter house, and never outward toward better conditions, and withal a conquering faith in the ballot.

Socialism recognizes the fact that co-operation is as feasible and as logical as organization and federation, and that with co-operation labor regains from the grasp of capitalism its tools and secures its independence.

The American Federation of Labor is a great organization, and is manifestly doing a great work in the way of organization, and in the onward march of intelligence the time ought not to be distant when the great body of unionized labor will keep step to the conquering drum beat of Socialism.

In Union There is Strength

It is held that aphorisms, maxims, proverbs, etc., are of ancient coinage, that they have withstood the test of time and belong to the family of axioms—self-evident truths, which no amount of logic can strengthen, and no amount of sophistry weaken. In the list is found the maxim: "In union there is strength." It is invariably accepted as true and invulnerable without debate. Nations, corporations, combinations of every name, adopt the maxim and make it the basis of action. No school of philosophy questions its wisdom; neither saint, sage nor scientist doubts its power, and it has no stronger advocate than the devil himself. There being no doubt about the wisdom of the maxim, the overmastering question is how to make it available for the welfare of those whose condition and employment require united effort to solve stubborn problems. The field is wide and inviting and thousands are in it exploring for facts. Unionizing labor is a theme which engages the thought of the people from the humblest worker to the most advanced statesman of the period, and a good deal of unionism prevails, which has doubtless accomplished some good, but infinitesimally little compared with what might have been achieved if the maxim "In union there is strength" had been permitted to exert its more than Archimedean power.

We have neither the space nor inclination to indulge in animadversions; it is nevertheless true, though seemingly contradictory, that the greatest obstacle in the way of success of unionism is labor is unionism—union against union. Take, for instance, the late strike of the employees of the anthracite mines in Pennsylvania, about 141,000 of them. Their grievances involved cruelty, impoverishment and degradation. Capitalism had its grasp upon the throats of its victims; wage slavery existed in its most aggravated form; hence the strike.

It was not probable there was a coal miner in the United States who doubted the righteousness of the strike of the anthracite miners of Pennsylvania. Without statistics we assume there are 500,000 coal miners in the United States, most of whom are members of unions, and believe that "in union there is strength," but confessedly working for unjust wages and therefore wage slaves, dominated and robbed by capitalism. These miners tax themselves and accumulate large sums of money to fight capitalism when a strike is ordered. In nine cases out of ten—more likely in every case—when the strike comes the money is speedily squandered, and though it may be given out that the miners have won, capitalism sees to it that conditions remain practically unchanged, and in one way and another the old system of spoliation continues. There is a bond of union existing between coal miners, or at least there ought to be such a bond of union. If such a union did exist, and there is no good reason why it should not, national and vital, a strike for justice in one region would be the tocsin for a strike throughout the country, in which case the maxim "In union there is strength" would mean victory. Five hundred thousand men, grasping the full significance of the maxim, would lay down their tools. In such a contingency a coal miners' strike would not continue for one day; not a

dollar would be expended by the miners; not a soldier with a rifle, not a sheriff, with deputies armed with pistols and clubs, with pomp and parade, would be seen. There would be neither noise nor confusion. The miners would simply lay down their tools. They would cease digging coal, without which business would be paralyzed as if by a decree of Jehovah. Capitalism, defeated and dumfounded, would yield to the inevitable rather than see its investments perish. The right would triumph and the blessings which justice bestows would crown the victory. Nor would this be all. One such demonstration of the maxim "In union there is strength" would suffice. It would teach capitalism that the latent power of an old maxim would, in the future, see that its beak, fangs and claws no longer dominated in the coal regions of America. It may be alleged that such a strike would be one of sympathy. The allegation would be at once admitted. The late war with Spain was based upon sympathy. It was a case in which sympathy moved to action the mightiest nation in the world for a wretched and oppressed people. It was sympathy for the chattel slaves of the south that originated the war of the rebellion; and the old aphorism, "In union there is strength," gathers additional force if to its other energies the power of sympathy is added.

NOTES AND COMMENT

If capitalism could be personified it would resemble old King Nebuchadnezzar, who was arrogant, cruel and opposed to the poor. Besides he was proud and boastful. He is reported to have said on one occasion: "Is not this great Babylon that I have built for the house of the kingdom by the might of my power and for the honor of my majesty?" Capitalism says, "Do I not own and control all the banks and manufacturing and forges in the land? Do I not own all the herds on the plains and the cattle on a thousand hills? Have I not got in my grasp twenty million or more of wage slaves whom I permit to call their dinner-pails their own? Do I not control all the silver and gold, except what the government claims, but do I not control the government?" In this it is seen that capitalism outboasts old Nebuchadnezzar by several laps. But at the instant of the old fool king's asinine vaunting he was driven from among men and made to eat straw like an ox or browse around in the fence corners like a billy goat or a wandering ass. A similar doom awaits capitalism.

The population of our Philippine possessions is variously estimated at from 7,000,000 to 10,000,000. To convert these "niggers" and enable them to see and appreciate the glories of our Christian civilization, war has raged for two years. We have managed to slaughter 15,000 of them with Christian shot and shell, and about the same number have perished by sickness and famine incident to a hell of war—a total of 30,000, or say, 15,000 a year. How long this Christian war will continue God only knows, but Emperor Billy I. has decided it shall proceed until the "niggers" are converted or annihilated. In the latter event, by applying the good old "rule of three" for the solution of the problem, the war is on for 466 years, or until the year of our Lord 2,366. The time may be reduced by increasing the standing army and in building more warships, and this we are doing. The empire is costly, but the people seem to like it, and be taxed for its extension and support.

Imperialism, autocracy, dictatorship, absolutism, one-man power and other prerogatives along that line were convincingly exhibited in Pennsylvania preceding the strike of the anthracite miners and other employees of the mines, about 142,000 of them. Robbed, oppressed and degraded, they talked strike and resolved to strike. Finally one man said "strike," and their fetters were removed. Then came the command "resume work," and the great industrial army obeyed. The czar of Russia could have done no more.

A statistician guesses that the population of the American republic-empire in the year 2,000 will amount to 441,009,206. If in 1900 we have 76,000,000 population and \$90,000,000,000 of wealth, with 441,009,206 population in 2,000 we ought to have something more than \$500,000,000,000 in wealth. As only labor creates wealth, the task of the "dinner pail" brigade for the next century is colossal.

Old Lorenzo Dow, the wandering and eccentric evangelist, was noted for short sermons. On one occasion he said: "Love God and hate snakes." If he were now living he might say: "Love the people and damn capitalism"—a distinction, but not essentially different from the other sermon quoted.

When capitalism is told that labor is federating for the purpose of extracting its fangs and clipping its claws, it becomes hilarious and points decisively to the anthracite coal fields of Pennsylvania.

No one knows better than President Gompers that a fine wrapper around poor fillers does not make a good cigar.

England is the great colonial power of the world, and when she seizes a savage or barbarous land her policy is to factionize the natives and set one faction to killing the other faction. The government of the United States regards the British policy as eminently wise and prudent, and General McArthur is to adopt it in the Philippine islands. He will organize a standing army of traitorous "niggers" to kill their fellow "niggers" who are fighting for liberty.

Dismissing the humanity, or more properly, the inhumanity craze, now raging in the United States, Socialists inquire, Who are to furnish the money to pay the expense of the standing army? The answer is always the same—only labor provides revenues and pays debts.

Pope wrote: "Know thyself; presume not God to scan—The proper study of mankind is man."

Andrew Carnegie has made money, lots of it. If the world would know how he secured his vast wealth, the Homestead strike tells the whole story. Hot water, electricity, Pinkerton thugs, robbery of workmen, etc. Now "Ande" poses as a philanthropist, and is giving back a portion of his income to found libraries. "Ande" may yet be converted and become a Socialist.

A correspondent of an Indian newspaper says the word "poo-o-o-o-o-ee," with accent on the last syllable, was used in early times in calling hogs, when they ran to be fed. Just now Mark Hanna is shouting "poo-o-o-o-o-ee!" and the swine are going to Washington in droves.

Neely and Rathbone inaugurated the empire in Cuba like a brace of shahs. They had palaces, plate, carriages, sumptuous bills of fare and all the trimmings galore. When they wanted money they stole it, and the dance went merrily on.

When a man says "I can't" he is as weak as a rope of sand. When he says "I won't" he is as stubborn as an army mule. When he says "I'll try" all the gods clap their hands and shout, "I'll help him."

When you see a yaller dog trotting along under capitalism's carriage, you may feel assured, nine cases out of ten, the canine is a subsidized labor leader ready to bark as its master directs.

Capitalism wears diamonds, lives in a palace, dresses in purple and fine linen and lives and riots upon the earnings of its wage slaves, and may it eventually "lift up its eyes in hell."

Is life worth the living? If a man is free, yes; if he is a slave, no. If what he earns is his own, life is a boon; if he is robbed that others may riot on his toil, life is a curse.

Mr. Bryan, before the election, was 16 to 1. Since Nov. 6 he is less than 1 to 16. The divinity that shaped his ends whittled them down to the size of a toothpick.

The way to organize a branch of the Social Democratic party is to organize it, and the way to subscribe for The Herald is to subscribe for it.

Shakespeare said: "He who steals my purse steals trash." Old Shake told the whole story of a capitalistic wage slave out of a job.

The Prince of Wales has an income of \$750,000 a year. His bacarat and turf winnings increase the amount to about \$1,000,000.

When a man says "I'll be a Socialist" he doffs the habiliment of a non-combatant and dons the armor of a knight.

In the operation of the mills of capitalism the toll takes about all the grist.

About Selection of Candidates

I desire to caution the comrades about the selection of candidates. I would not fill any office, particularly any local municipal office, with men who hold positions of responsibility or trust under any corporation, because they could not occupy such position and be of any use to us without the fact being known to their employers; and this being the case, the employee could not hold down his job a minute if the corporation did not believe that the kind of employee herein referred to could be made useful to them.

When the results of the late election are sifted down fine it will be found that mistakes of this kind cut a very large figure.

Give leadership to intelligent workers from the rank and file, and let the shop boss go until he is quite certain that he is converted.

This is from an old man who has nothing to expect from Socialism for himself, except the ill will of his neighbors, who cannot understand why he voted for Debs. Horace P. Porter. Port Arthur, Texas.

26 weeks for 20 cents.

THE NEW CIVILIZATION

The new civilization's coming by battle, work and prayer;
The glad tidings of its advent are heard around us everywhere;
The morning stars are singing it, and the music of the spheres
Is heralding its coming—the supernal glory of the years.

Do you yearn for its coming? Then gird your armor on;
The battle will be fierce and long ere victory is won.
But all the winds that blow are tongs'd to herald the decree,
That long'd for era's coming when the oppress'd shall all go free.

To ears attuned to songs of hope, to eyes with vision clear;
There's no discord in the symphonies, no clouds of doubt appear;
The dawning streaks of light flame up from out the dark abyss,
The old departs, the new appears, and woe gives place to bliss.

The embattling Socialistic hosts, call heroes to the fray,
Their vision is prescient, it describes the coming day,
When a new civilization with conquering banners high unfurl'd
Shall dominate man's destiny and shed glory 'round the world.

J. B. Maynard.
Indianapolis, Ind.

The Modern Saint

By Richard Burton

No monkish garb he wears, no beads he tells,
Nor is immured in walls remote from strife,
But from his heart deep mercy ever wells;
He looks humanely forth on human life.

In place of missals or of altar dreams,
He cons the passionate book of deeds and days,
Striving to cast the comforting, sweet beams
Of charity on dark and noisome ways.

Not hedged about by sacerdotal rule,
He walks a fellow of the scarred and weak.

Liberal and wise his gifts; he goes to school
To justice; and he turned the other cheek.

He looks not holy; simple is his belief;
His creed for mystic visions do not scan;
His face shows lines cut there by others' grief,
And in his eyes is love of brother-man.

Not hedged about by sacerdotal rule,
He yearns to make the world a sunnier clime
To live in; and his mission everywhere
Is strangely like to Christ in olden time.

No medieval mystery, no crowned,
Dim figure, halo-ringed, uncanny bright,
A modern saint; a man who treads earth's ground,
And ministers to men with all his might.

CRY OF THE POOR TO THE WEALTHY

(Continued from First Page)

Mercy, have mercy for the poor! Oh, I conjure you, have pity! But, no, you will not. I know ye all. Devils bred in hell, and dogs with hearts of stone. Upward to your golden throne for ages has gone the cry of misery, the groan of hunger, and the sob of despair, and ye heeded it not. What misery hast thou given shall be meted out to you in turn.

Bear in mind that a series of kings armed with swords were interrupted by Cromwell with the axe.

Tremble! The incorruptible dissolutions draw near; the clipped talons push out again; the torn out tongues take to flight, become tongues of flame scattered to the winds of darkness, and they bowl in the Infinite. They who are hungry show their idle teeth. Paradises built over hell totter. There is suffering, and that which is above leans over, and that which is below gapes open. The shadow asks to become light. The damned discuss the elect. It is the people who are oncoming. I tell you it is man who ascends. It is the end that is beginning. It is the red dawning of catastrophe.

Ah! This society is false. One day, and true society must come. Then there will be no more lords; there will be free, living men. There will be no more wealth, there will be abundance for the poor. There will be no more masters, but there will be brothers. They that toil shall have. This is the future. No more prostration, no more abasement, no more ignorance, no more wealth, no more beast burden, no more courtiers—but LIGHT.

The list of subjects announced by Dr. George D. Herron for his coming lectures at Central Music hall indicates that these Sunday afternoon lectures will be of profound significance in stimulating popular thought along Socialistic lines. Cards and circulars giving subjects and other information regarding the lectures may be obtained at the office of the Social Crusader, 609 Ashland block, Chicago.

GROUND WORK OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

Various Distinct Eras in the March
of Human Progress Noted—The
Development of Capitalist
System of Production

THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO

Evolution of Capitalism and the Goal to
Which It Inevitably Tends—Unerring
Forecasts of Marx and Engels

By James O'Neal

The ever-increasing, large dispossessed laboring class are being organized by the development of capitalism for the accomplishment of this end. The accession to their ranks of thousands of small capitalists, who have been beaten in the capitalist game, and many others from the professional classes, commonly termed the "intellectuals," who realize that supremacy for them within the limits of capitalist society is a snare and a delusion, increases immensely. The strength of the class whose mission in history is to inaugurate, or preside at the birth of, the new era. As industry becomes more socialized and reaches its highest perfection in the trust era, the superfluity of capitalists as a factor in industry becomes apparent. At this stage they prove their parasitical character by disconnecting themselves from industry, and the former useful function of superintendence is handed over to a hired employee. They are no longer necessary. All the useful work is performed by hired employees, and these can just as well work for society as a whole. The owner does nothing at this stage of development but absorb the surplus value produced by thousands in common. John W. Gates can go to the Paris exposition and throw five franc pieces from the Eiffel tower, but the steel mills are operated just the same. They never stop because he is gone, for he is unnecessary in the productive process. Gates and his class, by ceasing to perform the functions required of them, must pay the penalty inflicted on all useless organs, whether organic or social; they must cease to exist. They are "unfit to survive." They have demonstrated their incapacity as a ruling class by the recurrent strikes and industrial crises that attend their rule. Their supremacy is conditioned on the further subjection of the laborers and the latter are forced into the industrial arena, like gladiators of old, to fight for the munificent prize their masters dangle before them—a "full dinner pail." Their sway implies an increase in the army which takes away the most vigorous and leaves the weaklings at home to propagate a race of physical degenerates.

The continuance of capitalist rule means the progressive expansion of the slums, which are gradually eating into the heart of the larger cities like a gigantic cancer and threaten the very life of society itself.

The monopoly of the means of communicating knowledge has become notorious, and the subservency of the great educational institutions is in direct proportion to the amount of money bestowed. All these things act as a social barometer, indicating the gradual decay of capitalism. Industrial progress beyond the trust era is impossible within the limits of the old society, which fetters and restrains it, hence the forces which, by the removal of this obstruction, would make for progress, react upon society and stagnation sets in.

The solution of the problem as given by the Socialist is to complete the transformation. Industry outgrows control by capitalists. Its magnitude and proportions as a social institution mark it for social ownership and control. Social production and social ownership must go hand in hand before the contradictions are solved. The proletariat is rapidly growing in numbers, and it is these whom we rely on in the main to achieve this end.

THE FUTURE.

The Socialist has no ideal state on paper for the people to legislate themselves into. Our philosophy is merely an analysis of capital in its development and what it leads to. As to what maxim will prevail in the field of distribution, we do not attempt to say. Whether it will be "every one according to his needs," or "every one according to his efforts" will be decided by those interested. But one thing is sure: With the abolition of class ownership of the tools of wealth production and the substitution of common ownership will also go their power through such ownership to absorb the surplus productions of the working class. With the workers in control of society there will not be much danger of their robbing themselves. The objection that to give all men an equal opportunity on a common plane and each other would abolish incentive and society would stagnate does not hold. To borrow an illustration from

cosmic evolution: Life only became possible when the cosmic forces ceased to clash; so social harmony will never be realized until the class struggle is abolished. Those who speak of incentive presuppose its existence at present. To speak of incentive existing among that class who must sell all their labor force to another class at a competitive price is to play with terms. Incentive does not exist for them. They MUST sell. There is no alternative. Their wants act as a lash just as effective as though one were welded in the hands of their masters. Furthermore, incentive implies first an opportunity for all, which does not exist for thousands who have been displaced by machinery. To speak of incentive with the absence of opportunity is absurd. Three classes in modern society look at these questions from a different point of view, and may be divided as follows: The conservative, the reactionary and the progressive. Each corresponds to some class and seeks to express its interests in society. The conservatives are at present triumphant, and would like to maintain things as they are; but the forces at work in society are beyond their control. They believe things as they exist should be perpetuated and that prosperity abounds for all. From their class point of view they are correct.

The reactionary realizes something is wrong and sees it in the monopoly by the conservatives of the productive forces of the country and the centralization of capital. He does not see in this centralization a historical advance beyond the small petty industry which existed some years ago. He can only see in this new development the extinction of the small capitalist producer, which he represents, and seeks an alliance with the proletariat in order to reinstate himself in that position of supremacy once held by him prior to the trust era. Although he appeals to the laborer to help him achieve his object, he is not willing that the latter shall be anything else than a wage laborer, selling his vital force in a competitive market.

In the eyes of the small reactionary capitalist the formation of the trust which displaces HIM means the destruction of civilization, but the introduction of the machine which displaces the laborer is of no consequence. He would reverse the course of history. He does not ask himself if this is possible, he takes that for granted. He believes his interests lie in pursuing this course, and that is to him sufficient warrant for his action. He is willing to go back to the stage of small production by destroying the trust if possible, but would utilize machinery to its utmost regardless of its effect upon the laborers. His program is that of the crawfish. He would go backward if possible, re-invest himself with his petty privileges, and prevent further industrial progress for all time to come. His efforts are as ludicrous as they are hopeless. As well go back to the stone age as to his small and dwarfish methods of production. His class is as certainly doomed in their onward march of industrial development as the present system which he is trying to preserve. His interests are at variance with social progress, and he must succumb to the inevitable.

The progressive, on the other hand, while recognizing the evils that exist, does not advocate the policy of the conservative in trying to maintain things as they are, for he realizes that this is not only impossible, but undesirable. He also disagrees with the policy of the reactionist for the same reason. He is an evolutionist, and believes in allowing the development to proceed to its logical consummation. He believes that capitalism, like other social systems in the past, is but a transient phase in the development of society, and is doomed to disappear like its ancestors by the action of those laws that brought it into being. He believes that we are in the transition stage from the present to the future, which can neither be prevented by reactionary measures nor cleared by bold leaps or bounds, but that efforts should be made to shorten the birth pangs incident to the transition period, so that when the development reaches maturity the transformation may be accomplished with as little friction as possible. He believes that Socialism is the social system of the future, not so much because he desires it, but because capitalism is evolving the industrial structure necessary for its existence and is organizing the class whose mission it is to usher it in. To assume that the development can continue with the willing sanction of that great, writhing, seething mass on whose bodies it rests is to assume a fundamental change in that human nature to which our opponents so strenuously appeal.

The human race started in communism; it will end in a communism of land and capital. This does not mean that we will revert back to the primitive social organization with which the human race started on its tramp toward civilization, but a revival of it in a higher form with all the advantages gained in man's ascent preserved for his contemplation and enjoyment. This peculiarity, wherein the first and last stages of social evolution present such a striking resemblance to each other, and which has analogy in other sciences, has been commented upon by many scientists, both Socialists and anti-Socialists. To quote Hyndman, an English Socialist: "Being now

at the point when, after the successive periods of development under private property, we are, as we Socialists consider is demonstrably the case, on the eve of a great transformation back to our starting place on an almost infinitely higher plane; this early communism has a special interest for us. If you look through the development of nature you will find that the same law apparently governs all organic and inorganic growths. In the case of an ear of corn for instance. There is the seed which you sow; this is split up or differentiated in the earth, and then it reappears in the ear again, but on a higher plane. In the celestial sphere we can trace the operation of the same law from the nebulae to the various galaxies back to their point of origin again." To quote an opponent, Loria, an Italian scholar: "One truth, at least, has come to us—and all history confirms it—namely, that the ultimate economic form, while presenting the highest stage of development and nearest approach to perfection, will, at the same time, differ less than any of the preceding systems from the primitive social structure of humanity. This profound identity between the first and the last stages of social evolution corresponds to a logical law which is apparent to all who reflect upon the course of human development."

(To be continued.)

WHEN PEACE ON EARTH WILL COME AGAIN

(Written for The Herald)

The holy time has come again
Of "peace on earth, good will to men."
So sang the angels in their song
Unto a world of want and wrong
Their jubilation on the morn
When Christ, the Son of Man, was born.
Have all the centuries passed since then
Brought peace and good will unto men?
Have twenty centuries sufficed
To realize the dreams of Christ,
Our first and holiest Socialist,
Whom mankind crucified and hissed?

O kings, the favored of mankind,
Rulers and leaders of the blind:
Is it the gospel that you preach
When cannons roar and shrapnels
scream?
Bullets and Bibles, can they be
Synonymous with piety?

For sovereignty maritime
Nations have steeped themselves in
crime.

For sway over contiguous lands
They have with blood imbued their
hands.

Till war, like some vast python coiled
Around the spoiler and the spoiled,
Has crushed the spirit of the free
And strangled human liberty.
Ages of peace have never healed
The scars of war's first battlefield.

I cannot hold that nation good
Which is opposed to brotherhood;
Or through its laws does all it can
To trample on the rights of man.
Proclaim it through the universe,
Commercial empire is a curse!
It crushes where it should uplift;
It sets all moral law adrift;
Manacles manhood with a chain
Forged by the blood-red hand of Cain;
Pollutes love's temple with its lust,
Breeds avarice, rapine and distrust;
And places Mammon in the shrine
Where Christ should be by right divine.

So long as labor, every age,
Is scarcely paid a living wage;
So long as those who live by toil
Are deemed the refuse of the soil.
While those who ever labor least
Are still the lords of every feast;
So long as Dives sits in state
While Lazarus is at the gate;
So long as want and wealth contrast
So disproportionately vast;
And wealth stalks onward in his pride
A sensuous libertine;
So long as wrong oppresses right,
And law is in the hands of might;
And as in all the ages past
This world is but a world of caste;
However much divinely hailed,
The gospels of the world have failed!

When over all the world will be
A state of pure equality;
When Socialism takes its place
And binds in brotherhood each race;
When men believe not in the creed,
But in the doing of a deed;
When swords will rust within their
sheath

And cannons wear the olive wreath;
When men will labor everywhere,
But each according to his share;
And at the forge or mill or mine
Prove human brotherhood divine;
And in the field or in the mart
Build tabernacles of the heart:
When all the world will be one kin,
And no one more or less therein,
But all for one and one for all,
And free from superstition's thrall;
And Christ's great law has come to
birth,

And justice reigns upon the earth—
The holy time will come again
Of "peace on earth, good will to men."
But not till then, but not till then!
Lorenzo Sosso.

San Francisco, Cal.

A few years ago the standing army of
the United States numbered, all told,
officers and men, 27,489.

Snap Shots

Socialists, in studying man, have
learned that a man who does not own
himself, owns nothing. Not even his
dinner pail.

Ignized as a Christian-civilization
slaughtering machine. England has
one of these machines in operation in
South Africa, and the United States is
also operating one of the machines in
the Philippine islands.

To "know thyself" is well, to own thy-
self is better. To know one's self means
study, to own one's self means fight.
Socialism means both knowing one's
self and owning one's self, and the good
work is going bravely on.

The reason assigned for the increase
of the standing army is that the United
States has become a "world power"
with colonial possessions, and a larger
and a more perfect slaughtering ma-
chine is required to keep the people in
subjugation.

Socialists point out the difference be-
tween a freeman and a slave, but the
distance between the two has not been
computed. We know the difference of
situation; that one is on top, the other
at the bottom. It is this bottom man
that Socialists would rescue.

Already republican leaders announce
that the standing army of the United
States is to be increased as soon as
congress convenes 40,000. That
means business. At the same time the
Social Democratic Party calls for 100,
000 recruits, and that also means busi-
ness. The republican party will estab-
lish its recruiting stations, supply every
soldier with a gun and transport him
10,000 miles to subjugate Filipinos. The
Social Democratic party will transform
its branches into recruiting stations,
and as men flock to its standard they
will receive instead of guns, a commis-
sion to recruit more soldiers to preach
peace on earth and good will toward
men.

BRANCH SUPPLIES

Membership Cards (per 100)	1.00
Membership Applications (100)	.25
Constitutions (each)	.03

Send orders with cash to Theodore Debs,
126 Washington Street, Chicago. No sup-
plies sent on credit.

LOCAL BRANCHES

Notices of Branch Meetings Inserted for
25 Cents per Month

CALIFORNIA

Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public
meetings every Sunday and Wednesday
evening, commencing at 8. Admission free.
Business meetings (for members) every Thurs-
day evening.

Membership, Social Dem. Herald free to each
member. 25 cents per month.
Apply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk
street.

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, meets every Sun-
day afternoon at 3 o'clock at Woodman's Hall, 128 1/2
Spring St. J. Franco, 700 Dayton Ave., Secretary.

Branch No. 12, San Francisco (German). Holds business
meeting first Sunday each month, at 1 o'clock p. m., at
117 Turk street. Admission free on third Sunday
evening, same place, to which public is invited. August
F. Mayer, secretary, 1400 Polk street.

Branch No. 1, Denver, meets every Sunday at 8:00 p. m.,
at 1115 California Ave. Chas. M. Davis, Secretary, 1529
11th street.

Branch No. 3, Goldfield, meets every Sunday at 7:30
p. m., at City Hall. Chas. La Camp, Secretary.

CONNECTICUT

The Connecticut State Committee meets the last
Sunday of each month at 8 p. m., at P. Schaffer's, 180
Main St., Hartford. Louis Schaff, Sec., 25 Spring St.,
Rockville, Conn.

Branch No. 3, New Haven, meets every Wednesday
evening, at 8 p. m., at Aurora Hall. C. Volmer, Sec.
Branch No. 4, Rockville, Conn., meets first and third
Thursdays at Turin Hall, meeting room, Village street.
Secretary, Richard Niederwieser, Box 70.

ILLINOIS

Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held
regularly second and fourth Wednesdays
of each month at Dr. J. E. Greer's office, 21 Dear-
born St.

Branch No. 1, Chicago, meets every Wednesday
evening, Thomas Kirwin, Secretary, 324 West-
worth Ave.

Branch No. 2 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets first
and third Saturday at 8 p. m., at Nag's Hall, 335 Erie
Island Ave.

Branch No. 3 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and
fourth Mondays at 8 p. m., in Dunder's place, 1060 W.
13th place. Joseph Dunder, Secretary.

Branch No. 4, Chicago, meets second and fourth Sun-
days of each month at Piskrik's Hall, cor. Centre
ave. and 19th St. Joe. Cerny, Sec'y, 530 W. 18th St.

Branch No. 6, Chicago. Meets at Adolph Jankow-
ski's place, 364 West 21st street, every other Saturday
in the month. A. Geisler, Sec., 736 W. 20th street.

Branch No. 8 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets second and
fourth Sundays at 9 p. m., at 2022 Lincoln Street. J. A.
Ambros, Secretary, 4404 Wood Street.

Branch No. 9, Chicago, meets at 1145 W. 63rd St., first
and third Sundays at 8 p. m. Gus. Larson, Secretary,
2202 Center avenue.

INDIANA

Branch No. 4, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday
evening and third Sunday afternoon of each
month at Raleigh's Hall, corner Market
and Noble sts. Address all communications to the Sec. of
State Executive Board, Thomas Cutton, 306 Warren av

IOWA

Branch No. 2, Hittman, meets every fourth Friday in
the month at opera house. James Baxter, chairman,
Wm. Truman, secretary, Box 131.

KENTUCKY

Branch No. 4, Bellevue, meets 1st and 3rd Sunday, at
3 p. m., and 2nd and 4th Wednesday at 8 p. m., at 91
Fairfield ave. We will aim to make it interesting for
all. Henry Listemann, Sec., 122 Peete ave.

MASSACHUSETTS

Branch No. 2, Holyoke, meets second and
fourth Tuesdays of each month at Springfield Turner
Hall. Carl Schwabe, Organizer, 24 Jackson St.

MICHIGAN

Branch No. 5, Lyons, permanent headquarters
71 Monroe St. Business meeting every Monday night
at 7:30. Open house. Public invited. Harry Goltzner,
Sec., 62 Essex St.

MILWAUKEE

Branch No. 3, Brookline, meets Friday nights at 8 p.
m. for business at Socialists Hall, Clark's Block, cor-
ner Main and Center Sts. Every committee is expected
to attend one meeting a month. Mrs. Annie Seeworth,
Secretary, 31 Prospect St.

MINNESOTA

Branch No. 2, Roxbury, Mass., meets at 24 Warren
st., 2d and 4th Fridays of every month. Public invited

The general public is under the im-
pression that the infamous permit sys-
tem among the miners of Idaho has not
only been abolished, but that the min-
ers' condition has been materially im-
proved. The permit to work, it is true,
does not exist in its old form, but the
condition of the miner has not been im-
proved in the least. The mine owners
of the state have organized and agreed
that not a single company would hire its
own men, but that all men shall be em-
ployed through a general employment
office in charge of the man who former-
ly had charge of the "permit office."
This means a blacklist against all union
men.

In Italy a large per cent of the pov-
erty-stricken people live in houses dark
and filthy with little ventilation, and
subsist most of their lives on porridge,
called "polentea," a sort of salad made
palatable by the use of salt. In these
caves and dens anarchists are bred and
born. Extend the area of such condi-
tions, and you have more anarchists.
But anarchists do not reason well, in-
deed not at all. They forget that in
Europe there are at least fifty palatial
breeding pens where blooded stock is
put on the market every year, and that
now the continent is overstocked with
various descriptions of the royal breeds
of "divine right rulers." To kill one
now and then is scarcely realized. The
antidote for anarchism and capitalism,
which makes anarchism possible, is So-
cialism. It levels up and levels down
upon the principle of eternal justice.

The Class Trouble

"We shall have to accustom ourselves
to class distinctions. * * * We
have come nearer being hypocrites on
this subject than in any other thing
we have said or done. * * * We
have shut our eyes as much as possible
to these distinctions, and where they
could not be hidden from the sight
there has been a tacit agreement not to
make them subject of remark. * * *
It might be well to ask ourselves if it
is worth while to keep up the deception
any longer."—United States Investor.

A PRIMER OF SOCIALISM

A 32-page pamphlet which contains in ad-
dition to the "Primer of Socialism," by G. C.
Clemens, "Socializing a State," by the late
Laurence Gronlund, and "Economic Terms
and Phrases," by A. P. Hazel.
One of the strongest pamphlets for propa-
ganda yet issued. A splendid vote-maker, and
thousands should be circulated before election.
PER COPY, 5 CENTS—PER 100, \$1.50

Address, Debs Publishing Co.
Terre Haute, Indiana.

MICHIGAN

Branch No. 1, Battle Creek, Mich., meets 2nd and 4th
Sunday of each month, at 3 p. m., at 10 W. Main Street,
in the International Congress Hall. All are cordially
invited. L. C. Rogers, Secretary.

MINNESOTA

Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every other
Sunday in real estate office of Fred Gerswein
on Main St. A. Kingsbury, Secretary.

MISSOURI

Branch No. 7, Kansas City, meets every
Tuesday at 8 p. m., at 1200 Union Ave. O. J.
Stors, Secretary, 1200 W. 9th St.

MONTANA

Branch No. 1, Butte, meets every Thursday, at 8:30
p. m., Engineers' Hall, Owsley Block. G. Frankel, Sec.
11 E. Park Street.

Branch No. 2 meets first and third Sundays of each
month at G. W. Wood's home, Chico, Mont.

NEW JERSEY

Branch No. 1, Secretary, Michael W. Schor, 87 Liv-
ington st.

Branch No. 3, Camden, N. J., meets every 2d Sunday
of the month. For particulars address Paul Eberding,
128 1/2 8th Avenue.

Branch No. 5 (German) Newark, meets every third
Saturday, at International Hall, 7 Bedford St. Hans
Hertwig, Secretary, 7 Bedford St.

Branch No. 6 (German), Paterson, N. J., meets
first and third Monday at 8 p. m., at Helvetia Hall,
54 Van Hooken St. Karl Linder, Secretary, 34 Ed-
mund St.

NEW YORK

The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New
York, meets every second Tuesday at 412 Grand street,
Windsor Hall. James Altman, Secretary, 35 Suffolk st.
care of "Forward."

every first and third Thursday at 111 Clinton
St. A. Guyer, Secretary, 14 Suffolk St.

Branch No. 5 Brooklyn, New York, meets every Satur-
day at 8 p. m., at 54 Moore St. Visitors welcome. Com-
rades desiring to organize abroad, please communicate with
Secretary Sol. Freeman, 190 Boerum St.

Branch No. 8, Buffalo, N. Y.—Persons desiring to join
this branch will call or communicate with Tom Fitts,
119 Congress street.

Branch No. 10, New York, meets every Friday, at 8 p.
m., 209 E. Broadway. Lectures and discussions. Pub-
lic invited. Organizer, Joseph Williams, 56 Henry st.

OHIO

Branch No. 4, Cincinnati, meets at Richman Hall
southeast corner 9th and Plum Sts., every Sunday at 3
p. m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Joe
Jasin, Secretary, 1410 Central Avenue.

OREGON

Branch No. 1, Portland, meets every Monday night at
Washington Hotel, Cor. 3d and Broadway Sts. Every
body invited. T. C. Weadland, chairman; Mrs. M. E.
Fortlich, secretary.

PENNSYLVANIA

Branch No. 1, Philadelphia, meets every Monday, at
8 p. m., at 435 E. 3rd Street, until further notice.

Branch No. 4, Connersport, meets every second and
last Wednesday of each month in K. of L. Hall. Chas.
Knapel, Chairman; L. H. Moore, Secretary; Ben. Can-
dington, Treasurer.

Branch No. 5, Philadelphia, meets first Friday of
each month—Executive meets every Sunday morning—
at 8 D. P. Club Rooms, at 625 E. Third St. Organizer,
M. Gillis, 1007 E. Third St.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee Central Committee, S. D. P., meets second
and fourth Monday of the month at Brewers' Hall,
southeast corner Fourth and Chestnut sts.

NATIONAL PLATFORM

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness depend upon equal political and economic rights. In our economic development an industrial revolution has taken place, the individual tool of former years having become the social tool of the present. The individual tool was owned by the worker who employed himself and was master of his product. The social tool, the machine, is owned by the capitalist and the worker is dependent upon him for employment. The capitalist thus becomes the master of the worker and is able to appropriate to himself a large share of the product of his labor.

Capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people; but the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system will necessitate the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare.

The present system of social production and private ownership is rapidly converting society into two antagonistic classes—i. e., the capitalist class and the propertyless class. The middle class, once the most powerful of this great nation, is disappearing in the mill of competition. The issue is now between the two classes first named. Our political liberty is now of little value to the masses unless used to acquire economic liberty.

Independent political action and the trade union movement are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its political, the other its economic wing, and both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system.

Therefore the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be:

First—The organization of the working class into a political party to conquer the public powers now controlled by capitalists.

Second—The abolition of wage-slavery by the establishment of a national system of co-operative industry, based upon the social or common ownership of the means of production and distribution, to be administered by society in the common interest of all its members, and the complete emancipation of the socially useful classes from the domination of capitalism.

The working class and all those in sympathy with their historic mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America.

The control of political power by the Social Democratic party will be tantamount to the abolition of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting the millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international Socialism, the brotherhood of man.

As steps in that direction, we make the following demands:

First—Revision of our federal constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to complete control of government by the people irrespective of sex.

Second—The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

Third—The public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones; all means of transportation and communication; all water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

Fourth—The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal, and other mines, and all oil and gas wells.

Fifth—The reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

Sixth—The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

Seventh—Useful inventions to be free, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

Eighth—Labor legislation to be national, instead of local, and international when possible.

Ninth—National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.

Tenth—Equal civil and political rights, for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

Eleventh—The adoption of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

Twelfth—Abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

ATTITUDE TOWARD TRADE UNIONS

In accordance with our declaration of principles we declare that the trades union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the wage-working class. We recommend to the members of the Social Democratic party the following general rules:

First—Join the union of your respective trade.

Second—Assist in building up and strengthening the trade union movement.

Third—Support the union labels of all crafts.

Fourth—Educate your fellow-unionists on the question of Socialism and the labor movement, on economic and political lines.

Fifth—It shall be your duty to work for the unity of the labor movement, thereby recognizing the fact that the emancipation of the working class can only be achieved by the united efforts of this class.

Sixth—Educate the members of the unions in the principles of Socialism and induce them, individually, to affiliate with the Social Democratic party.

Seventh—Trades unions are by historical necessity organized on neutral grounds, as far as political affiliation is concerned. The trades union is the arena where all wage-workers may be brought together for joint action to resist the encroachments of capitalism on the economic field and to participate in the class struggle of the proletariat which will finally develop into the political alignment of the forces of labor in the struggle for proletarian emancipation.

NOTICE TO BRANCHES

The quarterly dues for the quarter ending Mar. 31 are due at the headquarters, 126 Washington st., Chicago, Ill., on or before Jan. 5. Prompt remittance is of the highest importance to insure the interests of the organization, and the branches are urged to provide for the collection, which should be begun at once.

SPECIAL CONVENTION

OFFICIAL CALL

To Members and Branches of the Social Democratic Party, Comrades:

RESPONDING to suggestions from all parts of the country and a demand from many branches, a special National Convention of the Social Democratic party is hereby called, to take place at the national headquarters, 126 Washington street, Chicago, Ill., beginning Tuesday, January 15, 1901, and continuing in session until the work of the convention shall have been completed.

The purpose of this convention will be to make such changes in the laws of the party and to make such other provisions as may be deemed necessary to meet the growing demands of the organization. It is our purpose to enter at once upon a vigorous campaign of agitation, education and organization, so that the party shall be fully equipped to meet the capitalist enemy on the political battle-fields of the future. Now that the presidential campaign is over, our work is fairly begun and must be carried forward with all possible energy without the loss of a single hour.

The basis and other conditions of representation will be the same as at the Indianapolis Convention, and are here incorporated as follows:

First—Each branch shall be entitled to as many representatives as the individual members thereof in good standing may select for that purpose; provided, that each representative shall be entitled to one (1) vote for each member whose signature is attached to his credential; and provided further, that no member shall have his signature attached to more than one credential.

Second—Branches not sending their own representatives may select those of other branches of the same state to represent them; provided, that in each such case the representative shall hold the proper credential with the signatures of members attached as herein provided.

Third—No member shall be qualified to serve as representative or entitled to representation who has not been a member of the party at least thirty (30) days prior to the opening day of the convention.

Fourth—All signatures of members attached to credentials shall be certified to by the chairman or secretary of their respective branches.

Fifth—The national secretary shall furnish each branch with a sufficient number of blank credentials for the purpose herein specified.

Unaffiliated Socialist clubs or societies whose members may desire to connect themselves with the Social Democratic party, are cordially invited to communicate through their proper officials with the Secretary of the National Executive Board, 126 Washington street, Chicago.

This call is issued to all branches of the Social Democratic party in good standing, as shown by the records at 126 Washington street, Chicago, and organized prior to December 15, 1900. The time and place of meeting and other details will be given in the Herald as soon as arrangements are completed.

SEYMOUR STEDMAN, Secretary.

NOTES FROM THE FIELD

Comrade MacCartney goes to Philadelphia to speak on the 28th inst.

The Social Democratic party now has fifty-one organized branches in the state of Illinois and more coming.

The S. L. P. (Deleonite) candidate for governor of New York, received about 200 votes more than Hanford, candidate of the "Unionists."

Comrade Philip S. Brown has consented to serve as secretary of the state committee of the party in Illinois. His address will be 126 Washington street.

The following corrections of the vote in the states named have been received and are official: Colorado, 687; North Dakota, 500; New York, 12,869; Oklahoma, 815.

All branches in Illinois are urged to take up the matter of assisting the work of organization and do what they can in maintaining an organizer constantly in the field.

The Social Democratic Party is still doing business for Socialism at the old stand, 126 Washington Street, Chicago. Close up those new branches in process of formation and let us hear from you.

December 22, at National hall, corner of Eighteenth street and Center avenue, the formation of the first Bohemian branch in Chicago will be celebrated. There will be music and dancing and a general good time.

The State Board of Canvassers of New York has made its official report on the state vote. It shows that Debs received 12,869 and Malloney 12,622. Malloney was the candidate of the S. L. P. (Deleonites).

A conference of branches in Worcester county and vicinity will be held on Sunday, Dec. 23, at Worcester, for the purpose of devising ways and means for more thoroughly organizing central Massachusetts.

Comrade F. E. Miller writes from Kansas: "Now that the anxiety over election is at rest, people seem really willing to listen to what the 'pernicious' Socialist agitators have to say upon matters and interests economic."

At a regular meeting of the city central committee of the Social Democratic party in Chicago, held at 52 Dearborn street Wednesday evening, Dec. 12, Comrade Charles Tyl was elected vice-chairman of the committee.

A course of ten or twelve lectures, to be delivered at meetings under the auspices of each branch of the party in Chicago, is being arranged. They will begin in January and run through February and March. Among the speakers will be Jesse Cox, Isadore Ladoff, Philip S. Brown, Seymour Stedman, W. A. Cunnea, Corinne S. Brown, Ellen Edwards, W. S. McSweeney, H. J. Hlavacek, and A. S. Edwards.

Every branch of the party in the country should make a special effort to be represented in the national convention, January 15. The gathering will be one of great importance to the organization and movement and a full representation is desirable.

Only those branch organizations holding a charter from and affiliated with 126 Washington street belong to the Social Democratic party. Unattached Socialists desiring to organize branches or affiliate with the party will address the national Secretary, Theodore Debs, 126 Washington street, Chicago.

The organization of new branches in Illinois is one of the distinctive features of the growth of the party since the election. At no previous time in the history of the movement in this state has there been so many Socialist organizations as are now affiliated with the Social Democratic party. In a short time we will have a hundred branches in Illinois.

A new political party was sprouted in Chicago, December 15, under the name of the "Socialist Party." The platform, adopted after a long debate, omits a demand for ownership of public utilities, like street railways, and is thus in full accord with the ideas of Charles Yerkes. The meeting nominated John Collins for mayor, and F. G. Strickland for city clerk.

We are pleased to announce that Comrades Cozette Brown, Elizabeth Aldrich, Ethel James and Elizabeth H. Thomas have undertaken to manage an entertainment at an early day in behalf of the organizing fund, and hope every comrade in Chicago will be prepared to push the sale of tickets. Definite announcement as to date and other particulars will appear in The Herald.

The official returns of the state and national election in Massachusetts are as follows:
Debs and Harriman..... 9,606
Bradley, for governor..... 13,260
Wrenn, for lieutenant-governor..... 10,920
Barr, for secretary of state..... 13,532
O'Shaughnessy, for treasurer..... 12,746
Walsh, for auditor..... 12,260
Billings, for attorney-general..... 12,791

A report that two-thirds (and more) of the members of Branch 4, Chicago, have detached themselves from the organization is not true. A few of them, misled and deceived by constant attacks upon "that Washington Street crowd," have withdrawn, but Branch 4 goes serenely on just as potent a force for Socialism as before—perhaps more so. The wind blew the chaff out, that's all—a little wheat went with it, maybe, and now it's sorry it didn't brace against the gust.

Rockville's Protest

At the last meeting of Branch 4, Thursday, Dec. 6, the call for a special convention was discussed, at the close of which a motion was put and unanimously carried to protest against a convention taking place on such short notice and right after the national campaign. The reasons for our protest are, first: If a convention is necessary, we

NEW BRANCHES

Illinois, 1
Pennsylvania, 1
Wisconsin, 2
Total, 4

want it to be represented by delegates from all parts of the country, which it will not be if it takes place at that date, as it takes money to send them. Second: It was the unanimous opinion of all the members present that all propositions for changes or additions to the party organization should be published in the party press and be open for discussion for at least three months previous to the opening of the convention, thereby giving every comrade throughout the country a chance to express his opinion. The comrades would know what is going to take place, they would know how to instruct their delegates, for it is our opinion that these questions should be settled at the convention subject to referendum vote.

Richard Niederwerfer, Rockville, Conn.

Michael Britzius

Michael Britzius, who died at St. Joseph's hospital, Denver, Colo., last Sunday, was a member of Branch 18, Chicago, of the Social Democratic party. Comrade Britzius had been ill for a long time, and for many months friends have had no hope for his recovery. He was an old-time, well-informed and faithful Socialist. A few weeks ago he went to Colorado in the hope of bettering his condition, but the end soon came, and those who knew him feel keenly the loss of a true comrade and friend. In 1893 he stood as the Socialist candidate for mayor of Chicago and received 2,064 votes.

Coulter's Victory at Brockton

The voters of the city have rendered their verdict as to who should hold the helm of municipal interests for the ensuing year, and that verdict is for another term for Mayor Coulter. With the exception of the Garfield-Williamson contest three years ago, it is the closest one ever waged in this city, and, strangely enough, Mayor Coulter's plurality is exactly the same that Mr. Garfield received in 1897, thirty-five votes. It is certainly a most substantial tribute to the present mayor that he is returned to office. It practically affirms the satisfaction of a plurality of the voters of the city with the manner he has conducted the affairs of the city—Brockton (Mass.) Times.

Dues and the Herald

Members of the party who expect to receive The Herald must keep their dues paid up. The amount is a mere trifle, and is often overlooked or neglected on that account. We receive numerous complaints that The Herald fails to reach comrades and in almost every case it is due to the fact that the dues of the complaining comrade are unpaid.

Each comrade should see to it that his dues are paid; and the treasurer of each branch should see to it that they are promptly forwarded to headquarters.

The Book You Need

PRINCIPLES OF Scientific Socialism

By Rev. Charles H. Vail

Author "Modern Socialism" and "National Ownership of Railways."

CONTENTS:

The Industrial Revolution. The Analysis of Value. The Origin of Surplus Value. The Advantages of Socialism: Production, Distribution, Elimination of Unnecessary Vocations, Prevention of Waste, Elevation of Woman, Proper Care and Training of Children, Efficient Directors, Solution of the Monetary Question, Abolition of Taxation, Simplification of Government, Benefits to Capitalists, Benefits to Laborers. The Evidence of the Moral Strength of Socialism: Its Spirit and Aim; Abolition of Slavery, Dishonesty; Restriction of Divorce; Prevention of Prostitution; Elimination of Crime; Prevention of Intemperance, Insanity, etc. Poverty—Its Cause and Cure. Wage Slavery vs. Chattel Slavery. Rent and Interest. The Law of Wages. The Law of Progress. Industrial Depression and Commercial Crises. The Problem of Labor-Saving Machinery. Popular Economic Errors: That Value is Determined by Capitalist Cost of Production; that the Interests of Laborers and Capitalists are identical; that Labor is Better Off Today Than Ever Before; that Cheap Prices are Beneficial to Labor; that Foreign Markets are Beneficial to Labor; that Luxury is Harmful to Labor; that Land Nationalization Would Solve the Social Question; that Extravagance is the Chief Cause of Economic Want; that Socialism Would Thwart Inventions and Improvements; that Socialism Would Destroy Individuality. Conclusion and Index. 12mo, 236 Pages; Paper, 35c; Cloth, \$1.00.

SEND ORDERS TO

THEODORE DEBS, 126 Washington St. CHICAGO

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LIBRARY

Karl Marx, Capital, Cloth..... \$2.00
F. W. Springsteen—Socialism and the Revolution, Cloth..... 1.00
Grundriss—The Co-operative Commonwealth, Paper..... .50
August Bebel—Woman: Past, Present and Future..... .50
Blatchford—Merrie England..... .50
Edward Bellamy—Looking Backward..... .50
Edward Bellamy—Equality, Cloth..... 1.00
Lassalle—History of the Communist League..... 1.00
Charles Vail—Modern Socialism..... .50
Asplund—Heterodox Economics and Orthodox Problems..... .50
Henry D. Lloyd—Wealth Against Common Wealth..... 1.00
Volney—The Ruins of Empires..... .50
Thomas Paine—The Rights of Man..... .50
Henry George—Social Problems..... .50
Osborne Ward—The Ancient Law..... .50
Adams—President John Smith..... .50
Richard T. Ely—Socialism and Social Reform..... 1.00
Bocher—Man in the Past, Present and Future..... 1.00
Chas. H. Vail—Principles of Scientific Socialism..... .50
Herron—Between Jesus and Caesar..... .50
Fabian Essays..... .50
Rogers—Six Centuries of Work and Wages..... .50
Donnelly—Caesar's Column..... .50

PAMPHLETS

F. Lassalle—What Is Capital..... .50
H. M. Hyndman—Socialism and Slavery..... .50
F. Lassalle—The Workingman's Program..... .50
Chas. H. Vail—The Industrial Revolution..... .50

THEODORE DEBS, Secretary Treasurer, 126 Washington Street, Chicago.

New Ready! 126 Pages!

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

RED BOOK

EDITED BY FREDERIC HEATH

Printed on Plate Paper Handsomely Illustrated. This is an annual publication for Social Democrats who will find it indispensable for reference purposes. This first issue is of especial value because of the historical character of its contents. Among the features are:

A HISTORY OF SOCIALISM IN AMERICA. Covering 76 pages, with portraits of Robert Owen, Etienne Cabet, Wilhelm Weitling, etc., etc.
ALBERT BRINSANE. The first American agitator, with portrait.
A TRIP TO GIRAUD. By Wayfarer, with view of Appeal to Reason office.
KARL MARX ON THE SINGLE TAX.
MACHINE VS. HAND LABOR. Compiled from government reports by Isadore Ladoff.
SHORTER PIECES. Labor Conflicts in 1899. Gronlund. Grant Allen. Chronology for 1899. Directory of Social Democrats. Socialist Controversies of 1899. The "Golden Rule Mayor." Prof. Herron's Case. Social Democratic Platforms, Etc.
BIOGRAPHIES OF WELL-KNOWN SOCIAL DEMOCRATS. Twenty in all.
ELECTION STATISTICS. Covering the Socialist movement down to the present year. A valuable reference.
A SOCIALIST PORTRAIT GALLERY. Comprising seventeen likenesses of leading workers in the movement, distributed through the book.
Sent postpaid on receipt of price, 15 CENTS.

DEBS PUBLISHING CO.

TERRE HAUTE, IND.

TWO GREAT SPEECHES

Should be Read by Socialists Everywhere and Put into the Homes of Non-Socialists

Delivered at Central Music Hall, Chicago, Saturday, September 23, 1900, by

EUGENE V. DEBS

AND
PROF. GEO. D. HERRON

A Splendid Campaign Document

Sixteen Page Pamphlet. Price, Three Cents One Hundred, \$2.00

Address, 126 Washington St., Chicago

Appeal to Reason

Socialist Weekly with 100,000 subscribers and the number growing with every issue

Is Unique—Nothing else like it

Will be sent to your address fifty-two weeks for fifty cents. Girard, Kansas

Watch this space for Appeal announcements

SPRAVEDLNOST

(JUSTICE)

BOHEMIAN WEEKLY PUBLISHED BY THE BOHEMIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC BRANCHES OF CHICAGO

Subscription, \$1.50 a year

Address, 700-702 Loomis Street, Chicago, Ill.

The Herald will be sent to any address in the United States 26 weeks for 20 cents.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

THIRD YEAR. No. 28.

CHICAGO, ILL., U. S. A., SATURDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1900.

Whole No. 130.

TWENTIETH CENTURY BELONGS TO SOCIALISM

Prophecies from Scientists, Literary Men, Teachers and Others as to the Possibilities of 1901 in Social Development.

SOCIALISM IS THE THEME

Yale Professor Declares it is the Next Great Political Creed to Occupy Attention of the World.

From The Chicago American

M. MILLERAND, French Socialist

The Socialistic movement is co-extensive with the civilized world. It knows no national limits. Where civilization is high there collectivism is the strongest. The twentieth century will see it in full swing. It will not retrograde. The hands of the economic clock can never be moved back to feudalism. Socialism cannot remain stationary, for it is a vital force. The only possible evolution for it is in an onward and upward course.

Socialism works for concord and peace. It makes generous hearts and it gives us men of good will. The solidarity of the human race should be the aim of noble minds. Such solidarity enforces the sovereignty of right. Might is not right and never will be with the people. Solidarity of the race breaks the back of mere brute force. Men should not bend the knee to blind power. Solidarity promotes peace. What can be more noble than a festival of work and peace? Honorable peace is more glorious than the most brilliant war.

The grave and delicate questions of social economy are now all tempered by Socialism. Mechanism and invention are of use only in so far as they improve the position of mankind. We measure the degree of a people's civilization not by mechanical improvements, but by the welfare of the men of toil. This is the highest and noblest standard of measurement.

It is generally laid down that man is the architect of his own fortune. But society must let him have the leisure to work it out. He must not be brutalized by a task beyond his strength.

This applies to all nations and races. For sons of different races and citizens of different nationalities belong to the same family. The duty of all is to increase the common patrimony. The legion of unknown toilers must not be forgotten.

In the coming century the organisms of iron and steel will continue more and more to replace flesh and bone, epidemics will be unknown, distance will still further disappear. Science will keep on multiplying the means she puts at man's disposal. The greatest service it can render to man is to teach him the material and moral grandeur of union—of solidarity. Where Socialism holds sway the hatred born of uncultured brains disappears. It vanquishes misery to a large extent.

PROF. HENRY DAVIES, Yale University

Following this harmony [establishment of universal peace] and conditioned upon it will come the co-operative state. As applied to economic reform this implies, of course, the removal of all restriction of individual freedom and the equality of opportunity in all the means of production and of the distribution of wealth. This will be a necessity as far as the United States is concerned. For the population of this country will, at the present rate of increase, be 500,000,000 in 1999. If the wealth increases at the same ratio (which is not likely on account of the depletion of raw materials), there would soon be anarchy under the competitive system. The universality of education will make the competitive principle in any department of human affairs an insult to enlightened intelligence. Socialism is the next great political creed to occupy our attention, and the central problem in this creed is the question of the distribution of wealth. Hopeful signs are abroad that the problem will be solved peaceably, in the slow evolution of things.

ALFRED R. WALLACE, Scientist

I hope and believe that the twentieth century will be a century devoted to social advance and regeneration; but in order to succeed in this great work it must deal with causes and principles, not merely with symptoms. The crowning disgrace of the nineteenth century—that with a hundred-fold increase in our powers of wealth—production adequate to supply every rational want of

our whole population many times over, we have only succeeded in adding enormously to individual wealth and luxury while the workers are on the average as deeply sunk in poverty and misery as before—must be abolished forever.

In order to do this we must adopt as our beacon light and guide the fundamental principle of social justice—equality of opportunity—not as a mere phrase or catch-word, but with a stern determination to carry it out to its logical consequences.

I am myself convinced that the society of the future will be some form of Socialism, which may be briefly defined as the organization of labor for the good of all. Just as the postoffice is organized labor in one department for the benefit of all alike; just as the railways might be organized as a whole for the equal benefit of the whole community; just as extensive industries over a whole country are now organized for the exclusive benefit of combinations of capitalists; so all necessary and useful labor might be organized for the equal benefit of all.

RICHARD LE GALLIENNE, Author

I am assuming that in this struggle the workers will come out triumphant. Indeed, dark as the prospect at the moment seems, embattled as are the strongholds of capital, and closed as are all the doors of joy and leisure to the poor workers whose unwilling hands have been forced to build these citadels of oppression, yet the time is surely fixed when these strongholds shall come down as the walls of the Bastille went down before them, and the whole of humanity force its way through those closed doors, into those fair gardens of the world which were made for all men, not merely for a few.

MAX O'RELL, French Critic

The social system of this century is wrong and the twentieth will remedy this. I hope I shall not be taken for a dangerous character if I say that a society in which the workers live in poverty, often in a state of starvation, while idlers live in unbridled luxury, is wrongly organized. Pardon me, if all my sympathies in this world are for those who work and suffer.

NIKOLA TESLA, Electrical Expert

If we want to reduce poverty and misery, if we want to give to every deplorable individual the right to a safe existence of an intelligent being, we want to provide more machinery, more power. Power is our mainstay, the primary source of our many-sided energies. With sufficient power at our disposal we can satisfy most of our wants and offer a guaranty for safe and comfortable existence, except perhaps to those who are the greatest criminals of all—the voluntarily idle.

F. MARION CRAWFORD, Author

A modus vivendi which shall assure a just and permanent distribution of wealth and division of labor. He who solves this problem will be the earth's greatest man.

The New York Journal of Commerce, a paper free from fads and hobbies, discourses in a common-sense way about national thanksgiving, and then indorses the contention of Socialists in the matter of government by saying that "in the 125th year of American independence we cannot refer to our city governments without a blush, and there is only too much in our state governments and in our national government to which we would be glad to shut our eyes. The barbarism bred of slavery survives a generation after its cause, and is not confined to the section where slavery prevailed." Socialists point out lucidly why we are called upon to blush for municipal, state and national government. It is because of barbarism bred by chattel slavery which now exists in wage slavery, bred by capitalism, which has spread throughout the land. The Journal of Commerce has correct views of the situation, which unequivocally indorse the policy of Socialists.

When the constitution was submitted to the thirteen original states for ratification slavery existed in all of them, except Vermont, which declared its extinction in 1777, before she had joined the union, and eighty-six years thereafter, 1863, the fetters fell from off the limbs of every chattel slave in the land. And in twenty years, if Socialists are true to their mission, wage slavery will disappear from the United States.

The earth revolves on its axis, Socialism hews with its axes, and it has got a thousand of them, keen-edged, hewing pathways through the jungle of ignorance and bigotry to highlands of liberty and independence.

The telegraphers on the Santa Fe and other railroads have created an electric storm because they are not getting their share of Mark Hanna's "prosperity."

LABOR AND POLITICS IN OLD ENGLAND

An Interesting Batch of News from Beyond the Seas Prepared for the Herald

By John Penny

The General Federation Trade Unions makes comparatively slow progress as up to the present it only embraces sixty-three societies and 378,870 members. It has, however, a fairly handsome cash balance in the bank. Evidently some kind of a stimulus is needed to make the individual unions see the necessity of federation. Perhaps we shall have that when one of the threatened attacks on trades unionism comes to a head.

That the federation, in spite of its relative slow growth, has come to stay there can be little doubt. Month by month its membership is increasing, and when a union has once joined and paid its fees there is every inducement for it to continue in the fold and reap any advantage the federation may have to give. Withdrawal would mean the loss of the funds paid in, which will probably be a strong factor in the eyes of any society that may be temporarily dissatisfied. Hence defections will be few and far between.

As the federation grows, however, another body, the Trade Union Congress, will probably diminish. The Trade Union Congress has been all along an expensive and more or less ineffective gathering. It has elected year by year a showy, but not very useful, parliamentary committee, whose arduous labors have not brought forth an abundance of good things. The parliamentary committee has not possessed any real power in the trade union world; all it could do was to advise, whereas the executive council of the general federation will sooner or later become practically supreme and will lay down the law as to whether or not there are to be strikes, of this or that section. Such a body with real executive power in its hands is bound to exercise more influence over the unions than the somewhat casual parliamentary committee. The various affiliated unions will find it imperative to attend the federation congress, while the Trade Union Congress will gradually come to be looked upon as a speakers' carnival and will be superseded.

November 1st saw the inauguration of the eight-hour day in the works of Messrs. Brunner, Mond & Co., at Middlesbrough. One can congratulate employers and employed alike on this step, for there is no doubt that it will be advantageous to both. Masters find that high wages, short hours and good results go together as a rule, and that a policy of generosity toward work people produces its reward, while the employees find that the increased leisure gives opportunities for self-improvement involving ultimately a wider horizon and a demand for still further facilities for culture. Nothing could be wider from the truth than the current idea that increased leisure for the working classes naturally implies drunkenness and debauchery on their part. It is often the case, unfortunately, that people who have been tied up in the mill or shop for the greater part of a year seem to run wild when they get a half holiday, but the excesses committed are due to the reaction from the continuous overwork. As people get more leisure and more accustomed to holidays, more rational methods of spending the time will become common than those we sometimes see at the seaside places patronized by the working classes. To spend our leisure well is an art requiring cultivation, quite as much as to make the best of our working hours. Hence a reasonable amount of leisure must always be a necessary factor in building up and developing a nobler humanity.

The coal question is one that looms very largely in people's minds just now, and the resolution passed a short time ago by the Yeoman Urban District council will be read with much interest. The resolution is as follows: "That, having regard to the need for a cheap and abundant supply of coal, the exorbitant demands of the coal mine owners, and the large amount of coal exported annually to other countries, this council is of opinion that the only effectual means of economizing the supply and reducing the price, is for the mines to become the property of the nation, and that a copy of this resolution be sent to the prime minister, the member for parliament, and all the district councils in the Otley division, with a request that they will give their support to the same."

It is almost astonishing to see the way in which the elected authorities

throughout the country are taking up the question of municipal housing. It is not generally known what extensive powers our local authorities have in this direction, and they can best be described as practically unlimited, save that they must get the consent of the local government board to any scheme they devise. I note with interest that the Merthyr Urban District council has applied to the L. G. B. for permission to borrow £15,000 which it proposes to spend in the erection of workmen's dwellings. If the proposal may be taken as an indication of the movement in the direction of the better housing for the Welsh people, it is heartily worthy of commendation for the working classes in South Wales at any rate are notoriously housed in an infamous manner.

A Revolutionary Party

The Social Democratic party is an uncompromising Socialist organization. It stands today where it did when first organized in June, 1898, that is, as a political opponent of all capitalistic or quasi-capitalistic parties, and the declared adversary of the capitalist system of production.

On its positive side it is uncompromisingly committed to the program of international Socialism; that is, the substitution in place of capitalist industry of a system of society in which all the affairs of men, national and international, will be systematically managed by the social organism for the benefit of all, and no longer by individuals for individual profit and emolument, as, under capitalism, these affairs are managed now.

Any political party with this program is necessarily a revolutionary party. Revolutionary in this respect, that it proposes the negation of private property rights in the indispensable resources of nature and of social productive capital.

No party is worthy of or entitled to use the name Socialist that does not accept without reservation or recourse to base political trickery to deceive the unwary and uninformed, the program of revolutionary international Socialism in its entirety.

No individual, however unctuous his professions of fidelity to "the cause" or yearnings for the "co-operative commonwealth," can trim or compromise the program of Socialism to suit his individual and personal interests without respect to enjoy an unchallenged right to the name Socialist.

No man is a Socialist who does not recognize that Socialism is not a reform, but a revolution; that it is not a scheme but a system of society; a reorganization of the affairs of men from which private individual means and opportunities of appropriating the wealth produced by labor are eliminated.

Socialism, then, is a revolutionary movement, based upon the class struggle, awaiting the action and interaction of social and evolutionary forces for its final and complete supremacy. Of this movement the Social Democratic party in the United States is an organized expression. It has no reason for existence save as a critic of capitalism and an advocate of national and international co-operation.

As proof that the church is run on a straight capitalistic basis, let us consider the Archbishop of Manila's visit to the Pope. He was recently told by a Cardinal that he could secure certain concessions from the Pope if he could guarantee a yearly income to the Vatican of \$200,000 from the Philippines. That is odd—but hear the rest of the story. A Filipino commission was also sent to Rome to get control of church properties and another worthy Cardinal "thought the dispute would go in their favor if they could promise the Vatican \$200,000 a year." But the latter commission evidently has not sufficient quantities of the "long green," for their money is all gone, after paying fees to Vatican dependents. They were taxed \$100 to see a Cardinal and \$3,000 to see the Pope. This is business, and business is business. It is a year's subscription to the Herald against a worn out summer hat that the Archbishop of Manila arrives home next month from a very successful business trip to Rome—although the price was rather high.

The Vicereine of India, Lady Curzon, whose former home was the city in which the Herald is printed, entertains her friends with elephant parties. Each lady is provided with an elephant and attendants. The Vicereine's own elephant is equipped with a gorgeous mount embroidered in silk and gold, with huge festoons of pearls hung around the elephant's ears. The "howdah" is of silver protected from the sun by a white silk umbrella, bordered with pearls, while the "mahout" carries a silver goad and fly fan. A "famine in India" is the news that reaches us with due regularity of late years—but perhaps this has nothing to do with the Vicereine and her elephant parties.

SOCIAL REVOLUTION AND THE REFORMERS

The Democratization of Commerce, Trade and Industry the Only Reliable and Safe Guaranty of Social Equality

MODERN SUCCESS WORSHIP

Social Democracy Must Work for Gradual Measures of Relief, but Without Losing its Revolutionary Character

By Isador Ladoff

Social Democracy is a distinctly revolutionary movement. It demands a radical reconstruction of the present mercantile and capitalistic system of society on entirely different planes. It demands that all economic and industrial functions of society should be managed by society in the interest of society as a whole. It considers the democratization of commerce, trade and industry as the only reliable foundation of political democracy and safe guaranty of true social equality.

The co-operative commonwealth advocated by Social Democracy is thoroughly in accord with the results of modern philosophy—science and ethics. Social justice and the light of reason shall regulate the civic, economic and other interrelations of the members of this commonwealth of the future. Blind chance and chaotic play of unrestricted and uncontrolled individual endeavor and action, characterizing present anarchic state of society are favorable for the most brutal struggle for existence between man and man, man and woman, man and child in the field of industrial slavery, a struggle resulting in the survival of the most cunning, unscrupulous and heartless, in a boundless sea of human suffering and degradation, in crime, carnal and moral prostitution.

In our present society the individual or class are allowed to exploit, nay, encouraged to prey upon, the mass of human beings of the downtrodden, exploited and demoralized toiling and moiling masses of humanity, the so-called lower classes. It champions the cause of the emancipation of these lower classes from the unbearable yoke of irrational and unjust social conditions. It proclaimed the identity of the interest of the individual with the interest of the race in general, and is, therefore, an international, world-wide movement as far as general principles are involved. Social Democracy stands for the brotherly co-operation of all the members of the human race for the purpose of exploiting the inexhaustible treasures of our common, benevolent mother—nature—for emulation instead of competition, for the survival of the best instead of the fittest, for the elevation instead of the degradation of the human type, for the entire abolition instead of fostering and artificially creating class distinctions, for the propaganda of race instead of class consciousness.

Social Democracy does not expect to change human nature by elevating the morality of single individuals born, reared, educated and compelled to live in a grossly immoral environment and a state of society inviting immorality by its very construction and putting a premium on immorality by heathenish success worship, as the conservative and revolutionary utopian individualists do expect or pretend to expect. Social Democracy proposes only to direct the instinct of self-preservation, so deeply rooted in human nature, into channels where these most potent social powers will, by the law of social mechanics, turn constructive instead of destructive, organizing instead of disorganizing, humanizing instead of bestializing.

The most rational way to abolish an evil is to remove the incentive for committing it. This is exactly what Social Democracy proposes to do. Where there is no motive for exploitation of one man by another there can be no exploitation. Social Democracy fortunately passed the utopian stage in which the individualists still linger. It builds its magnificent edifice for the future of humanity not on the sand of personal morality, but on the solid rock of knowledge of human nature and the laws of social and economic life. It does not believe in creating social conditions by legislative fiat. It maintains that only such laws are operative which sanctify existing social and economic conditions, laws expressing deep-rooted convictions of the broad masses of the people.

Social Democracy is consequently fully aware that, as Rome could not be

(Continued on Fourth page)

Social Democratic Herald

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board
FREDERICK KEATE Chairman
THEODORE STEINER Secretary
EUGENE V. DEBS VICTOR L. RINGER
GORDON S. BROWN

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, 50 cents. Six months, 25 cents. No papers sent to any one on credit. If, without having subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and no bill will follow. Foreign subscriptions \$1.00.

Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

A. S. EDWARDS, Editor
THEODORE DEBS, National Sec'y-Treas.
186 Washington St., Chicago.

130 is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 131 your subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, DEC. 29, 1900.

National Vote for Socialism

The canvass of the votes cast for McKinley and Bryan has been completed in all the states. Incomplete returns of the Social Democratic vote gives Debs 85,344, but these figures do not include the vote in California, Maine, Alabama and Georgia; these states increase the vote to 94,604. This is probably less than one-half the vote actually cast for Eugene V. Debs in the country.

Maloney, S. L. P. candidate for president, received 34,007, or 2,557 less than the vote of that party in 1896.

The total vote of the country for socialism in 1900 is, therefore, according to the returns, 128,610, against 36,564 in 1896. It is, however, unquestionably true that in many states the votes of Social Democrats were not counted; they were destroyed or tampered with on the slightest pretext. This was especially true in Indiana and Texas.

The grand total of votes cast for all candidates was 13,969,966. The following table gives the Social Democratic party votes by states:

Alabama	500
California	7,572
Colorado	687
Connecticut	1,029
Delaware	56
Florida	601
Georgia	300
Illinois	9,687
Indiana	2,374
Iowa	2,742
Kansas	1,605
Kentucky	760
Maine	887
Maryland	876
Massachusetts	9,617
Michigan	2,826
Minnesota	3,065
Montana	708
Nebraska	820
New Hampshire	790
New Jersey	4,609
New York	12,869
North Dakota	518
Ohio	4,335
Oregon	1,470
Pennsylvania	4,831
South Dakota	169
Tennessee	415
Texas	846
Utah	720
Vermont	371
Washington	2,006
West Virginia	219
Wisconsin	7,095
Total	94,604

The Social Democratic party will be fourth on the ballot in the next election.

Christmas

In writing of Christmas, the anniversary of the birth of Jesus, in the town of Bethlehem, Judea, a bit of history will not be out of place.

It is recorded that on the occasion of the birth of Jesus an angel appeared to shepherds watching their flocks by night and said: "I bring you good tidings of great joy which shall be unto all people, for unto you is born this day in the city of David a Savior, which is Christ the Lord. . . . And suddenly there was with the angel a multitude of the heavenly hosts praising God and saying, GLORY TO GOD IN THE HIGHEST, AND ON EARTH PEACE, GOOD WILL TOWARD MEN."

Is this a true history of the event? It is so accepted by all Christendom. But neither "on earth peace" nor "good will toward men" has blessed mankind. Nevertheless, the "heavenly hosts" made the announcement. It voiced faith in the redeeming power of human nature, and of a good time coming. Socialism grasps the idea and values it for all it is worth. It believes in a civilization of peace and of good will. Socialism would eliminate from our civilization the savagery of war and introduce "good will toward men." If this cannot be done, then the sooner the earth is transformed into a tomb the better. If peace is never to come, if all the baser elements of human nature are forever to prevail and hold the world in subjection, then what we call "Christian civilization" should haul down its flag and capitulate and permit the devil to have full sway. Socialists do not propose to surrender. They do not treat the announcement of "peace on earth" as a vagary; nor "good will toward men" as a huge delusion.

It will be borne in mind that the "heavenly host" did not say "peace in heaven," nor "good will toward angels,"

but "toward men." The problem is to be solved on earth, not in some other state of existence. Socialists alone take the "heavenly host" at its word. It is their creed, their ritual, their shibboleth.

We do not say that Christmas should not be celebrated with feast and song and rapturous joy. Socialists do not undervalue the Christmas custom of banquets, reunions and the exchange of gifts and mementos of friendship and good will, but prize the day chiefly because it keeps in perpetual remembrance their mission to establish, as the "heavenly host" announced, "On earth peace, good will toward men." Milton sang—

"Peace hath her victories,
No less renowned than war."

And Socialists, grasping the full significance of the declaration, propose that the victories of peace shall be not only no less renowned than war, but a thousandfold more resplendent.

Confusion Among Unionists

"The committee on platform filed in and submitted a draft of a municipal platform. The draft prepared was discussed at length by the convention, and an attempt was made to insert a municipal ownership plank. However, after more than an hour's discussion, the platform was adopted precisely as the committee had reported it."

The foregoing is taken from the Workers' Call report of a meeting held by some of the Socialists of Chicago, Saturday evening, Dec. 15. This was the meeting that nominated a ticket for the spring election and called itself the "Socialist party." The platform contains no demand whatever for public ownership of street railways, electric or gas lighting or power plants, or any other public or social utilities—the means of production and distribution.

The same meeting adopted the following resolution as a part of its record and to emphasize its "revolutionary Socialism":

"That the Socialists of Chicago stand for a co-operative commonwealth; we recognize, nevertheless, THE NECESSITY OF OBTAINING FOR THE WORKING CLASS ALL THAT IS POSSIBLE UNDER THE PRESENT SYSTEM AS LONG AS IT SHALL LAST."

The "revolutionary" Socialists seem to have slipped a cog somewhere in their deliberations. It did not occur to them that a Socialistic demand for municipal ownership of any public utility is an entirely different proposition from a capitalist demand for the same thing. The meeting turned down a plank for municipal ownership of the means of transportation, gas, etc., on the ground,

class "favors that reform." Since when the capitalist class has done anything of the kind is not stated. Yerkes, Louderbach & Co. certainly do not favor public ownership of their properties in Chicago; neither does the People's Gas company. What we are contending for is not that municipalization of anything is Socialism, but that, since the Socialization of "public utilities" cannot be achieved for the general public interest by capitalist parties, it necessarily devolves upon Socialists to pursue a clear-cut policy to accomplish the end sought for—viz., the co-operative commonwealth; in such pursuit and also "to obtain for the working class all that is possible under the present system as long as it lasts," the thing to be done is to educate the working class up to a thorough understanding of the meaning and final significance of every step taken.

A party that refuses to adopt in its program of immediate political demands one declaring for the Socialization of that large class of public utilities operated for private profit in cities, although some of the direct results of public ownership, "while the present system lasts," might be unsatisfactory, and at the same time recognizes the "necessity" mark that, the "necessity of obtaining for the working class all that is possible under the present system," is neither a Socialist nor a revolutionary party. Its utterances are confused and confusing. In its attempt to be heroic it has generated wind in the stomach. It disembowels its own resolutions and platform with the statement that neither are of any account. It favors "the employment of all unemployed citizens by the municipality," but they must be employed in competition with workers privately employed—there is no other way—and may not be given employment on a municipal street railway or in a Socialized electric power plant.

The Social Democratic party is not waiting for a revolution; it is in a revolution already here. Toward the culminating era, the climax of the revolutionary forces operating in society, steps are taken each day and advances are continuously and inevitably made. The security of the future depends largely upon whether these steps are in the right direction, that is to say, whether in the final readjustment from capitalist industry they make for democratic Socialism and the co-operative commonwealth. Therefore the Social Democratic party seeks to build up a powerful organization in community and nation to take possession of the public powers and direct every step made in the reorganization of industry and all the indispensable services of social well-

being and enjoyment. Among the latter are municipal transportation and communication services, and these vitally concern the interests of the working class. Nothing can be accomplished for the working class in cities so long as cities are controlled by the enemies of that class.

NOTES AND COMMENT

"Jolly 'em along!" is the idea of plenty of well-known labor leaders who are doing more to perpetuate the fleeing games of the capitalist class than they are to promote the interests of the working class which pays their salaries. At the conference of "labor and capital" in Chicago last week one of these said it would cost the employing class nothing to say to the workingman, "How are you, Bill?" or "How are you, Tom?" and, shaking him by the hand, make him feel that he was a good fellow. Neither would it. And that is all that some wage slaves want. Just "jolly 'em along!" Do nothing that human justice demands, but "jolly 'em along!" Do anything that will cost the capitalist class nothing, but don't get off their backs. "Jolly 'em along!"

A speaker, addressing a meeting of the Methodist Social union of Chicago on the subject of crime, said "it has always been true that where a great many different classes and conditions of people were brought together in a struggle for existence it means crime." True enough; an environment that is essentially brutal and criminal will produce criminals. The capitalist system, forcing upon all classes the struggle for existence, is necessarily a crime-producing system, and the only escape from it is in Socialism, when the mere struggle to live, imposing on every one the necessity of being a social pirate, under the law or despite the law, will give place to social production for use only. Capitalism is crime, and crime is an inevitable consequence of capitalism.

A new industry was started out at Omaha last week. Of all recent ventures in the money-making line few impose less labor or offer inducements for larger pay. All that is required is a good nerve and ability to discriminate between the children of a dollar-a-day wage slave and a millionaire. The originators of the industry kidnaped a young son of Cudahy, millionaire pork packer, hid him away until his wealthy papa was ready with a ransom and, according to report, the promoters' Christmas was merry, even hilarious. The secret of success in this line is to pick out the right kid.

After a hundred years of experimenting with election laws to secure honest elections, each one proving a failure, the machine is to be introduced. It appears plausible that machine politics should culminate in a voting machine. The ballot gives place to the button, and introduces the juvenile game of "Who's got the button?" in a vastly expanded form.

There is no chance under heaven for a workingman to secure wealth until he owns himself. The philosophy of the old ditty 'fo' de wa' fairly illustrates the idea. During a pelting storm he was seen with his hat under his arm, while his head was exposed. Being asked why he did not wear his hat, he replied: "Dis hat is dis nigger's; dis head is Marse Bob's."

As an item showing the progressive character of our prosperity, statistics show that the United States has 250,000 habitual criminals. The number does not include apprentices in crime, nor the various types of well-dressed and educated embezzlers, who are trying to enter upper crust circles to which the passport is money.

If you would be truly wise, be a Socialist. If you would be truly great, be a Socialist. If you would be truly good, be a Socialist. Socialism vitalizes every faculty of the soul, enlarges the domain of effort and creates a never ending series of mind and heart felicities.

The Filipinos are beginning to arrive in the United States. One of them touched Milwaukee, but was denied admittance at several hotels because he looks like a "nigger." When a man looks so much like a "nigger" that an average hotel clerk can't see the difference, his case is rather dark.

Why is food poisoned and adulterated? There is only one reply: It is done for profit. Under Socialism food will be produced for people to eat, and not to sell for a profit. Therefore, under Socialism, people will eat without being poisoned.

There is only one way to be honest, as there is only one way to tell the truth; but dishonesty is as prolific of ways and methods to deceive as capitalism is to steal the earnings of labor.

Chicago has developed a new type of capitalism. It was recently discovered that a footpad had organized a combine in which a number of footpads had their districts and robbed on commission.

THE CAPITAL BURGLARIZED WITH AID OF CONGRESSMEN

Legislation by Which the People are Robbed and a Railroad is Benefitted Passed Quietly Without Protest

The following account of a "good bit of burglary," enacted in the city of Washington, was written by the special correspondent of the Chicago Journal. As an example of modern business methods, endorsed and approved by so-called representatives of the people, it is, as Mr. Gardner says, "unique, one might almost say captivating"—in its impudence:

"Washington, Dec. 15.—While it is not a matter which concerns Chicago or the country at large, there is a piece of legislation now nearing its passage in the house of representatives which has some unique, and one might almost say captivating, features. It is unique in the high degree of impudence which inspires it, and is captivating in that it takes from the treasury of the United States and the District of Columbia a cool million and a half dollars and hands it over to a railroad company—the Baltimore & Ohio.

Even to the disinterested spectator there is a fascination in watching the operations of a burglar or a highwayman; one marvels at the daring of the actors, and there is always an uncertainty, and a corresponding interest involved in the question whether they will get away with the swag. This is the only excuse for troubling the outside world with any mention of the pending bill for the elevation of the tracks of the above-mentioned company at their terminal near the Capitol building.

"Perhaps some soft-hearted reader will drop a tear for the sad fate of a number of Washington's permanent citizens who do not like it—or some features of it—and who are quite powerless to help themselves; but they can be consoled with the knowledge that the majority of the residents are appeased by the thought that three-quarters of a million is taken from the general treasury, and only half of the grab is saddled on them. There are no aldermen here, and while an alderman is a qualified blessing, it is at least possible to get up a lynching sentiment among his neighbors, and thus appeal to his reason.

"But the committee on the District of Columbia, which has corresponding functions, is made up of non-residents, and the dweller in Eckington or on North Capitol street finds that Chairman Babcock's neighbors are all out in Necedah, Wis., and that their interest in Washington track elevation is extremely remote. What do the people of Nebraska or Maryland or Tennessee care whether the Baltimore & Ohio locates its roundhouse on B street or in Pennsylvania avenue? They never saw either site, and are quite willing to leave it to Mr. Mercer, Mr. Mudd, or Mr. Simms.

"And that's how it happened that a delegation of incensed Washingtonians stood outside the locked door of the district committee-room last Friday and the air blue with futile and wicked oaths. They came to lodge a protest, they objected to the location of a roundhouse in their front yards; in response to their appeal the committee sent out the attorney of the railroad to listen to their troubles. It was an "executive session" between the committee and the general counsel of the railroad.

"There is no need to elaborate on the provisions of the bill. Its scope and general character may be judged from the fact that the road is given power to condemn any land it may want for its right of way in the tract bounded on the south by the Capitol grounds, on the west by North Capitol street, on the east by Second street, and on the north by the boundaries of the District of Columbia. It may bring its trains, its freight cars, and its passenger station right up to the nation's Capitol. Further, it is given the right of way to connect with the tracks of the Pennsylvania railroad—a privilege for which it offered \$1,250,000 in 1887. It proposed at that time to tunnel Capitol hill. The bill permits the road to close permanently seven of the principal streets in the vicinity of the Capitol. It gives them nearly two whole squares on which to erect a terminal station. It gives them several acres of streets for right of way, and it saddles the damage suits on the District of Columbia.

"In consideration of which, and of the million and a half bonus, or subsidy, or grab, or graft, or whatever sounds most euphonious, it agrees to elevate its tracks. And this in the face of the fact that in less than nine years the road will lose by expiration the franchise which permits it to use steam on the right of way by which it enters from New York. One of the road's lawyers admitted to the committee that the bill for damages resulting from grade crossing accidents was \$96,000 a year. He admitted that this was a partial incentive to the road for desiring to elevate the tracks. That much would be saved. The cost of the proposed work is estimated by the railroad engineers at \$5,000,000. They say this should not be

reckoned as an asset of the road, because their earnings would not be increased.

"The bill has passed the senate—so quietly that there was scarcely a ripple. It went through last session, when nobody cared. Nobody cares if it passes the house—except the railroad, and, possibly, the committee, and a few helpless citizens whose toes happen to be trod upon. The ways are smoothed—it would be unkind to say greased—for this kind of legislation. The gentlemen who vote for it—who vote "to beautify and adorn our magnificent Capitol city"—and to pay a railroad for running its dirty tracks and engines up to the very front door of our legislative halls—will go home and hold up their heads before an admiring constituency.

"But looking at it from the standpoint of the disinterested spectator, isn't it a good bit of burglary?"

"When this bill is put upon its passage—as it is likely to be very soon—there will be a roll-call, which, if anybody were interested, would make thrilling reading for constituents. But who cares?"

H. Gilson Gardner.

The "Grand old oak," with its "fifty arms so strong," or a small specimen of the sturdy tribe, would make an appropriate Christmas tree for a branch of the Social Democratic party. It would typify strength and endurance "when a hundred years are gone." But the orange tree, perhaps, with its perennial foliage and in ceaseless bloom, with fruit in every stage of development, from green to golden yellow, would possibly more fittingly symbolize Socialism in its beautiful philanthropic work.

With an imperial flourish the announcement is made and telegraphed around the world that the crown prince of Germany is "one of the finest shots in Europe." All Germany is taxed to keep his royal dinner pail full of luxuries.

Speaking of holiday gifts, why not give the Social Democratic party a hundred new branches and The Social Democratic Herald a thousand new subscribers? The giving would be scarcely less enjoyable than the receiving.

As an illustration of the opportunities our civilization affords aspiring young men to grow up with the country, it is authoritatively stated that Terry McGovern, prince of the prize ring, has made in a short time \$112,000 by the masterful use of his fists. Besides, his reputation as a pugilist has enabled him to rake in several more thousands, until he is now worth about \$150,000, and contemplates retiring on his money and laurels to spend the remainder of his days in seeking pleasure. Prize fighting in the United States and bull fighting in Spain civilize downward.

"Fo' de Lord," said an Afro-American wage slave, "I voted for Boss 'Kinley—now jes' look at my dinner pail; hit done hold more'n a quart, and I's gwine to strike for a bigger bucket—I is, suh!"

ROCKEFELLER'S CHRISTMAS DAY

John D. Rockefeller's Christmas song in the morning before going to his downtown office, to advance the price of oil and count his cash, is about as follows:

My life is ever flowing, now, now, flowing—
My life is ever flowing, like rivers to the sea,
And still, O Lord, I'm boring, boring, boring;
And still, O Lord, I'm boring, as busy as a bee.

I am forever piping, piping, piping;
Yes, Lord, I'm always piping the illuminating stuff.

And, O Lord, I'll keep on piping, piping, piping.

Yes, Lord, I'll keep on piping till the world has got enough.

My pumps are always pumping, pumping.
My pumps are ever pumping my life into my tanks.

And, O Lord, I'll keep on pumping, pumping, pumping.

Yes, Lord, I'll keep on pumping and giving thee my thanks.
New York, Dec. 5, 1900. X R.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS

W. E. A., Washington.—If you find in this paper no reference or reply to the slanders of such people as are mentioned in your letter, it is because we are indifferent to their ravings and have no space to waste on them. They have all about run out of yarn. As to the petty humbug, C. R. M., whom you think should be singled out by us for a special berating, we will say that his personal and vituperative attacks on the "Washington street bosses" grew out of personal pique because the Herald refused to publish attacks on De Leon from his pen. The "official organ" would have been indispensable and all right had he been allowed to use it as a medium for his brilliant, self-edifying effusions. No; the figures he gives on the manifesto referendum are not correct.

M. H., Illinois.—The communication from Springfield addressed to the National Executive Board of the Social Democratic party, like all documents on "union" emanating from that source, is full of untruths and misstatements. (1) The convention was not called without consulting members of the party. (2) It was not decided upon at a meeting of "one" Chicago local. (3) It is not true that the Socialist forces were split by the "Washington street leaders." (4) Neither the Social Democratic party, its "leaders," nor its paper has ever inaugurated an era of personal abuse. (5) The only "union" which the rank and file in Chicago "forced" was political co-operation for the campaign of 1900. The conduct of that campaign by the "unionists" (in Chicago and elsewhere) nullified any prospect there may have been for organic union. From first to last, discord, distrust and the failure of unity are directly and entirely attributable to those who have been most active for "union."

GROUND WORK OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

Various Distinct Eras in the March of Human Progress Noted—The Development of Capitalist System of Production

THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO

Evolution of Capitalism and the Goal to Which it Inevitably Tends—Unerring Forecasts of Marx and Engels

By James O'Neal

That the next stage in human history will be of a communal or social character none can doubt who investigate the industrial forces and social phenomena that are struggling for expression. They certainly do not indicate a reversal back to individual and isolated methods. Whether it will come through a violent catastrophe rests with those who oppose a peaceful solution. The only danger lies in trying to thwart it at the opportune moment when peaceful methods would suffice in accomplishing the change. In this case violence is inevitable. To those who object to the transformation by repeating the Darwinian formula we can say that Socialism does not imply the cessation of the struggle for existence. On the contrary, Socialists rely on this very struggle for the dynamic force to usher in the era of collectivism. The struggle will continue, but its fangs will be drawn. The struggle will be carried to a higher plane with more human weapons and the success of one will not be conditioned on the crushing of another. Your successful advance will leave in the hands of your competitor those advantages he has acquired, instead of appropriating them entirely as is the case now. While equality of wealth will not prevail, the opportunities for acquiring it will be held in common and guaranteed to all. Private property in one's personal products or their equivalent will be held sacred, but the means by which they are produced will be held as the joint heritage of all, thus rendering impossible class rulership and the exploitation which necessarily accompanies it.

The assertion that given equality of opportunity with the full social value of one's toil would only tend to increase population to such an extent that these advantages would be neutralized, is not borne out by the facts of everyday experience. The facts are that population increases more rapidly in those centers where the debasing, instead of the uplifting, influences are at work—namely, the slums. Here where the exploitation, degradation and misery are the keenest will be found the largest families and population increasing faster than elsewhere. The same seems to hold true of animals. Rabbits and field mice that are constantly being preyed upon and hunted down breed faster than those less harassed by these circumstances. The history of the struggle for existence has been characterized by the progressive modification of its severity. Each advance made by man has been followed by the elimination of some of its brutal features. In the ancient world it was a struggle for civic equality, in the middle ages it becomes a struggle for religious equality, and the eighteenth century witnessed the struggle for political equality. All these advantages have been gained and retrogression has not yet set in. Had the Darwinian lived during the days of Plato and Aristotle he would have opposed all these and would have predicted the destruction of civilization on the attainment of each of these advantages by all men.

The threshold of the twentieth century witnesses the struggle of the advantage, equality of opportunity, and to their shame be it said, the majority of scientific men link their energy and talents to the juggernaut of capitalism, and offer their services to the employing class. And the old objections are advanced as an excuse for their action. Such Darwinians to be consistent should cease to tend their flower gardens and let the flowers fight it out with the weeds. In this case there would be no doubt which would be the "fittest to survive," but they would also be conscious that they had the power to fit the flowers to survive had they chosen to do so. The moral is apparent. The trouble with the average follower of Darwin, who is not a Socialist, is his persistency in borrowing a few dogmas from the biological formula and carrying them over into the field of sociology without any qualification whatever and without asking himself whether these dogmas are adequate to express or explain the complex phenomena of social evolution. While this formula is valuable in sociological research, yet it is practically valueless when investigating such phenomena as wages, interest, rent, profits, ethics, morals, etc. These do not appear in the field of biology. They are new factors that appear in the life of civilized man and distinguish

him from the brute creation. They of necessity imply laws of their own and these laws cannot be grasped otherwise than by a thorough investigation of the sphere within which they act, that is economics and sociology, and not biology.

The Darwinian who confines himself within the limits of biology has yet to learn with Shakespeare that "there are more things in heaven and earth than is dreamt of in his philosophy."

In conclusion, there are not wanting signs indicating a world change in the capitalist nations of the earth. The present cry of "expansion" is the death gasp of the old order of things struggling against the inevitable. The marvelous advance made in the wealth productive forces, due to the centralization of capital and the perfection of machinery, has been accomplished at the expense of reducing the home market by displacing labor and cutting the wages of those still employed, thus leaving in the hands of the capitalist owners \$2,000,000,000 of surplus products on hand and no "effective" demand for them at home. Chauncey Depew admitted this in his speech at the national convention held at Philadelphia a few short months ago. If no demand exists at home then it must be found abroad. Hence the expansion policy is decided upon and every capitalist nation of the earth is scouring the globe for markets to dump their surplus products wrung from those who produced them. But this cannot last long. When foreign peoples are brought in contact with the so-called civilized nations they learn the arts of their conquerors and in time introduce the new methods of production and they soon have a surplus on hand which qualifies them to take their stand with the others in seeking foreign markets instead of providing one. Thus Japan, in the short space of fifty years, has undergone a complete change from feudalism to capitalism, a change which required as much as two and three hundred years in some of the nations of Europe. Japan is now one of the most successful competitors for the markets of the world. The entrance of the allies into China will produce the same result in time, so that when there are no more markets to be secured an industrial world deadlock is inevitable. When no more markets are at hand the surplus productions will flow back to their owners and the capitalist system will reach the climax of its absurdity by presenting the remarkable spectacle of a people starving amidst a deluge of wealth. These are logical deductions from facts and forces at work in capitalist society. Happy be he whose privilege it is to contribute his mite, little as it may be, to the solution of the sphinx riddle that is puzzling millions whose hearts are seared and whose souls are wrenched because of the picture of that one of whom the poet hath said:

"Down all the stretch of hell to its last gulf there is no shape more terrible than this!"

To conclude in the words of a great writer: "It is true our present society carries an appearance of vigor and vitality which seems to defy assault, but if we put our ear to this exuberant life, we can hear the slow rumblings of death destroying it from within. A splendid mantle covers our civilization, but on looking more closely we see that it has already lost its sheen; its brilliant colors are beginning to fade, and ere long this splendid cloak will become the funeral shroud in which capitalist society will sleep its last. Under the apparent signs of health, science must look for the symptoms of disease, and watch for the premonitions of death. It should not, however, attempt to avert an inevitable destiny, but rather endeavor to moderate the convulsions which must inevitably accompany the birth of a new and more vigorous society."

The Children's Aid society of New York deplors the fact that children are pouring into the country from Italy, Austria, Hungary, Russia and other European states, who are to be "educated to lives of usefulness and right living." No mention is made of American children who need education. In the anthracite coal region there are not less than 3,000 "breaker boys" who never went to school a day nor an hour in their lives. They are the young wage slaves of capitalism, and no church nor children's aid society pays any more attention to their education than if they were so many mule colts. Christmas would be a good day to petition the Pennsylvania legislature to enact a law by which these boys, rescued from lives of ignorance, vice and degradation, might become valued citizens of the state and country, and in this effort Socialists might, with eminent propriety, take the lead. Possibly John Wanamaker might be induced to abandon his bargain counter long enough to help such a cause.

A poet wrote: "Earth hath no sorrow heaven cannot heal." Possibly, but there are a vast number of sorrows it does not heal—left, perhaps, for Socialism to find and apply the needed remedy. The work could not have been committed to better hands.

In the march of Christian civilization the standing army of the United States is to be increased to 100,000 officers and men. Capitalism hails this increase of the standing army with special delight.

WOMAN CONSIDERED AS A HUMAN BEING

While I work for Socialism as promising something better than present-day conditions, I cannot bring to the cause that enthusiasm which it would inspire if I felt that Socialists as a class were sincere in their professed advocacy of equal rights to women. I was not surprised to find that woman is just as much of an afterthought with the average Socialist as she was with the Hebrew god. (As all gods look alike to me, I write them all with a little g.) The Socialist papers, conscious that the peculiar injustice which the laboring man suffers has tended to crush his self-respect, spare no opportunity to inspire him with a sense of his dignity and of his importance as a social factor. On the contrary, the Socialist papers not only have next to nothing toward cultivating women to a similar respect, but often give space to matter openly or impliedly contemptuous of womanhood. Perhaps it is well that they do not make a specialty of "woman's cause," unless they could prove themselves better qualified for the task than is the average reformer—man or woman—who essays to defend womanhood, which is usually viewed in a light so intensely sexual that the reader, unless already beyond the need of education on such lines, is sure to confound animalism with motherhood.

The fact is simply that the average man has but so slightly risen above the animal plane—woman, ditto—that he cannot think of a woman first as a human being with human needs, cravings, aspirations. History—ancient, mediaeval and modern—science, philosophy and journalism, past and current, are so exoterically exclusive, so comically masculine, that, but for the Sunday press, "woman's page"—unwitting monument of woman's insignificance—some later race of manlier men might well infer this to have been, in our times and hitherto, a womanless planet whereon every son was born a la Minerva.

When a man sets out to free men he views them in their broadly industrial, political and social relations, remembering them as possible husbands or fathers only incidentally. The "rights of man" are recognized as inherent simply in manhood, regardless of celibacy or matrimony, paternity or childlessness. On the contrary every institution, old or new, must first pry into a woman's personal relations, ascertain whether she be mother, wife, widowed, divorced or celibate, and then determine on those grounds just how few rights she may be allowed, and how many wrongs may with impunity be inflicted upon her. She has absolutely no inherent rights as a human being, no, not the right even to human necessities, which man-ruled society allows her rather by reason of her being some other man's daughter, his wife, "his widow"—one never hears of any man's being her widower.

The average man can abstract another man as kinless, and yet regard him as clothed with all the rights and consequence of a patriarch; he can think of a kinless woman only as a subject for wrongs or for charity.

However far any individual man may be from wronging her actively or passively, what a commentary upon manhood is its own view of womanhood! If a man set out to right the wrongs of some race or class of oppressed men, and the burden of his song were those men's husbandhood and fatherhood, he would be accounted a simpleton. However glowingly a man may extol womanhood, until he proves practically that he accords to a woman solely by reason of her humanhood the same rights which he accords to a man solely by reason of his humanhood, his vaunted reverence for womanhood will be known by the gaudy tatters with which he thinly veils his own animalism.

Certainly such Socialist papers as I have read do not have that tone which one has a right to expect from the press of a class of reformers professedly advocating equal rights. It would seem that Socialists, just as strongly as non-Socialists, are imbued with the absurd idea that man is the race, woman his appendage. His own rights can never be secure until he is sufficiently developed mentally and morally to grasp the axiom that he is but one-half of that humanity of which woman is the other half. His kinship to her, however he may wish it to be otherwise and endeavor so to make it, is not a thing which he can put on and off at will; his destiny is inextricably bound up with hers, and until all womanhood is free some men will necessarily be under some phase of bondage to other men.

Even many advanced reformers do not seem yet to have realized that paper constitutions can never be a guaranty even of masculine liberties; that the only bulwark of free institutions is the spirit of those institutions in the hearts of the people themselves; and the hearts even of the masculine half of the people can never be imbued with the spirit of such free institutions as they ordain so long as manhood is freer, either in theory or in fact, than womanhood; for no statesmanship can keep a son from inheriting the servile nature consequent upon his mother's subordination, let it weigh ever so lightly upon

her individually, or even only insensibly by transmission from the feminine sex collectivity.

No theory of government, however perfect in itself, can work out the ends it is designed to work unless the spirit of such government lives in the hearts of the people. If Socialists can realize this, let them prove that they really desire liberty and equality for all by seriously setting about educating Socialist men and working women to a sense of human rights for woman, which shall mean identically what is meant by human rights for man; for Socialist editors cannot be unaware that many men Socialists are far from the idea of sex equality, and that women themselves sadly need to be educated to a sense of their own rights. Nor should the stupidity or pusillanimity of the particular woman be allowed to discourage such effort; for it cannot be successfully disputed that woman, more hopelessly, helplessly and completely enslaved than any race or class of men have ever been or could ever be, has dared and sacrificed more to secure her own freedom than has any enslaved class of men known to history.

H. Augusta Howard.

THE BOGUS UNIONISTS

Editor the Herald: As you probably know, the Socialists of the country are just now being deluged with copies of a paper called the Nebraska Socialist, the reason for such liberality being that this paper has entered the ranks of that motley aggregation known as the "unificationists." It is a psychological phenomena that when there is a row on, or when some people imagine there is, certain types of humanity are attracted to the scene and are willing to contribute any amount of energy in contribution to it, just for the love of rows. And so we have the spectacle at this time, when all socialist pockets are supposed to have been drained by the demands of the recent campaign, of money and activity used practically for a thing that is at best the mere echo of a shadow. It is a pity this energy could not be used for propagating socialism, instead of being used to stir up dissension in the ranks of the organized socialists. These "unity" fellows are loud in their cry that the Social Democratic party (the real and original one—not the counterfeit article) is preventing harmony in the

ranks in this country, but these bawlers for harmony show their insincerity when you put some point blank question to them. All you have to do is to ask them some of the following questions:

"If you want a united movement, why don't you join the party as an individual?"

"Why didn't the kangaroos do this in the first place?"

"What interest did they have that prevented such a course?"

"Was harmony secured by ignoring a plain referendum and setting up a rival party, and stealing our party name?"

"If the kangaroos wanted a harmonious movement why did they, and do they seek by all possible means to disorganize and disrupt the party already in existence?"

"As all that is necessary to secure unity is for the bawlers for unity to join the party, are they not the ones who stand in the way?"

"If a unity, so-called, were to be secured according to the program of the unity—or—bust fellows, what kind of socialism would they want us to have, the fusion—Silver Republican—middle class socialism of the Ricker—Kharas hypnotists, or the anti-public ownership socialism of the Chicago kangaroos?"

Other equally pointed questions suggest themselves. But the fact is that the "unity" cry is a bogus one, that the "unity" people are not themselves united as to their motives for working together in this crusade, against the harmony of the Social Democratic party, some having a desire to capture the movement for the sake of certain interests, others from the desire to use the movement for political trading with capitalist parties, others because they dream of great good to socialism by deluging the movement with the stranded radical politicians of the Democratic party, and others still because they like to keep up a row. Heretofore, most of these discordant elements have been held together by the "hot-air reports" of great success in downing our party sent out from Springfield. Now that Springfield is bankrupt and an admitted failure, they are trying to cover up their defeat as well as to provide themselves a crafty retreat, by renewing the cry for "unity."

Loyalty to the Social Democratic party is the short cut to unity.

Iowa. Harmony.

A PRIMER OF SOCIALISM

A 32-page pamphlet which contains in addition to the "Primer of Socialism," by G. C. Clemens, "Socializing a State," by the late Laurence Gronlund, and "Economic Terms and Phrases," by A. P. Haezel.

One of the strongest pamphlets for propaganda yet issued. A splendid vote-maker, and thousands should be circulated before election.

PER COPY, 5 CENTS—PER 100, \$1.50
Address, Debs Publishing Co.,
Terre Haute, Indiana.

BRANCH SUPPLIES

Membership Cards (per 100) 1.00
Membership Applications (100)25
Constitutions (each)03

Send orders with cash to Theodore Debs, 126 Washington Street, Chicago. No supplies sent on credit.

LOCAL BRANCHES

Notices of Branch Meetings Inserted for 25 Cents per Month

CALIFORNIA

Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evenings, commencing at 8. Admission free. Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening. Social Democratic Herald free to each member, 5 cents per month. Apply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk street.
Branch No. 3, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2 o'clock at Woodman's Hall, 1254 Spring St. J. Franco, 700 Dayton Ave., Secretary.
Branch No. 12, San Francisco (German). Holds business meetings first Sunday each month, at 10 o'clock a. m., at 117 Turk street. Agitation meeting on third Sunday evening, same place, to which public is invited. August F. Mayer, secretary, 1408 Polk street.

COLORADO
Branch No. 3, Goldfield, meets every Sunday at 7:30 p. m., at City Hall. Chas. La Camp, Secretary.

CONNECTICUT

The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at 3 p. m., at P. Schaffer's, 402 Main St., Hartford. Louis Schial, Sec., 26 Spring St., Rockville, Conn.
Branch No. 3, New Haven, meets every Wednesday evening, at 8 p. m., at Aurora Hall. C. Volmer, Sec.
Branch No. 4, Rockyville, Conn., meets first and third Thursdays at Turn Hall meeting room, Village street. Secretary, Richard Niederwieser, Box 760.

ILLINOIS

Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 62 Dearborn St.
Branch No. 1, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening. Thomas Kirwin, Secretary, 3604 Westworth Ave.

Branch No. 2 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets first and third Saturdays at 8 p. m. at Nagl's Hall, 535 Blue Island Ave.
Branch No. 3 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets second and fourth Mondays at 8 p. m. in Dunder's place, 1080 W. 18th place. Joseph Dunder, Secretary.

Branch No. 5, Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays at 2 p. m. at Plank's Hall, cor. Centre Ave. and 18th St. Jos. Cerny, Sec'y, 120 W. 18th St.
Branch No. 6, Chicago. Meets at Adolph Jankowski's place, 944 West 21st street, every other Saturday in the month. A. Geisler, Sec., 726 W. 20th street.

Branch No. 8 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays, at 9 a. m., at 1028 Lincoln Street. J. A. Ambros, Secretary, 646 Wood Street.

Branch No. 9, Chicago, meets at 1145 W. 63rd St., first and third Sundays at 3 p. m. Gus Larson, Secretary, 626 Center Avenue.

INDIANA

Branch No. 4, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichert's Hall, corner Market and Noble sts. Address all communications to the Sec. of State Executive Board, Thomas Cation, 506 Warren Ave.

Branch No. 2, Ellettsburg, meets every fourth Friday in the month at opera house. James Baxter, chairman, Wm. Truman, secretary, Box 151.

Branch No. 4, Bellevue, meets 1st and 3rd Sunday, at 2 p. m., and 2nd and 4th Wednesday at 8 p. m., at 81 Fairfield Ave. We will aim to make it interesting for all. Henry Listmann, Sec., 182 Poole Ave.

KANSAS

Branch No. 3, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at Springfield Turner Hall. Carl Schwabe, Organizer, 21 Jackson St.
Branch No. 9, Brookton, meets Friday nights at 8 p. m. for business at Socialist Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Center Sts. Every second is expected to attend one meeting a month. Mrs. Annie Schwartz, Secretary, 21 Fremont St.

Branch No. 2, Leavenworth, meets at 24 Warren St., 2nd and 4th Fridays of every month. Public invited

MICHIGAN
Branch No. 1, Battle Creek, Mich., meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of each month, at 2 p. m., at 10 W. Main Street, in the International Congress Hall. All are cordially invited. L. C. Rogers, Secretary.

MINNESOTA
Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Genswein on Main St. A. Kingsbury, Secretary.

MONTANA

Branch No. 1, Butte, meets every Thursday, at 8:00 p. m., Engineers' Hall, Owsley Block. G. Frankel, Sec. 11 E. Park Street.
Branch No. 2 meets first and third Sundays of each month at G. W. Wood's home, Chico, Mont.

NEW JERSEY

Branch No. 1, Secretary, Michael W. Schor, 87 Livingston St.
Branch No. 5, Camden, N. J., meets every 2nd Sunday of the month. For particulars address Paul Eberding, 1008 Kaighn's Avenue.
Branch No. 3 (German) Newark, meets every third Saturday, at International Hall, 1 Bedford St. Hans Hartwig, Secretary, 1 Bedford St.
Branch No. 4 (German), Paterson, N. J., meets first and third Mondays at 8 p. m., at Heivell's Hall, 54-56 Van Houten St. Karl Linder, Secretary, 245 Edmund St.

NEW YORK

The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York meets every second Tuesday at 415 Grand street, Windsor Hall.
East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every first and third Thursday at 113 Clinton St. A. Gayer, Secretary.

Branch No. 6 Brooklyn, New York, meets every Saturday at 8 p. m., at 56 Moore St. Visitors welcome. Comrades desiring to organize should communicate with Secretary Sol. Freeman, 190 Boorum St.

Branch No. 8, Buffalo, N. Y.—Persons desiring to join this branch will call or communicate with Tom Fittes, 119 Congress street.
Branch No. 10, New York, meets every Friday, at 8 p. m., 209 E. Broadway. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Organizer, Joseph Williams, 56 Henry st.

OHIO

Branch No. 4, Cincinnati, meets at Richelieu Hall southeast corner 9th and Pinta Sts., every Sunday at 8 p. m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Jos. Jasin, Secretary, 1410 Central Avenue.

OREGON

Branch No. 1, Portland, meets every Monday night at Washington Hotel, Cor. 3d and Flavel Sts. Every body invited. T. O. Wendland, chairman; Mrs. N. E. Fortich, secretary.

PENNSYLVANIA

Branch No. 1, Philadelphia, meets every Monday, at 8 p. m., at 423 E. 3rd Street, until further notice.
Branch No. 4, Connersport, Meets every second and last Wednesday of each month in R. of L. hall, Chas. Knispel, Chairman; L. H. Morse, Secretary, Ben. Codington, Treasurer.

Branch No. 5, Philadelphia, meets first Friday of each month—Executive meets every Sunday morning, at 8 p. m. Club Rooms, at 423 E. Third St. Organizer, M. Gillis, 1007 E. Third St.

Branch No. 10, Williamsport, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2 p. m., in Social Labor hall, No. 26 East 3d St. G. B. Smith, chairman; J. W. Lyon, secretary, 743 Second St. Public invited.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee Central Committee, S. D. P., meets second and fourth Monday of the month at Brewers' Hall, southeast corner Fourth and Chestnut sts.
Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets at Kallier's Hall, Fourth Street, between State and Prairie, every second and fourth Thursday evening.

Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Saturday in Gustke's Hall, Concordia and Green Aves. Frank Liebisch, secretary.
Branch No. 3, Milwaukee, meets every second Thursday of the month at Emil Henschel's place, 1021 Michigan Ave. Secretary, Eugene F. Kichenberger, 1701 N. 11th street.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday each month at Meier's Hall, corner 3d and Brown Sts. George Moorehead, Secretary, 811 25th St.
Branch No. 5, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at 8th Ave. O. Wild Secretary.
Branch No. 12, Milwaukee, meets every second and third Thursday of each month at Volkmar's Hall, 1125 3rd St.
Branch No. 28, Milwaukee, meets second and fourth Wednesday of each month at 524 Clark street. Henry Harbicht, Sec., 1074 7th Street.

NATIONAL PLATFORM

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness depend upon equal political and economic rights.

In our economic development an industrial revolution has taken place, the individual tool of former years having become the social tool of the present. The individual tool was owned by the worker who employed himself and was master of his product. The social tool, the machine, is owned by the capitalist and the worker is dependent upon him for employment. The capitalist thus becomes the master of the worker and is able to appropriate to himself a large share of the product of his labor.

Capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people; but the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system will necessitate the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare.

The present system of social production and private ownership is rapidly converting society into two antagonistic classes—i. e., the capitalist class and the propertyless class. The middle class, once the most powerful of this generation, is disappearing in the mill of competition. The issue is now between the two classes first named. Our political liberty is now of little value to the masses unless used to acquire economic liberty.

Independent political action and the trade union movement are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its political, the other its economic wing, and both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system.

Therefore the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be:

First—The organization of the working class into a political party to conquer the public powers now controlled by capitalists.

Second—The abolition of wage-slavery by the establishment of a national system of co-operative industry, based upon the social or common ownership of the means of production and distribution, to be administered by society in the common interest of all its members, and the complete emancipation of the socially useful classes from the domination of capitalism.

The working class and all those in sympathy with their historic mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America.

The control of political power by the Social Democratic party will be tantamount to the abolition of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting the millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international Socialism, the brotherhood of man.

As steps in that direction, we make the following demands:

First—Revision of our federal constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to complete control of government by the people irrespective of sex.

Second—The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

Third—The public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones; all means of transportation, and communication; all water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

Fourth—The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal, and other mines, and all oil and gas wells.

Fifth—The reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

Sixth—The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

Seventh—Useful inventions to be free, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

Eighth—Labor legislation to be national, instead of local, and international when possible.

Ninth—National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.

Tenth—Equal civil and political rights, for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

Eleventh—The adoption of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

Twelfth—Abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

ATTITUDE TOWARD TRADE UNIONS

In accordance with our declaration of principles we declare that the trades union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the wage-working class. We recommend to the members of the Social Democratic party the following general rules:

First—Join the union of your respective trade.

Second—Assist in building up and strengthening the trade union movement.

Third—Support the union labels of all crafts.

Fourth—Educate your fellow-unionists on the question of Socialism and the labor movement, on economic and political lines.

Fifth—It shall be your duty to work for the unity of the labor movement, thereby recognizing the fact that the emancipation of the working class can only be achieved by the united efforts of this class.

Sixth—Educate the members of the unions in the principles of Socialism and induce them, individually, to affiliate with the Social Democratic party.

Seventh—Trades unions are by historical necessity organized on neutral grounds, as far as political affiliation is concerned. The trades union is the arena where all wage-workers may be brought together for joint action to resist the encroachments of capitalism on the economic field and to participate in the class struggle of the proletariat which will finally develop into the political alignment of the forces of labor in the struggle for proletarian emancipation.

NOTICE TO BRANCHES

The quarterly dues for the quarter ending Mar. 31 are due at the headquarters, 126 Washington St., Chicago, Ill., on or before Jan. 5. Prompt remittance is of the highest importance to insure the interests of the organization, and the branches are urged to provide for the collection, which should be begun at once.

SPECIAL CONVENTION

OFFICIAL CALL

To Members and Branches of the Social Democratic Party, Comrades:

RESPONDING to suggestions from all parts of the country and a demand from many branches, a special National Convention of the Social Democratic party is hereby called, to take place at the national headquarters, 126 Washington street, Chicago, Ill., beginning Tuesday, January 15, 1901, and continuing in session until the work of the convention shall have been completed.

The purpose of this convention will be to make such changes in the laws of the party and to make such other provisions as may be deemed necessary to meet the growing demands of the organization. It is our purpose to enter at once upon a vigorous campaign of agitation, education and organization, so that the party shall be fully equipped to meet the capitalist enemy on the political battle-fields of the future. Now that the presidential campaign is over, our work is fairly begun and must be carried forward with all possible energy without the loss of a single hour.

The basis and other conditions of representation will be the same as at the Indianapolis Convention, and are here incorporated as follows:

First—Each branch shall be entitled to as many representatives as the individual members thereof in good standing may select for that purpose; provided, that each representative shall be entitled to one (1) vote for each member whose signature is attached to his credential; and provided further, that no member shall have his signature attached to more than one credential.

Second—Branches not sending their own representatives may select those of other branches of the same state to represent them; provided, that in each such case the representative shall hold the proper credential with the signatures of members attached as herein provided.

Third—No member shall be qualified to serve as representative or entitled to representation who has not been a member of the party at least thirty (30) days prior to the opening day of the convention.

Fourth—All signatures of members attached to credentials shall be certified to by the chairman or secretary of their respective branches.

Fifth—The national secretary shall furnish each branch with a sufficient number of blank credentials for the purpose herein specified.

Unaffiliated Socialist clubs or societies whose members may desire to connect themselves with the Social Democratic party, are cordially invited to communicate through their proper officials with the Secretary of the National Executive Board, 126 Washington street, Chicago.

This call is issued to all branches of the Social Democratic party in good standing, as shown by the records at 126 Washington street, Chicago, and organized prior to December 15, 1900. The time and place of meeting and other details will be given in the Herald as soon as arrangements are completed.

SEYMOUR STEDMAN, Secretary.

FREDERIC HEATH, Chairman.

NOTES FROM THE FIELD

Ed. Evinger of Terre Haute gave an unmistakable proof of his unimpaired hustling qualities in the Christmas edition of The Toiler. It is a hummer, a recognition of Ed's stalwart service to labor by the business men of the Hut, and a deserved lift for a hard worker in the cause.

The comrades of Liberty branch, San Francisco, cherish the kindly and appreciative words of one of their number, Comrade Gordenker, now living at Glen Ellen, who says: "I want to die a member of Liberty branch, of which I feel proud. In the late trouble they were loyal and honest, and I am very happy at the turn the movement took."

Comrade Peter Curran, delegate from the British Trades Unions to the American Federation of Labor, passed the Christmas season in Chicago. During his stay we had the pleasure of a visit with this sturdy representative trades unionist and Socialist. On Monday he took luncheon with Comrades Theodore Debs, Seymour Stedman, Isadore Ladoff and A. S. Edwards. A more genial or manlier man than Curran would be hard to find. He made friends everywhere.

The "example of the worthy comrades" who have followed the tortuous and deplorable leadership of Ricker of Iowa has led to the formation by that individual of a new reform party in Nebraska made up of Ricker and Kharas, the populists, direct legislationists and silver republicans—all "Socialists." This last move of "unionists" is in line with Ricker's plan of "salvation," a "national convention of all Socialistically inclined persons, to be held in Chicago." 'Rah for "union"!

On the night of Dec. 15 the Social Democratic party gave its first love feast at Odd Fellows' temple. Three hundred Socialists and their friends enjoyed the supper, which was served in style, after which they were entertained by foreign and local speakers. Rev. Father McGrady, the eloquent speaker for our cause, held the audience spellbound for an hour, leaving them, without a doubt, much wiser and well stored with food for thought. His reverence was followed by Comrade Max Hayes of Cleveland, Ohio. The next speaker was Comrade Pete Curren of London, England, international delegate to the A. F. L. convention in Louisville, Ky. His remarks were very interesting and well received by all present. He also addressed Branch No. 4 at its meeting Sunday afternoon. Dr. J. W. Dennis also read a very interesting paper which, it is hoped, he will repeat at one of the branch meetings soon. In behalf of the local comrades the writer extends thanks to the visiting comrades of Dayton, Ohio; Lawrenceburg, Ind.; Aurora, Ind., and other places, who were present at our love feast. Come again, comrades, and bring others with you. A cordial welcome awaits visiting comrades.

R. J. W.

At a called meeting of Branch 4, Chicago, held at 1772 West Chicago avenue Sunday afternoon, Dec. 23, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That a certain resolution 'offered' somewhere (time and place unknown) by J. Wright, and purporting to have been adopted by over two-thirds of the members of this branch, was circulated in a surreptitious and underhanded manner, which no true Socialist would resort to; less than half the members saw it; no meeting of the branch was called to consider it; no opportunity was given for an exchange of opinion; had this been done, we have excellent reasons for believing that not more than half a dozen would have signed it; we, therefore, denounce this action as dishonorable and un-Socialistic and quite worthy of the methods resorted to by those advocating 'unionism' in Chicago."

NEW BRANCHES

Illinois, two.
Kansas, one.

Brockton Sends Thanks

The city committee, Brockton S. D. P., desire to thank all those that so liberally contributed to the Brockton campaign fund. Without their aid we would have had a hard struggle to meet the opposition that was put up against us. But right won and it is a victory for every Socialist in America. There will never be as hard a fight in Brockton again, for the two old parties did everything in their power to beat Comrade Coulter. Their efforts were in vain.

Any comrade not having receipt for funds sent will please send me their address. I will forward one at once. Thanking all again for their aid,

F. J. Burke,
Sec. City Com.

REVOLUTION AND REFORMERS

(Continued from First Page)

built in one day and dawn must precede day, the herculean task of emancipating the human race from its own irrationality and injustice to itself cannot be accomplished by a single stroke of the sword or pen. The masses of humanity have to learn a great deal in order to understand their own interests and how to consciously and rationally modify economic and social conditions in accordance with these interests. The masses have to learn a great deal and forget a great deal more, which latter may be a great deal harder than the first. The masses are born, reared and trained by the dominating and domineering classes in a slavish attitude of mind, in slavish virtues, which are the free man's vices.

There are three ways to learn: By original thinking, by imitation and by personal experience. The most noble of these three ways of learning—the original thinking—is done only by very few (O how few!) geniuses, while the masses of humanity live by the thoughts of other people, mostly of the past generations. The second method of learning is the easiest. Even apes and parrots can imitate. Unfortunately, however, the higher classes represent a very poor paragon for imitation by their high living and low thinking, by their arrogance, ignorance and false pretense. (The morals of the slaveholder were never much higher than that of his

slaves and vice versa.) The third way of learning is the hardest and most certain of all three. Personal experience, however, does not enlighten everybody. A slave may know how hard his lot is and yet bear his chains complacently as long as he is a slave in thought and feeling, that means as long as he recognizes the institution of slavery as something legitimate, as long as he objects to slavery only on personal grounds and aspires to a slave driver or slave owner himself and not a free man among equals.

It is obvious that Social Democracy will have to do a great deal of uphill educational work, and for quite a while limit its political activity to gradual measures, to so-called reforms, without, however, leaving out of mind for a single moment the final goal in view. This way Social Democracy, being a worldwide revolutionary movement, may at certain periods in certain countries be engaged in reformatory activity, without being inconsistent, without losing its revolutionary character.

If, however, Social Democracy may at times engage in reformatory work, the question arises, What should be the attitude of Social Democracy toward reforms inaugurated or advocated by middle class parties? Middle class reforms may be divided in the following categories: 1. Reforms in the exclusive interest of the middle class, but pretending to benefit the people at large, as, for instance, the protective tariff in the United States. 2. Reforms having the appearance of radical measures, but destined only as a blind for the voting cattle in the hands of demagogues, as, for instance, the free silver movement. 3. Reforms having in view to discredit directly real radical reforms in the eyes of the unthinking multitude, as were the measures taken by the rulers of Rome during the agrarian agitation by the Cracchi brothers, in France by granting some demands of Blumigny, in Germany during the state-Socialism period of Bismarckian policy, and (4) bona fide reformatory movements of shallow, symptomatic, short-sighted ephemeral kind, as, for instance, single tax, prohibition and such like. We do not need to waste words on the first three kinds of middle class reforms. These reforms have to be fought by Social Democrats with all the weapons within their reach and power as strictly inimical to the interests of the toiling masses.

But what shall be our attitude toward the honest, sincere, fanatical blind leaders of the blind—like the single taxers, prohibitionists, anarchists and all the would-be reformers? All these people are utopians to a larger or smaller degree. They do not realize the complexity and lawfulness of social life, they do not care to study human society as a result of historical evolution and social statics and mechanics; they blindly believe in the miracle-working power of paper legislation. The worst of all is, however, that the middle-class reformers never arrive at the conclusion that it is futile to attempt to introduce a measure, however salutary to the oppressor, which is out of joint with the whole system of the social fabric that such a measure, even if introduced, would be either entirely inoperative or misused by the classes in power in their exclusive interests and to the detriment of the masses of the people. It appears,

The Book You Need

PRINCIPLES OF Scientific Socialism

By Rev. Charles H. Vail

Author "Modern Socialism" and "National Ownership of Railways."

CONTENTS:

The Industrial Revolution. The Analysis of Value. The Origin of Surplus Value.

The Advantages of Socialism: Production, Distribution, Elimination of Useless Vocations, Prevention of Waste, Elevation of Woman, Proper Care and Training of Children, Efficient Direction, Solution of the Monetary Question, Abolition of Taxation, Simplification of Government, Benefits to Capitalists, Benefits to Laborers.

The Evidences of the Moral Strength of Socialism: Restriction of Divorce; Prevention of Prostitution; Elimination of Crime; Prevention of Intemperance, Insanity, etc.

Poverty—Its Cause and Cure. Wage Slavery vs. Chattel Slavery. Rent and Interest. The Law of Wages. The Law of Progress. Industrial Depression and Commercial Crises. The Problem of Labor-Saving Machinery.

Popular Economic Errors: That Value is Determined by Capitalist Cost of Production; that the Interests of Laborers and Capitalists are identical; that Labor is Better Off To-day Than Ever Before; that Cheap Prices are Beneficial to Labor; that Foreign Markets are Beneficial to Labor; that Luxury is Beneficial to Labor; that Land Nationalization Would Solve the Social Question; that Extravagance is the Chief Cause of Economic Want; that Socialism Would Thwart Inventions and Improvements; that Socialism Would Destroy Individuality. Conclusion and Index. 12mo, 236 Pages; Paper, 25c; Cloth, \$1.00.

SEND ORDERS TO

THEODORE DEBS, 126 Washington St. CHICAGO

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LIBRARY

Karl Marx, Capital, Cloth.....	\$2.00
F. W. Sprague—Socialism, from Genesis to Revolution. Cloth.....	1.00
Gronlund—The Co-operative Commonwealth. Paper.....	.50
August Bebel—Woman, Past, Present and Future. Paper.....	.25
Blatchford—Merrill England.....	.10
Edward Bellamy—Looking Backward.....	.25
Edward Bellamy—Equality. Cloth.....	1.25
Lissauer—History of the Commune of 1871.....	1.00
Charles Vail—Modern Socialism.....	.25
Asplund—Heterodox Economics and Orthodox Profits.....	.15
Henry D. Lloyd—Wealth Against Commonwealth. Paper.....	1.00
Volney—The Ruins of Empires.....	.25
Thomas Paine—The Rights of Man.....	.25
Henry George—Social Problems.....	.25
Osborne Ward—The Ancient Lowly.....	1.25
Adams—President John Smith.....	.25
Richard T. Ely—Socialism and Social Reform.....	1.00
Bochner—Man in the Past, Present and Future.....	1.00
Chas. H. Vail—Principles of Scientific Socialism.....	.25
Herron—Between Jesus and Caesar.....	.25
Fabian Essays.....	.25
Rogers—Six Centuries of Work and Wages.....	.25
Donnelly—Caesar's Column.....	.25

PAMPHLETS

F. Lassalle—What Is Capital.....	.25
H. M. Hyndman—Socialism and Slavery.....	.25
F. Lassalle—The Workingman's Program.....	.25
Chas. H. Vail—The Industrial Revolution.....	.25

THEODORE DEBS, Secretary Treasurer,
126 Washington Street, Chicago.

New Ready! 125 Pages!

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRACY RED BOOK

EDITED BY FREDERIC HEATH

Printed on Plate Paper Handsomely Illustrated

This is an annual publication for Social Democrats who will find it indispensable for reference purposes. This first issue is of especial value because of the historical character of its contents. Among the features are:

A HISTORY OF SOCIALISM IN AMERICA
Covering 76 pages, with portraits of Robert Owen, Etienne Cabet, Wilhelm Weitling, etc., etc.

ALBERT BRISNANE
The first American agitator, with portrait.

A TRIP TO GIRARD
By Wayfarer, with view of Appeal to Reason office.

KARL MARX ON THE SINGLE TAX
MACHINE vs. HAND LABOR
Compiled from government reports by Isador Ladoff.

SHORTER PIECES
Labor Conflicts in 1899. Gronlund. Grant Allen. Chronology for 1899. Directory of Social Democrats. Socialist Controversies of 1899. The "Golden Rule Mayor." Prof. Herron's Case. Social Democratic Platforms, Etc.

BIOGRAPHIES OF WELL KNOWN SOCIAL DEMOCRATS. Twenty in all.

ELECTION STATISTICS
Covering the Socialist movement down to the present year. A valuable reference.

A SOCIALIST PORTRAIT GALLERY
Comprising seventeen likenesses of leading workers in the movement, distributed through the book.

Sent postpaid on receipt of price, 15 CENTS.

DEBS PUBLISHING CO.
TERRE HAUTE, IND.

TWO GREAT SPEECHES

Should be Read by Socialists Everywhere and Put into the Homes of Non-Socialists

Delivered at Central Music Hall, Chicago, Saturday, September 29, 1900, by

EUGENE V. DEBS
AND
PROF. GEO. D. HERRON

A Splendid Campaign Document

Sixteen Page Pamphlet. Price, Three Cents One Hundred, \$2.00

Address, 126 Washington St., Chicago

Appeal to Reason

Socialist Weekly with 100,000 subscribers and the number growing with every issue

Is Unique—Nothing else like it

Will be sent to your address fifty-two weeks for fifty cents. Girard, Kansas

Watch this space for Appeal announcements

THE CHALLENGE

A Weekly Paper Published by H. Gaylord Wilshire.

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA.

80 Cents per Year.

The Herald will be sent to any address in the United States 26 weeks for 20 cents.